



HIS HIGHNESS SRI KRISHNA RAJA WODEYAR BAHADUR, C.C.S.I., C.B.I.,
MURUGAJI OF MYSORE

REFERENCE
Not to be lent out.

HISTORY OF MYSORE

(1399-1799 A.D.)

INCORPORATING THE LATEST EPIGRAPHICAL, LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

BY

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NEW DELHI



ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PLATES

"It is of the first importance to the nation
and to the world that every citizen should
study history and study it intelligently"
—Sir John Fortesque, LL.D., D.Lit., in
The Writing of History, 43.

"The really new element in the thought
of to-day as compared with that of three
centuries ago is the rise of history"—
Human Nature and Human History by
R. G. Collingwood, F.B.A.

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GENERAL PLAN

- VOL. I. HISTORY OF MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYAR
DYNASTY OF KINGS (1399—1704)
- „ II. HISTORY OF MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYAR
DYNASTY OF KINGS (1704—1766)
- „ III. HISTORY OF MYSORE UNDER THE WODEYAR
DYNASTY OF KINGS (1766—1799)

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His Highness Sri Jayachamaraja Wodeyar Bahadur G.C.S.I
Maharaja of Mysore

This authentic work on the History of Mysore,
devoted to the Wadiyar Dynasty of Kings,
through the centuries, inspired by His Highness
SRI KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR IV
of revered memory, and based on original
materials garnered during many years, is

Dedicated

BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION TO

HIS HIGHNESS

SRI JAYACHAMARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR

Maharaja of Mysore

*Ruler, Scholar, and Patron of the Arts and Sciences and
Supporter of every good cause aiming at the moral
and material progress of the people*

In token of His Highness'
deep and abiding interest in
the scientific study of History
and the pursuit of Historical
Research along modern lines

By his humble and loyal subject

THE AUTHOR

VOLUME I

(1399-1704)

PREFACE

THIS *History of Mysore*, based on the latest epigraphical, literary and historical researches, owes its inspiration to His Highness Śrī Krishnarājēndra Wodeyar Bahadur of revered memory, whose interest in promoting true historical research in the State is well known. His Highness instinctively believed that research flourishes most when it is left unhampered, but properly provided for. The extensive scientific researches carried out in the State, in its different Departments, during his long reign and the advantages secured by them in adding to the material wealth of the country and to the resources of its people are the best evidence of this bent of his supremely cultivated mind. Likewise it was in the case of Literary, Archæological, Ethnographic and Historical researches.

The writing of a history of the kind now presented has been long a desideratum. The ideal author would be one who is both a great literary scholar and a historian. Such a person not being available, it was inevitable that somebody should make the experiment. It is an accident that it fell to my lot to attempt it. Though my disqualifications are many, I have two defences to offer: I was attracted to the task and I have laboured at it for nearly forty-two years. My first attempts go back indeed to 1901, when I first published papers on it in the public journals of the day. The literature of the successive periods dealt with has been read and carefully examined with a view to its utilization in reconstructing history.

The need for a work like this one, bringing together the results of the critical studies extending over a century and a quarter since Lieut-Col. Wilks wrote his

Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to trace the History of Mysoor, from the Origin of the Hindoo Government of that State to the extinction of the Mohammedan Dynasty in 1799, to set down the complete descriptive title of the work as given by him, will perhaps be conceded as a necessity, especially in view of the very vast archæological and literary researches that have been carried out in Mysore itself, not to mention beyond it in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and in the rest of British India and the Indian States. The setting up of the *Indian Historical Records Commission* at New Delhi, has, within the past twenty years, given a great impetus to the study of History in its larger sense, while active research in the domain of History has been receiving increased attention. The documents relied on in this work, whether epigraphical or other, come accordingly from not only places now forming part of Mysore State but also from others which originally formed part of it before the cessions of 1792 and 1799. Some, indeed, come from places far beyond the present territorial limits of the State, from neighbouring States over which Mysore had extended or had attempted to extend its sway. Exact references to all these documents will be found given in the work in the proper places. The work of publication of the records of the Governments of India, Madras and Bombay and the India Office has placed at the disposal of research students a vast amount of material in a form capable of being dealt with in a most convenient manner. These have been indented upon, as will be seen even by a casual reader of these Volumes. Besides, careful personal researches have been carried out in the different Record Offices, for instance at Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, as well as at the Historical Museum at Satara, and the results of the researches incorporated in the work. The Oriental Libraries at Madras and Mysore have been

carefully searched for literary MSS. bearing on the history of the period to which the present work relates, with considerable advantage. Indeed, it might be said that almost every available source has been indented upon to present as complete and as authentic an account of the history of the present Ruling Family of Mysore as was possible. All these have helped materially in the working up of the narrative, which, it is hoped, will afford some glimpses of the more important episodes of the centuries covered by us. Of the greater figures that appear, some realistic accounts have been given, particularly of Rāja Wodeyar, Kanthirava-Narasarāja, Chikkadēvarāja, Nanjarāja, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultān. Occasion has also been taken to correct errors which have long persisted. Take, for instance, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and his alleged strained relations with a class of influential priests of his time and the stories told of him in that connection. That the evidence available does not support them is to confess the bare truth. But so crusted old were the beliefs held in regard to them that something more has had to be said and this has been done in the proper context. It ought to suffice here if we quote a parallel case to show how hard it is sometimes to root out wrong beliefs, however once formed. Gibbon records, in one of his more celebrated chapters, the "secret persecution" of Christians by the Roman Emperors Maximian and Galerius "within their camp and palaces," a persecution "for which the imprudent zeal of the Christians sometimes offered the most specious pretences." But the "veracious historian" he is, while he quotes his authority for this statement (Eusebius, lib. 8, c. 4. c. 17), he is ready to acknowledge that Eusebius limits the number of military martyrs. What is more to the point is that he mentions in this connection the story that the Theban legion, consisting of six thousand Christians, suffered martyrdom by the

order of Maximian, in the valley of the Pennine Alps and says that "notwithstanding the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose, Sulpicius, Orosius, etc., it has been long believed." Such is the force of wrong tradition. "The story was first published," according to Gibbon, "about the middle of the fifth century, by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, who received it from certain persons, who received it from Isaac, Bishop of Geneva, who is said to have received it from Theodore, Bishop of Octodurum". That seems the way that tradition sometimes is built up. (See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XVI.) The picture of Haidar Ali given here would seem incredible but for the authentication that the documents quoted in support of it provide. The occasion has been utilized for affording a vivid picture of the whole colourful background of the period which called forth the energies of titans like Stringer Lawrence, Eyre Coote, Clive, Haidar Ali and others who dominate the mid years of the 18th century in South India and make it of enduring interest. The whole dramatic story of Haidar's life is told in a manner that will, it is hoped, prove of value not only to the student of history but also to the lay reader.

A serious attempt too has been made to treat objectively the period of history relating to Haidar. We know little of the *acts* of Haidar, little of what he *did* to achieve his aims. His wars we know, but what did he *do* to put on the field his vast armies, which struck terror into the hearts of his enemies and raised wonder in the minds of his foreign observers and critics? How did he contrive to clothe them, feed them, discipline them and march them to the field to die for him and the country he served? A constructive effort was needed to do all that and to that constructive work of Haidar some space has been found in these pages. Haidar was not only a destroyer as a warrior generally is but also a reformer,

who tried to build up a new army and a new discipline modelled to an assimilable extent on European lines. It would not be wrong if we said that he tried to build a new State along new lines and that it did not endure because he failed to appreciate the fact that the essence of human endeavour is grounded in morality. Nor did he care to frame his mind to be pliant and obedient to occasion. His continual habit of dissimulation proved but a weak and sluggish cunning, not greatly politic. It practically undid even what he did achieve. All that he did seemed but a web of his wit; it worked nothing lasting. His life proved verily a tragedy, not only because it ended with his death outside the country he was in and worked for but also because nothing survived to show that such a giant of a man had ever lived.

No historical work relating to Mysore can pretend not to owe its deep acknowledgments to Wilks' great, indeed, classical work. Though he finished the first volume of his work as early as 1810 and the other two volumes of his original edition in 1817—two years after Waterloo and within twenty years of the last siege of Seringapatam—he covered the early and later periods of history in an admirable fashion. He not only had the aid of those who took part in the campaigns of which he wrote, but also he had the material aid of Dewān Pūrṇaiya, with whose support he set up a historical commission, as it were, which proved of considerable help to him in dealing with the earlier reigns of the Mysore Kings. If he told occasionally legendary stories about them, it is because, as Mr. H. G. Wells has aptly observed, history cannot be understood without them. While his historical instinct was sound, his judgment was generally in the right, though towards certain of his contemporaries it might have been marred slightly, as has been suspected in certain quarters. But Wilks' work cannot be superseded in any sense of the

term, though he may have to be used with caution for the earlier and even parts of the later periods in view of the advance made by modern research, archæological and other. It is as much a classic as Orme's *Indostan* or Duff's *Mahrattas*, whatever their shortcomings from any point of view. At any rate, the present work does not attempt that altogether impossible feat and fully acknowledges its own indebtedness to Wilks' great labours as a pioneer in the field of *Mysore History* and seeks but to supplement its rich stores in a small way.

But there is need to remember one limitation to Wilks' great work, a work that filled with admiration the leading men and women of his times and helped to earn for him a Fellowship of the Royal Society. What might be said of Orme's work may be said of Wilks' as well. Both have, for instance, written of Haidar. But the histories of Orme and Wilks belong to periods too close to Haidar Ali to be either full or free from doubt. They reflect the views of the English, while those of the French writers of the period—De La Tour and the rest of them—reflect those of the nation they belonged to. What Haidar and Tipū have said of themselves or what their own historians said of them we have some accounts of in the writings of the annalists of the period. Among these are the anonymous author of the *Haidar-Nāmāh*, Hussain Ali Khān Kirmāni, Mirza Ikbāl and others. While the histories of Orme and Wilks contain very little else—as Col. Miles acutely remarked writing as long back as 1842—than the wars the English waged in both the portions of the Karnātic in furious fashion, the annalists devote only a very small part of their space to these wars of the English. They help us to realize Haidar the man and the usurper and Tipū the youth and the tyrant. There are other advantages as well to be derived from a study of these annalists, even in the purely historical portions. Kirmāni's version, for instance, is generally

consistent with Orme's account up to 1760, except with regard to Trichinopoly, which is worthy of note. It is Trichinopoly that brought Mysore in the first instance into prominence in South India during what may be called the Anglo-French period and it was the injustice done to Mysore in regard to Trichinopoly that fired Haidar's imagination with the conquest of the South. The subsequent attempt to drive the Europeans—not merely the English—out of India is directly traceable to that cause. The annalists, therefore, have a place, however small or insignificant, in the study of the period dominated by Haidar and Tipu, quite apart from the help they give us to understand them as men who lived their lives to attain the objectives they aimed at.

Of the French writer De La Tour, who had served under Haidar Ali and whose work *Ayder Ali* was published as early as 1784, within two years of the death of Haidar Ali, though written while he was still alive, a special word would seem to be necessary in view of the adverse opinion passed on him. Wilks, indeed, goes so far as to castigate him in a foot-note in the body of his work. "The Frenchman calling himself Commander of artillery and General of ten thousand in the army of the Moghul, who has published the history of Hyder Ali Khan and was present in the service (in the fight at Tiruvannāmalai), states," he writes, "the single trophy of the English to have been *one iron three-pounder*; this is a specimen of what he may be presumed to have seen. What he relates on the authority of others, resembles the information of a dramatic quidnunc, who hears everything, and seizes the wrong end of all that he hears" (Wilks, *Mysoor*, I. 587, f.n.). De La Tour considered Haidar a *mon ami* of his, "my friend," and perhaps wrote much of what he did write out of friendship for Haidar. We may even concede that he wrote as a frank partisan, but there seems no justification for the

charge that he was deliberately falsifying history to suit his own ends. He says he was Commander-in-chief of Artillery in Haidar's army and of a body of European troops in it and that he has adhered to the strictest impartiality in relating Haidar's exploits. It must, however, be admitted he had strong national and political prejudices and these prejudices influenced his narrative. Hardly less serious defects than his political and national bias are his omissions, his want of the sense of proportion and his easy gullibility. Though he calls himself a "historian" and styles his book a "history," and asserts that "the true dignity and importance of history is placed in truth," and though he does not spare his own countrymen who had, in his view, "behaved unworthily" any more than Englishmen, while doing justice to Generals like Coote, Smith and Goddard, he is lacking in the sense of discrimination and allows himself to be carried away by mere gossip in the most serious matters affecting a person's reputation. He disarms criticism by pleading that "if any of his recitals should be contrary to the ideas of certain persons acquainted with the same events, he begs they will please make a distinction between the facts he himself has been witness to, and those he could only learn from the information of others." The most that could be said about him is that as a witness he is at once honest and well informed in the few matters he writes of. For some aspects of Haidar's character, he is, at any rate, an indisputable witness. De La Tour gives us a summary of what he saw rather than a good and striking picture of the man Haidar. Not one of the 18th century writers, indeed, gives such a picture, as they only saw aspects of the man's work and character. There can be no question that great care and caution are needed in using him, but there can be no doubt that he is of some value for reconstructing the history of Haidar's period.

This work of De La Tour has had such vogue that it went through many editions in France in his own time in French, the language in which it was written, and in England in the translation in which it appeared first in 1784. A copy of the first edition of this translation, published in London in 1784, is to be found in the Connemara Library, Madras, and another is now in the Mysore University Library, Mysore. Later, in 1855, Prince Gholam Mohammed, the only surviving son of Tipū Sultān, revised and corrected it, and re-issued it, by Messrs. W. Thacker & Co., in London. A reprint of the London edition of 1784, however, issued in 1848 at Calcutta is well known. This was published by Messrs. Sanders, Cones & Co., No. 7, Mission Row of that city. This demand for De La Tour's book shows its appeal, whatever its merits. Some of its statements were hotly contested by English writers, one of the earliest to do so being Captain Francis Robson in his "Life of Hyder Ally", who published his work in 1786. He had lived "20 years in India" and had "been present in most of the actions fought between the English and Hyder Ally." Robson, who states he wrote his account of the war with Haidar, to correct the errors of De La Tour, and on whose narrative Wilks' own is primarily based in part, stands corrected in the light of contemporary records since published. But Robson cannot on that account be held to have not written the truth or written what he believed not to be the truth! Wilks' criticism of De La Tour has been referred to above, but neither Robson nor Wilks can be held to wholly invalidate De La Tour as the only source for some authoritative information about Haidar and his doings. Hence his importance, though he has to be used with due care and caution.

No apology is therefore needed for presenting Haidar in this work in the character in which he has been seen

by posterity. Great as he was as a soldier, a commander, an organiser of armies, and as a practical administrator, we have reason to remember that he was also fired by human ambitions and was guilty of acts of which many a historical character has been adjudged guilty. That he secretly canvassed the death of some of his royal masters while professing loyal allegiance to them outwardly as the Regent of Mysore has now to be admitted, and that the eighteenth century picture of his having been a kindlier man than his son Tipū cannot well be substantiated to some extent at least. For the rest, the facts set out in these Volumes ought to speak for themselves. Similarly, the portrait of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar drawn here is of the 17th century original and not the 19th century reproduction. Śivāji, again, is seen to be dominated by the ambitions of not only a kingdom but an empire as well. It was the greatness of the vanishing Vijayanagar Empire that to some extent kindled, we now realize, the political ambitions of that great military genius. The operations of the Mughals in the Deccan in the 17th century, although they broke to pieces the consistency of both the Muslim and Hindu principalities, substituted no paramount authority in their place, and thus furnished an opportunity for the rise, not of military adventurers, as some past historians have remarked, but of the Mahratta Empire, and of the Empire dreamt of by Chikkadēvarāja and later by Nanjarāja, the Daḷavāi, and last but not least by Haidar, backed by all the resources of Mysore and the country that was once Keladi. It was not so much a scramble for power, annihilating all right except that of the sword, but a fight for keeping out, each in his turn and in his own way, the other from dominating a territory that was not legitimately his. No doubt the disorder, and even the anarchy, that resulted opened the way for the

contentions of the English and the French, and the ultimate establishment of a British Empire in India. The attempt of Chikkadēvarāja and Nanjarāja, the Dalavāi, is better appreciated when we remember the connection of Mysore with the Vijayanagar Empire and the Empire that Haidar dreamt of was but an inverted picture of the Hindu attempt at continuity of existence in the South of India, which in his son's hands became a veritable attempt at the establishment, if possible, of a Muslim Sultanate with all the paraphernalia of a foreign hierarchy of officials, which offended the practical good sense of even the Persian annalists of the period. From the large documentary evidence tendered in these Volumes, it will be seen how hard the representatives of Mysore fought for the possession of the South and how just their cause was and how they were foiled of it. The struggle for the possession of the South before the Anglo-French struggle, so familiar to students of history, was preceded by a struggle between the Mahrattas and Mysore and between Mysore and Nawāb Muhammad Alī, the alleged Mughal representative, whose credentials for the pretensions he set forth were forged *firman*s of which Orme makes no secret in his writings. If History is, indeed, a record of something more than struggles in space, it is only when we reduce the apparent struggle between certain apparent forces into the real struggles which vary from age to age, between competing races and civilizations, that the story gains point as well as dimension. The history of 18th century Mysore shows that it put forth its wealth of men and money to retain the South to those it justly belonged and it seems but right that this attempt at local freedom should be recorded in a manner worthy of the theme.

The process of sifting of facts that go to make up history is subject to the ordinary laws of historical

evidence. One cannot shape history as he chooses. He has to base it on certain ascertained facts. "Critical" history like "critical" biography, since the time of Froude, demands inquiry and appreciation of facts, of evidence, of direct documentary or other tangible proof. The search for material is attended with difficulty, the more so as you recede into earlier periods. But almost every source has to be worked up—public acts, spoken words, monuments, inscriptions, visits to places connected with the events of the period and the persons figuring in it; travels over the scene of the campaigns fought; narratives of contemporary writers and annalists, etc. Nearly all these sources have been made use of in these Volumes. A study such as this is bound to help not only towards understanding the prominent men of the period but also enabling us to trace the workings of their minds. To understand a man is to know his mind and its intricate workings. Without such knowledge, you cannot understand either his genius or how he manages to dominate a period. Such is the case with the greater men and women who figure in these pages. Human action is as much governed by mental as by physical laws and the history of a nation in its truest sense is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind and not of the events which are discovered by senses. It is, in a word, the illumination of the mind that directly contributes to the making of the events which, in the common sense, make up history.

A word or two may, perhaps, be added about other important matters relating to this work. The problem of illustrations, always a difficult one, has been specially hard. In regard to it, care has been taken to make them representative. The maps are not by any means hypothetical but are intended to bring out the historical position of the time they belong to. They

must be deemed part of the text, ~~the~~ most vital and decorative part.

I beg to acknowledge my heartfelt indebtedness to the Government of Mysore for the facilities they have provided for printing this work at the Government Press, Bangalore. To Pradhāna Śirōmaṇi Mr. N. Madhava Rau, B.A., B.L., C.I.E., the present Dewan of Mysore, I owe much in this connection and for the warm personal interest taken by him in the work. Amātya Śirōmaṇi Mr. T. Thumboo Chetty, B.A., O.B.E., Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja, has shown unabated interest in the work, while the unwearied help he has rendered in the matter of illustrating it and bringing it out cannot but be referred to with the utmost gratitude.

To the authorities of the Mythic Society of Bangalore, the Mysore University Library and the Public Libraries at Mysore and Bangalore, thanks are due for providing help in the matter of consulting certain books in their possession.

Mr. N. Subba Rao, M.A., my Assistant, has helped me whole-heartedly in the preparation of these Volumes. Besides studying the original sources with me and working up the varied material used in the writing up of these Volumes, he has not spared himself in checking up, at every stage, the authorities and verifying the data on which almost every statement made in them has been based. In him, I have had the good fortune to find not only a student anxious to learn and do the work allotted to him but also a collaborator. He has done everything possible to make his part of the work both useful and exact. His suggestions as to readings and interpretation have proved particularly valuable. To say that he has laboured hard, would be but a poor compliment to him; he has not only done that but has also been diligent and industrious to a degree. He has

practical knowledge of the fundamentals of historical research and has shown rare capacity in the handling of conflicting data. Cordial thanks are due to him for the valuable help he has given in the production of these Volumes and for the warm personal interest he has taken in the work as a whole.

Mr. B. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A., the former Superintendent, Government Printing in Mysore, and Mr. B. Krishnaswamy Chetty, B.E., his successor, have rendered valued assistance in the printing of the work. To Mr. B. Gopala Aiyangar, the Sub-Assistant Superintendent, who has been in direct personal charge of this work, thanks are due for his unvarying courtesy in meeting the many requirements.

The Volumes forming this work, being intended expressly for rapid reference, it has been sought, by an ever-increasing insertion of marginal notes and other references, to make them indices unto themselves. It is hoped that these notes would prove a convenience to the general reader as well.

This work, it will be seen, stops at 1799, with the installation of Śrī Krishṇarāja Wodeyar III. The story of his memorable reign is proposed to be told, circumstances permitting, in a volume by itself, while in another volume, it is hoped to cover the reigns of Śrī Chāmarāja Wodeyar IX and Śrī Krishṇarāja Wodeyar IV, thus ending the series with the coming to the throne of Śrī Jayachāmarāja Wodeyar Bahadur, the present Ruler of Mysore.

BANGALORE, }
24th March 1943. }

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. MANUSCRIPTS.

1. TRADITION RECORDED IN LATER WRITINGS.

Among the Mss. which are helpful in the elucidation of the early history of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore and the reconstruction of its genealogy are :—

Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara (c. 1714). Ms. No. 18-15-37, a *Kaḍatam* of the *Mackenzie Collection* in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library.

Mysūru-Nagaraḍa-Pūrvōttara (c. 1740). Ms. No. 18-15-18, P. ; Mad. Or. Lib.

Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamśāvaḷi (c. 1800). Ms. No. 62, P. L. ; and No. B. 336, P. ; Mys. Or. Lib.

Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre (c. 1800) by Venkaṭaramaṇa-
iya. Mss. Nos. 19-1-12 and 19-3-44, P. ; Mad. Or. Lib.
(A paper Ms. of this work bearing No. A. 273 under the
title *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara* by
Thimmappaiya and others is available in the Mysore
Oriental Library).

Beṭṭadakōṭe-Kaiḍiyat (c. 1800). Ms. No. 18-15-20, P. ;
Mad. Or. Lib.

Kaḷale-Arasugaḷa-Vamśāvaḷi (or *Vēṇupura-Kshatri-
gaḷa-Vamśāvaḷi*) (c. 1830). Ms. No. B. 424, P. ; Mys.
Or. Lib.

* This Bibliography relates to the entire period 1899-1799. For a discussion and estimate of the sources of the History of Mysore for the period down to 1761, *vide* Ch. I of this Volume ; for the period 1761-1799, *vide* Vol. II. Appendix IV—(2), pp. 785-791. All the authorities—including the numerous literary and other works of general interest—will be found, specifically referred to or noticed in the proper places in the course of the work. The Genealogical Tables have been given at the end of Vol. III.

Rājāvalī-Kathe (1838) by Dēvachandra. Ms. No. A. 65, P. ; Mys. Or. Lib.

Among the Mss. in the Local Records of the *Mackenzie Collection* in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library recording traditions relating to Haidar's period of office in Mysore (from 1761 onwards) are the *Haidarana-Kaifiyat* (c. 1800) and the *Nagarada-Kaifiyat* (c. 1800). Mss. Vols. 24 and 43, P.

2. CONTEMPORARY LITERARY WORKS (enshrining tradition, etc.)

Among the literary Mss. bearing incidentally on the genealogy and history of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore, etc., in the 17th and 18th centuries are:—

Dēvarāja-Sāngatya (c. 1670) by Chāmaiya. Ms. No. 19-3-44, P. ; Mad. Or. Lib.

Chaupadada-Pustaka (c. 1670). Ms. No. 18-11-7, P.L. ; Mad. Or. Lib.

The *Māhātmyas* (like the *Hastigiri-Māhātmya*, *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya*, *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*, etc., of Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi and Mallikārjuna) (c. 1680). See Vol. I, pp. 417-420, 423, 424, with f. n., for details of these paper and palm leaf Mss. in the Mysore and Madras Oriental Libraries.

Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya (c. 1690) by Chikkadēvarāja (Colophon). Ms. No. A. 431, P. ; Mys. Or. Lib.

Munivamśābhyaḍaya (c. 1700) by Chidānanda. Ms. No. A. 198, P. ; Mys. Or. Lib.

Anangavijaya-Bhāṇah (c. 1710) by Śivarāmakrishṇa-Kavi. Ms. No. 12, 431, Des. Cat. Sans. Mss. ; Mad. Or. Lib.

Śringārārājatilaka-Bhāṇah (c. 1733) by Avināśīśvara. Ms. No. 12, 708, Ditto.

Nanjarāja-Vāṇivilāsa Tīku (c. 1734-1751), a series of literary works by Karāchūri Nanjarāja. See Vol. II, pp. 606-609, with f. n., for details of these paper and palm leaf Mss. in the Mysore and Madras Oriental Libraries.

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Military Consultations, Vols. XIII-XV, XXII-XXVIII, XXX, XXXIX, XL, XLIV, XLVI, XLVIII, LI, LIV, LVII, LXXX-LXXXV, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XCI, CXIX, CXXVII, CXXXIV, CLXVI, CLXVII, CLXXXII, CCXXI and CCXXIX.

Military Sundries, Vols. XXXII, XLV, LXXII, XCI, CI, CXI.

Secret Consultations, Vols. IV-VI.

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Among other Mss. consulted are the *Macartney Papers* of the Parasnis Collection, preserved in the *Satara Historical Museum*—see sections IV-6 (a) and (b) and V (b) of the General Catalogue in the Museum. These consist of Lord Macartney's correspondence in seven volumes of copy books, called the *Phillipps Mss.*, and the papers proper in 22 bundles of loose sheets—mostly autographs—roughly arranged in eleven sections. They cover a wide field ranging from 1775 to 1792, and the documents relating to India, besides containing occasional references

to Mysore, reflect, in the main, ~~the~~ course of Indian affairs during 1781-1785, the period of Lord Macartney's Governorship of Madras.

The Marathi *Rumāls* in the Museum are mostly collections of news-letters in *Mōḍi* characters—see sections I and II of the General Catalogue. They are contained in the *Manavli Daftar* of Nānā Fadnis in the Parasnis collection. They bear on the Mysore-Mahratta affairs during the period c. 1780-1798, and require close attention.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND DIACRITICALS

The following abbreviations are used in citing references :—

<i>Annals</i>	..	The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family.
<i>A. V. C.</i>	.	Apratima-Vira-Chantam.
<i>Bel. Go Cha</i>	.	Belgoḷada-Gommaḷeśvara-Charitre
<i>C. H. I.</i>		Cambridge History of India.
<i>C. Vam</i>	.	Chikkadēvarāya-Vaṁśāvali.
<i>C. Vi.</i>	...	Chikkadēvarāja Vijayam.
<i>Cal. Mad. Rec.</i>	.	Calendar of Madras Records.
<i>Cal. Pers. Corres.</i>		Calendar of Persian Correspondence.
<i>Count. Corres</i>	...	Country Correspondence
<i>Des Cat. Mack. Mss</i>	.	Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection.
<i>Desp. Eng.</i>		Despatches to England
<i>Di. A. P.</i>	.	The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.
<i>Di. Cons. Bk.</i>	.	Diary and Consultation Book.
<i>E. C.</i>	...	Epigraphia Carnatica.
<i>H. I. S. I.</i>	...	Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
<i>H. Y. J.</i>	..	Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University.
<i>Haid. Nām.</i>	..	Haider-Nāmah.

<i>I. H. Qrly.</i>	... Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>I. M. C.</i>	... Inscriptions of the Mackenzie Collection.
<i>I. M. P.</i>	... Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.
<i>Ind. Eph.</i>	... Indian Ephemeris.
<i>Indostan</i>	... Orme's Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan.
<i>J. I. H.</i>	... Journal of Indian History.
<i>K. A. V.</i>	... Kaḷale-Arasugaḷa-Vamśāvali.
<i>K. N. V.</i>	... Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam.
<i>Kar. Ka. Cha.</i>	... Karmāṭaka-Kavi-Charite.
<i>Kc. N. V.</i>	... Keḷadi-Nṛipa-Vijayam.
<i>List of Villages</i>	... List of Villages in the Mysore State.
<i>M. A. R.</i>	... Mysore Archaeological Report.
<i>M. E. R.</i>	... Madras Epigraphist's Report.
<i>M. R.</i>	... Modern Review.
<i>Madras Army</i>	... Wilson's History of the Madras Army.
<i>Mad. Des.</i>	... Madras Despatches.
<i>Mad. Or. Lib.</i>	... Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library.
<i>Mahrattas</i>	... Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.
<i>Māhāt.</i>	... Māhātmya.
<i>Memoirs</i>	... Memoirs of the Late War in Asia.
<i>Mily. Cons.</i>	... Military Consultations.
<i>Mily. Sund.</i>	... Military Sundries.
<i>Moens' Memo.</i>	... Adrian Moens' Memorandum on Hyder Ali Khan.
<i>Munivam.</i>	... Munivamśābhyudaya.

<i>Mys. Dho. Pūr.</i>	... Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvā-bhyudaya-Vivara.
<i>Mys. Dho. Vam.</i>	... Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamśā-vaḷi.
<i>Mys. Gaz.</i>	... Mysore Gazetteer (New Edition).
<i>Mys. Nag. Pūr.</i>	... Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōt-tara.
<i>Mys. Or. Lib.</i>	... Mysore Oriental Library.
<i>Mys. Rāj. Cha.</i>	.. Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre.
<i>Mysoor</i>	... Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India
<i>Nanjarāja. Yaśas.</i>	... Nanjarāja-Yaśassamōllāsa-Champūh.
<i>Nanjarāja-Yaśō Narrative</i>	... Nanjarāja-Yaśōbhushanam. .. Innes Munro's Narrative of Operations on the Coromandel Coast.
<i>Neshauni Hyduri</i>	.. Kīrmāpī's History of Hydur Naik (Col. Miles' Translation.)
<i>O. H. Mss.</i>	... Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts.
<i>P.</i>	... Paper Manuscript.
<i>P. L.</i>	.. Palm Leaf Manuscript.
<i>Poona Res. Corres.</i>	... Poona Residency Correspondence.
<i>Press List</i>	... Press List of Ancient Records at Fort St. George.
<i>Proc. I. H. R. C.</i>	.. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
<i>Q. J. M. S.</i>	... Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
<i>Rāj. Kath.</i>	... Rājāvaḷi-Kathe.
<i>Sachchū.</i>	... Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya.

<i>Saund-Kāv.</i>	... Saundara-Kāvya.
<i>Sec. Cons.</i>	... Secret Consultations.
<i>Select Letters</i>	... Col. W. Kirkpatrick's Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan.
<i>Selections</i>	... Selections from Letters in the Foreign Department of the Government of India.
<i>Sel. Pesh. Daft.</i>	... Selections from the Peshwa Daftar
<i>Sketch</i>	... Lt. Mackenzie's Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan.
<i>Tell. Fact. Rec.</i>	... Tellicherry Factory Records.
<i>Tuzak.</i>	... Burhan's Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī.
<i>Vestiges</i>	... Col. Love's Vestiges of Old Madras.
<i>View</i>	... Col. Fullarton's A View of English Interest in India.

Diacritical marks are used in the case of Indian names and terms to denote Vowel-lengths (as in the over-head strokes "—", "|") and to distinguish *D* from *Ḍ*, *L* from *Ḷ*, *N* from *Ṇ*, *S* from *Ṣ* and *T* from *Ṭ*, both capital and small letters.

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HISTORY OF MYSORE



CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF MYSORE HISTORY

Introductory - Principal sources—*Primary sources*. Inscriptions—Literary works—Coins Travels and tracts—Contemporary chronicles and memoirs—The Records of Fort St. George—The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Selections from the Peshwa Daftar—*Secondary sources*: Quasi-historical works.

THE earliest attempt at writing a history of Mysore was made by Lt. Col. Mark Wilks (1760-1831), British Resident at the Court of Mysore (1803-1808). His work, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysoor*, was first published in 1810¹ and has remained an authority on the subject since then. Wilks, however, carefully avoided giving his book the title of "History." Writing as he did in the early years of the nineteenth century when archaeological and historical research in India was yet in its infancy and when he had to depend mostly on the uncritical summaries and translations of admittedly a few of the local sources (such as memoirs and chronicles of a later date) available to him, Wilks's treatment of the

1 London edition, in three vols. : Vol. I published in 1810, Vols II and III, in 1817; reprinted in Madras, 1869 (in two vols.), revised and edited by Sir Murray Hamnicks, in two vols., Mysore, 1930 This last mentioned edition is referred to in the course of this work.

early history of Mysore, from the origin and founding of the Ruling House down to the usurpation of Haidar Ali (1399-1761), is neither exhaustive nor satisfactory judging from the critical demands of modern scholarship.²

The principal sources³ for the history of this period, now available, are, however, of a two-fold character—primary and secondary. Among the primary sources are : inscriptions, literary works, coins, travels and tracts, contemporary chronicles and memoirs, *The Records of Fort St. George*, *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* and *The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*. The secondary sources comprise later compilations.

Inscriptions⁴—lithic as well as copper-plate—of the rulers of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore, come, for the most part, from the present districts of Mysore, Hassan, Bangalore and Tumkur, and from parts of Salem and Coimbatore districts of the Madras Presidency. They are found scattered over the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (including the supplemental volumes for Mysore and Bangalore districts), the *Mysore Archaeological Report*, the *Madras Epigraphist's Report*, the *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* and the *Mackenzie Collection* (in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library). They range from the middle of the sixteenth century to about the close of the eighteenth. Being mostly dated records in Kannada or Sanskrit, they generally relate to gifts, donations and grants of the rulers to institutions

2 Wilks has been invariably followed by all subsequent writers, notably by B. L. Rice in the *Mys. Gaz.* (I. 361-381), and by S. K. Aiyangar in *Ancient India*. The latter, in his brief but "imperfect sketch" (pp. 272-313), goes a step further in trying to utilise a few of the inscriptions, literary works and the *Palace History*, available to him.

3. For details about the sources indicated and discussed here, vide General Bibliography and text of Chapters (with f.n.) and the Appendices thereto.

4. Include *niśāpas* (Orders) also.

(such as temples and *maths*) and private individuals. A few of these, however, incidentally throw light on the pedigree of the ruler of the time and echo the event or events connected with his rule or his predecessor's. Though by no means an adequate source of information, these documents, used with care, are of great value in identifying and locating the rulers and in reconstructing their genealogy and the political and social history of their times.

Most of the literary works extant—in Kannada and Sanskrit—owe their origin to royal patronage in Mysore during the seven-
 Literary works teenth and eighteenth centuries. Only a few of these have been so far published, while the rest are preserved still in the form of manuscripts—palm-leaf and paper—in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Libraries at Mysore and Madras. Exceptions apart, these works are generally undated and the probable chronological limits of their composition are determinable only from their internal data and, in certain cases, from inscriptions referring to or quoting from them.⁵ Written in poetical or prose form, they relate, in the main, to religion, philosophy, poetics, morals, etc., and refer only incidentally to the reigning king of the time, his pedigree and achievements. Only a few of the productions, however, profess to deal with the traditional history of the Ruling House (down to 1610) and the genealogy and exploits of the author's patron—as, for instance, the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648) of Gōvinda-Vaidya, the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vaṁśāvaḷi* (c. 1678-1680), the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) and the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitum* (c. 1695-1700) of Tirumalārya, and the *Saundara-Kāvya* (c. 1740) of Nūronḍa. And even these works are more literary in character than regular histories. Nevertheless the value

5. See, for instance, section on *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV below.

of literary works—as a supplemental source of information—in historical reconstruction, is not inconsiderable, provided, in using them, due allowance is made for the literary flourishes, fulsome eulogies, etc., characteristic of them.

Although the available coin-types of the Wodeyars of Mysore are few, they are of unique importance as witnesses to contemporary history. Especially the coins issued by Kanṭhīravanarasarāja Wodeyar I (1638-1659) and Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (1673-1704), throw valuable light on the political evolution of the kingdom of Mysore and the religion of the Ruling House in the seventeenth century.

The travels and tracts include the letters of Father J. Bertrand (S. J.) included in the *La Mission Du Maduré* (1659-1686), John Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits* (1701), Dr. John Fryer's *Travels in India* (c. 1676-1680), Niccolao Manucci's *Storia Do Mogor* (1653-1708) and the gleanings and extracts from documents published in Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments*, William Foster's *English Factories in India* and the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*. These records generally contain the observations of the Jesuit missionaries and foreign travellers and settlers, on the political events, customs and manners in South India in general, and Mysore in particular. Their chief merit consists in that they supplement the local sources by throwing a flood of light on the foreign relations of Mysore, which, but for them, would have been lost for ever. Foreign observers are, however, not always accurate in their accounts, are sometimes found to be misinformed and are not infrequently known to exaggerate. While, therefore, their writings are indispensable authorities for the history of the period (c. 1630-1705), they are to be used with caution.

Of the contemporary chronicles and memoirs, the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, recently brought to light by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the columns of the *Modern Review*, is an undated manuscript official history in Persian, of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijāpur (1627-1656), by Zahur bin Zahuri. It deals, among others, with the campaigns of the Bijāpur generals in the Karnāṭak and Mysore between c. 1638-1654, a period practically covered by the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I (1638-1659) in Mysore. Its chief peculiarity, however, is that while it corroborates and supplements other sources of information, it contradicts them also. It requires, therefore, to be handled with care, as an authority for the history of Kaṇṭhīrava's reign. The *Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī* (1781) of Burhan Ibn Hasan of Trichinopoly, recently translated from Persian and published in part under the auspices of the University of Madras, deals with the history of the Nawābs of Arcot (c. 1700-1761). Written from the point of view of the contemporary Indian chronicler, it embodies a wealth of detail relating to the history of South India during the eighteenth century that is worthy of note. Its chief value for us, however, consists in enabling us to understand and estimate the foreign politics of the kingdom of Mysore (c. 1740-1761), from the larger perspective of South Indian affairs of the period. The *Haidar-Nāmāh* (1784), an old paper manuscript (*Bakhar*) from H. H. the Mahārāja's Palace Library, Mysore, is a memoir in Kannāḍa, of the life and times of Haidar Alī (1717-1782).⁶ It is an anonymous work, the writing of which, according to internal evidence,⁷ was finished in June 1784, i.e., an year and a half

6. See also and compare *M.A.H.*, 1980, pp. 79-106, noticing a copy of this Ms. from a private source (s.e. from Nallappa's family).

7. *Vide* ff. 110, referring to the date of the completion of the *Haidar-Nāmāh Bakhar* as, "Krōdhi, Āshāḍha su. 11, Tuesday" (June 29, 1784).

after the death of Haidar. The manuscript bears throughout the stamp of freshness of outlook and independence and vigour of judgment on the part of the author. While the work is a source of first-hand information for the history of the period of Haidar's usurpation in Mysore (1761-1782), it is an equally reliable authority for the reign of Krishnarāja Wodeyar II (1734-1766), particularly in regard to Karāchūri Nanjarāja's struggle for Trichinopoly, the early career and rise of Haidar Ali and the course of events leading to his usurpation (1751-1761). Though not exhaustive, it supplies, on these topics, the genuine contemporary point of view of the local historian, while the chronology of events recorded in it, stands the test of comparison with the other sources for the period. The *Haidar-Nāmāh* even records, with a fair degree of accuracy, certain details connected with the general history of South India (c. 1740-1761).

The Records of Fort St. George,⁸ bearing on Mysore thus far published, comprise, the *Diary and Consultation Book*⁹ (1679, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1733-1734, 1739, 1752-1756), *Country Correspondence* (1740, 1751, 1753-1755, 1757-1758), *Selections from Public Consultations, Letters, etc.*, (1740-1741), *Fort St. David Consultations* (1740), *Letters to Fort St. George* (1682, 1712, 1738-1741), *Letters from Fort St. George* (1698, 1736, 1739-1740, 1743-1744), *Despatches to England* (1701-1702 to 1710-1711, 1711-1714, 1727-1733, 1741-1742, 1743-1746), *French Correspondence* (1752), *Letters from Tellicherry* (1732-1733, 1733-1734, 1734-1736), *Tellicherry Consultations* (1732-1733, 1734-1735, 1737-1738,

8. For a guide to these *Records*, see *Press List of Ancient Records in Fort St. George* (1870-1796); also Dodwell's *Hand-book of Madras Records*.

9. The *Diary and Consultation Book* and *Country Correspondence* contain documents of Military and Public Departments of the Government of Fort St. George, Madras. They are the same as the *Military Consultations* and the *Military, Country Correspondence* in the unpublished form.

1745-1751) and the extracts from documents published in Dodwell's *Calendar of the Madras Records* (1740-1744) and *The Madras Despatches* (1744-1755, 1754-1765) and in Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time* (History of Madras) and *Early Records of British India*. These records, including the unpublished volumes of *Military Consultations* and *Military Country Correspondence* (for 1760-1761), contain information of a varied character. They generally relate to the administration of the affairs of the English East India Company on the Coromandel and West coasts and to the colonial and commercial rivalry between the English and the French in India, particularly during 1746-1761. They refer only incidentally to the course of political events in South India in general and Mysore in particular, in so far as they affected the Company's commercial interests in the country and brought them into contact with the Indian powers of the time. While the *Tellicherry Letters* and *Consultations* yield some light on the early relations of Mysore with Malabar (1733-1746), the remaining series of records, to a considerable extent, supplement the other sources of information on the foreign and political affairs of the kingdom of Mysore, roughly during c. 1679-1761. So valuable, indeed, are these records (especially the *Diary and Consultation Book*, *Country Correspondence* and the unpublished volumes for 1760-1761), that they become an indispensable authority for the period 1751-1761. *The Records of Fort St. George*, as is usually the case with foreign sources, are not, however, always accurate in their references to the internal affairs of Mysore and are, in such cases, to be used with caution.

The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1747-1761) and the news-letters contained in the recently published volumes of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* (1746-1761), likewise constitute a

The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai ;

Selections from the Peshwa Daftar

supplemental source of information of considerable value, on the affairs of Mysore during 1746-1761, from the French and the Mahratta points of view. They, however, are, as of necessity to be used with great care, especially as they often record from hearsay and are, sometimes, not well-informed.

Among the secondary sources, unpublished and published, are, the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara*¹⁰ (c. 1710-1714), *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*¹¹ (c. 1734-1740), *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamśāvali* (c. 1800), *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre* (c. 1800) by Venkaṭaramaṇaiya, the *Kaifīyats* (c. 1800-1804), the *Keladi-Nripa-Vijayam*¹² (c. 1800), a *Haḷa-Kannaḍa Champu* by Lingaṇṇa-Kavi, the *Kaḷale-Arasugaḷa-Vamśāvali* (c. 1830), the *Rājāvali-Kathā* (1838) of Dēvachandra and the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*¹³ (first compiled in the Mysore Palace, in 1864-1865). Although these sources, in Kannaḍa, are, as indicated, compilations of a later date, they are by no

10. This is one of the few later compilations relied upon by Wilks. For a detailed account of the Ms., vide Ch. XV and Appendix VII—(2).
11. This paper Ms. from the *Mad. Or. Lib.* (No. 18-15-18, pp. 24-30), is the same as the one referred to as having been in the possession of Mr. Muddarāja Urs, a former Bakshi of the Khās Samukha Department of the Mysore Palace (*Annals*, II. 86-88). The *Annals* (II. 86), however, speaks of it as having been written in 1785 (s. 1707). But the Ms. from Madras, examined by us, is undated and stops with the beginning of Krishnarāja Wodeyar II's reign (1734-1766). It appears to have been compiled, in all probability, between c. 1734-1740, though it is not impossible that a copy of it was made in 1785. Wilks, as we shall see, makes use of this Ms. also, in his work.
12. The *Editorial Introduction* (p. vii) to this published work, fixes it between c. 1763-1804. For convenience of reference, the medium date, c. 1800, is adopted here.
13. This Kannaḍa work, otherwise known as *Palace History*, was first published, during the reign of H. H. Śrī Chāmarājendra Wodeyar (1881-1894), as *Vamśaratnākara*. It has been revised, enlarged and republished in two parts (Part I in 1916 and Part II in 1922), under the title *Vamśāvali*, by Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, late Palace Controller, Mysore. Part I deals with the period 1399-1868, and Part II contains a detailed account of the reign of H. H. Śrī Krishnarāja Wodeyar III (1799-1868).

means to be ignored. Based as they generally are on earlier writings, they are chronicles of a quasi-historical character. Often they reflect genuine local tradition and sometime enshrine valuable material and sometimes throw sidelights which enable the modern historian to invest his characters with flesh and blood and give a complete picture of their lives and times. Especially where other sources fail, he has to rely, to a certain extent, on these sources. Their reliability, however, is one of degree. Sometimes their statements are loose and their chronology defective and confused, while some of them interpolate and are actually gossip in character. Extreme caution and great discrimination are, therefore, necessary in utilising them. For it is a critical and comparative study of these writings alone which must precede any serious attempt at historical reconstruction.

CHAPTER II.

PRE-WODEYAR DYNASTIES IN MYSORE.

Beginnings of history—Features of Vijayanagar provincial administration—*First Phase*: 1336-1530—Political geography of Southern Karnataka, 14th century—Administration of Southern Karnataka—*Second Phase*: 1530-1565—*Third Phase*: 1565-1610.

FROM time immemorial the area now covered by the State of Mysore has had an individuality and importance of its own. Traces of pre-historic and neolithic settlements in different parts of the country point to its pre-history. During the Vedic and Epic periods it would appear to have formed part and parcel of the non-Aryan belt of territory in the south and the scene of contact between Aryan and non-Aryan races in it. The Mauryas ruled over a portion of the country during the last centuries before Christ leaving their memorial edicts. Recent excavations—at Chandravalli in the present Chitaldrug district—go to show that the Śātavāhanas held their sway over it in the early centuries of the Christian era, with a fairly advanced civilisation. The Kadambas, the Gangas, the Chālukyas, the Chōlas, the Hoysālas and the Vijayanagar Emperors, among others, successively governed the country or parts of it leaving vestiges of their rule. Geographically the country during these epochs formed, as it does now, part of the Karnātak (*Kar-nāḍu*, *Karnāṭa*, *Kannaḍa*), being apparently a division of, or coterminous with, the extensive tract variously referred to in inscriptions and other sources as *Kuntala-dēśa*, *Erumai-nāḍu*, *Mahisha-maṇḍala*, etc.

The rise of Vijayanagar (1336-1530) following closely on the decadence of the empire of the Hoysaḷas, was an important landmark in the political and cultural evolution of the Karnāṭak, particularly the central and southern parts of what at present constitutes the district of Mysore. Indeed Vijayanagar was the heir and successor of the Hoysaḷas. The Hoysaḷas gradually disappeared from the arena of history but left lasting relics of their government in the tracts over which they had exercised their control. The division of administrative units into *nāḍu* and *sīma* and the system of provincial administration under members of the ruling family as imperial representatives, were among the most significant legacies of their rule transmitted to their illustrious successors. Consequently the feudatories in various parts of the Hoysaḷa dominions had to transfer their allegiance from their erstwhile supreme but declining masters to the progressive and steadily advancing sovereigns of Vijayanagar. The imperial policy of the latter towards them was generally centripetal, the objective being the maintenance of the *status quo* on the one hand and stemming the ever-growing tide of Muhammadan advance on the south on the other. The task of welding together the heterogenous elements of the body-politic scattered over the remote corners of the empire, from the Tungabhadra in the north up to the Tāmraparṇi and Rānūśvaram in the far south, proved, therefore, of more than ordinary importance to the energetic and far-sighted monarchs of the period. The dynasties of old feudatories, while reconciling themselves to the new situation, evinced their loyalty to their new masters, exceptions apart. In certain cases, the tracts formerly under the Hoysaḷas, had to be reconquered at the point of the sword and a new line or lines of chiefs, loyal to the imperial cause, set over them as local rulers.

Features of Vijayanagar provincial administration.

First phase: 1336-1530.

The more remote the local administrative unit was from the imperial capital, the more frequent was the need for the adoption of a policy of this type. Another method of exercising effective sway over such territories was, it would seem, the extending of encouragement to enterprising members of ruling dynasties of repute who sought imperial patronage and protection, to settle there under imperial authority and to carry on the administration as feudatories, generally subordinate to the empire through their immediate superior, a Viceroy (*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*).

During the period of which we are writing (1336-1530), the political geography of Southern Karnāṭaka—which occasioned the rise of the town of Mysore, from which the kingdom and the State derive their name—was as follows: On the north, it was bounded by parts of the modern Bangalore and Tumkur districts then going by the name of *Morasa-nāḍu*, ruled over by the Kannaḍa speaking chieftains of the Morasu-Vokkaliga community; to the south lay the territory of the Tamilians (*Kongu-nāḍu*, *Chōla-maṇḍala*, *Pāṇḍya-dēśa*); in the east and the north-east was the kingdom of the Telugu chieftains with Muḷbāgal (*Muḷuvoy*) as the seat of their authority, and in the west and the north-west flourished the Changāḷvas and the *Male-rājya* (kingdom of the hilly tract)—all these territories and powers being under the control of the imperial house of Vijayanagar. The Southern Karnāṭak itself, comprising mostly parts of central and southern taluks of the present district of Mysore (*i.e.*, Nāgamangala, Seringapatam, Mysore, Nanjangūd, Heggaddēvankōṭe, Guṇḍlupet, Chāmarājyanagar, T.-Narasipur and Maḷavalli), generally appears to have been known by the name of *Hosana-nāḍu*—after the Hoysaḷas—with such divisions as Kuruvanka-nāḍu, Uḍuvanka-nāḍu, Muḍuvanka-nāḍu, etc., the portion of the country immediately surrounding Seringapatam and

the units (*sīme*) in its neighbourhood, in particular, forming part of the Kuruvanka-nāḍu. The whole of this area was divided into a congeries of principalities ruled over by feudal chieftains, of varying degrees of status, under the designation of *Woḍeyar*,¹ a colloquial word meaning generally "lord," "master."

Terakanāmbi, Seringapatam (*Śrīrangapatṭaṇa*), Ummattūr and Śivasamudraṇ were among the places which loom large in the history of the period under the Vijayanagar rulers. Inscriptions reveal, to some extent, the connection of these places with the imperial dynasty. Chikka-Kampanṇa Woḍeyar, a son of Bukka I (1356-1376), was the governor of the Terakanāmbi province. Under Harihara II (1376-1404), Achanna Woḍeyar was in charge of the Hoysala country. Chikka-Dēvappa, under Dēva-Rāya I (1406-1422), was governing the Ummattūr territory. Harihara-Rāya III, a son of Dēva-Rāya I, was also the governor of the Terakanāmbi kingdom. Under Bukka III (1422-1424), Vīra-Pārvatī-Rāya Woḍeyar, a son of his, was ruling the same province as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. Nanja-Rāja Woḍeyar and Depanna Woḍeyar, two of the sons of Mallikārjuna (1446-1487), ruled over different parts of the same tract, also under the designation of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, while Timmanṇa-Daṇṇāyaka, a general of note, appears to have held the charge of the Seringapatam province. Narasa Nāyaka, under Sālūva-Narasimha I (1486-1497), was connected with the administration of the southern part of Seringapatam as his *Mahāpradhāna* (chief minister). He even claims to have conquered the latter place. During the same period Parvataiṇya, another son of Mallikārjuna, was in charge of the Terakanāmbi country. Narasa Nāyaka himself, on his accession as the Vijayanagar ruler (1497-1503), put a stop to the

1. For the derivation, etc., of this word, *vide* Appendix I—(1).

inroads of Nanjarāja Woḍeyar, chief of Ummattūr, and reduced that place to order (1499). Under Vīra-Narasimha II (1504-1509), Mallarāja, son of the *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* of Ummattūr, appears as bearing the royal title *Chikka-Rāya* (Crown-prince or Yuvarāja). *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* Gōvaṇṇa Woḍeyar, a governor in the south, showed a spirit of defiance of imperial authority. Vīra-Narasimha seems to have been unequal to the task of putting these local rulers down. The first act of Krishṇadēva-Rāya (1509-1530), after his coronation, was, therefore, intimately connected with curbing the local chiefs and governors ill-disposed towards the Empire. Early in his reign (c. 1510-1512), he proceeded by way of Seringapatam and reduced Chikka-Rāya (? Ganga-Rāya) who probably fell during the investment of his stronghold of Śivasamudraṁ. The latter's son, Virappa Woḍeyar, was evidently allowed by Krishṇadēva-Rāya to rule over the Seringapatam country as the chief of Seringapatam. Domingos Paes, writing in 1520, refers to him as "Cumarvirya" (Kumāra-Vīraiya), father-in-law of Krishṇadēva-Rāya, and as the king of Seringapatam and all the territory bordering on Malabar. He also refers to him as having been held in high esteem by Krishṇadēva-Rāya. The province of Terakaṇāmbi taken from the Ummattūr chiefs, was placed under Sāḷuva-Gōvinda-Rāya, brother of Sāḷuva-Timma, the distinguished minister of Krishṇadēva-Rāya.²

During the latter part of the heyday of the Vijayanagar Empire (1530-1565), the connection of the rulers with the southern part of their vast dominions, became more and more pronounced. According to the *Achyutarāyābhya-dayam*, Achyuta (1530-1542) is said to have paid a visit

Second Phase:
1530-1565.

2. See *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1482, 1523-1539-1553-1555-1558, 1612-1644-1698, 1719-1746-1754-1761-1772-1789-1790, 1956-1957-1994-1997, 2107-2108; also Paes's *Narrative* in Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 236-290, at page 269.

to Seringapatam on his way back from Śrīrangam. Here he received the local governors who made, it is said, large presents of money. From the description that Nuniz gives of the administration of Achyuta, we cannot but draw the broad inference that, though there was some discontent on the part of the feudatories, there was no serious falling off in its efficiency. The Government continued as before in the hands of the king assisted by his minister and the provinces were under local governors, while the feudatories ruled the tracts under them, maintaining their quota of troops and paying the annual tribute to their overlord. Under Sadāśiva (1542-1570), the government was carried on by Aḷiya Rāma-Rāja with the aid of Tirumala as prime minister and Venkaṭāḍri as commander-in-chief. Of these two younger brothers of Rāma-Rāja, Tirumala appears to have wielded, according to inscriptions, considerable independent powers. He was known as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rāma-Rāja-Tirumala, Yara-Timma (Hiriya-Timma, Timma, the elder), Timmayadēva-Mahā-Arasu, etc.

At this point, we may pause and take stock of the general conditions of provincial administration of Vijayanagar after the memorable battle of *Raksas-Tagḍi*, near Tālikōṭa (1565). The general political effects of that battle were of a far-reaching character. These may be thus summed up: It broke up the Hindu power in the south, though the Empire held fast for nearly another century under the next (The *Āravīḍu*) dynasty of kings. Slowly and surely, it eventually opened the way for Muhammadan incursions into almost every part of the country followed by Mahratta inroads. Later, with the disappearance of an organised central government, centrifugal tendencies began gradually to manifest themselves and Southern India came to be dotted over

Third Phase
1565-1610.

with chieftainships exercising more or less local authority. The power of resistance against a formidable aggressor was thus gone for ever. Disunion spread in the land, with the result that South India became the happy hunting ground for ambitious rival Nawābs, aided by groups of foreign merchant-settlers and military adventurers like Muhammad Yusuf and Haidar Alī.

Imperial power was, however, for the time being, still secure in the south. The writ of the Emperor still ran throughout the land. The whole country was divided between Tirumala and his brother and nephews. Tirumala—afterwards Tirumala I—brother of Aḷiya Rāma-Rāja, practically managed to hold together the greater part of the south under the nominal suzerainty of Sadāśiva. One of his objects in fixing upon Penukoṇḍa was possibly to save as much of the Empire in the south as possible and in this objective he appears to have been generally successful. From the social point of view, it is significant that within the half century that followed Rāma-Rāja's death, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism had become the prevailing creed in the south of India among most classes.

Sadāśiva was at Penukoṇḍa, the new capital, probably from about 1567. There is epigraphical evidence to show that, despite the great reverse the Empire had sustained in 1565, he was still respected by his southern feudatories, and that the Empire did not wholly break-up as the result of the defeat at *Raksas-Tagḍi*. Sadāśiva's later records come from, among other places, Seringapatam and Mandya.

The assassination of Sadāśiva in or about 1570 was followed by the accession to the throne of Tirumala I (1570-1574), the first *de jure* sovereign of the fourth or the Āraviḍu dynasty of Vijayanagar. Tirumala, it would appear, continued the time-honoured custom of appointing princes of the Royal House as Viceroys of the provinces. Of his four sons, according to inscriptions and literary

sources, Śrī-Ranga—afterwards Śrī-Ranga II—became the Viceroy of the Telugu or home province of Penukoṇḍa; Venkaṭa—afterwards Venkaṭa I—governed from Chandra-giri the Tamil country comprising the Tuṇḍīra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, corresponding, respectively, to Gingee, Tanjore and Madura; and Rāma or Rāma-Rājaiya-dēva (Rāma III) was Viceroy of the Karnāṭa or the Seringapatam country. The *Vasucharitramu* mentions that Rāma's rule extended over the territory between the Cauvery and the Arabian Sea, with his capital at Seringapatam. Several records of his attest to his rule at Seringapatam, the earliest available being dated in 1569, in which he is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. His records in the Seringapatam country, during Tirumala's rule, range from 1569 to 1573, and from 1576 to 1581, under Śrī-Ranga II (1574-1586).³

Rāma-Rājaiya appears to have associated with himself one Daḷavā Rēmaṭi-Venkaṭaiya, in the administration of the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. He predeceased his brothers, Śrī-Ranga II and Venkaṭa I, leaving behind him two sons, Tirumala II and Ranga III. These were brought up at Penukoṇḍa under their uncle, Venkaṭa I. During their minority, the administration of the Viceroyalty, according to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* (c. 1678-1680), was conducted by Rēmaṭi-Venkaṭaiya as agent of Tirumala II, the heir-designate of Rāma-Rājaiya, down to 1584.

In or about 1585 Tirumala II succeeded to the charge of the Viceroyalty and ruled it till 1610, partly during the reign of Śrī-Ranga II and throughout a considerable part of the reign of Venkaṭa I (1586-1614). Tirumala's records extend from 1585 to 1610, the latest available being dated in 1626. He appears to have been associated with himself in the administration of the Viceroyalty, one

3. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. in 2067-2068, 2101-2102, 2107-2109, 2112-2118, 2124-2125, 2127, 2143-2145; also *C. Vam.*, 1-2.

Rāmānujaiya, Pradhāni and Daḷavāi, the successor, probably, of Rēmaṭi-Venkataiyya. Tirumala's records further indicate that he ruled more or less independently in his province, though holding only a subordinate position (as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) under his uncle, Venkaṭa I.

The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvaḷi* presents an overwrought picture of Tirumala's government in Seringapatam, by way of indicating that it was loose, corrupt and weak. Other sources, however, seem to convey a different impression. Father Coutinho, one of the Jesuit missionaries of the time, writing of Tirumala in 1600, states that he was "liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains than his brother Ranga." The extent of Tirumala's jurisdiction as Viceroy is, perhaps, indicated by the circumstance that he could command levies from the chieftains of Hadinād, Yeḷandūr, Piriyāpaṭṇa, Talakāḍ, Kereyūr, Narasiṃhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur), Bēlūr, Nuggēhalli, Kōlāla, Ballāpur, Punganūr, Bangalore, Māgaḍi, Annmachavāḍi, Heggadēvankōṭe, Chiknāyakanahalli, Bāṇāvār, Basavāpaṭṇa and Sīrya, etc.,—places situated in different parts of the Karnāṭaka country. Tirumala's own inscriptional records show that his rule was accepted without demur from Manjarābād to Mysore. There is thus enough data at hand to hold that he was popular in his province and that his administration was attended with a fair measure of success, although it was not free from defects at one period or another during his long regime of twenty-five years.

There is a regular succession in Tirumala's records between 1585-1592 indicating his actual rule in the Viceroyalty during that period. There is a gap in them between 1592-1595; they continue after 1596, leaving a gap again between 1607-1610.

It was probably during the period covered by the first gap (1592-1595) that Tirumala, according to the

Chikkadēvarāya-Vaṃśāvali, proceeded with his uncle, Venkaṭa I, against Virappa Nāyaka of Madura (1572-1595)—who appears to have shown signs of disloyalty—accepted a bribe from the latter and retired to Seringapatam. This attitude on the part of Tirumala was, it would seem, due to Venkaṭa's early predilection for Ranga, younger brother of Tirumala, as the heir intended to succeed him, and Tirumala's disappointment at his being superseded by Venkaṭa. At any rate, Tirumala, by his treacherous conduct at Madura, we are told, incurred the displeasure of his uncle. From this time onward a change is naturally perceptible in the attitude adopted by Venkaṭa I towards Tirumala—an attitude of indifference, if not open hostility. Almost simultaneously Tirumala, as we shall see, began to feel the rising power of the Ruling House of Mysore. Towards the latter part of his rule, covered by the second gap in his records (1607-1610), Tirumala even experienced a serious falling off from allegiance on the part of some of his feudatories. All these, as we shall relate, contributed to the overthrow of his power and his retreat from Seringapatam (in 1610), ushering in a new landmark in the history of Mysore.⁴

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4. For the general references on Tirumala's rule, see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2196-2197, 2200-2209; *C. Vam.*, 2-6, 14; *K.N.V.*, III, 22-30; also see and compare Rev. H. Heras, *Āraviḍu Dynasty*, I. 342-343, 412-414, etc. For further details about Tirumala, vide Ch. V of this work.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION OF THE WODEYAR DYNASTY.

Early references to "Mysore"—Traditional accounts of origin :

In nineteenth century manuscripts—In eighteenth century manuscripts and inscriptions—In seventeenth century literary works and inscriptions— Examination of the different accounts—Probable date of the founding of the Dynasty c. 1399-1420.

DURING the greater part of the period we have thus far sketched in general, very little is known from authentic sources about the place called *Mysore*¹ and the ruling family there.

¹ Early references to "Mysore."

Among the earliest available documents, a lithic record,² dated in 1128 (ś. 1050), belonging to the reign of the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana (1111-1141), refers incidentally to the Mahābalāchala hill (the present Chāmuṇḍi Hills, near Mysore), situated in Maisu-nāḍu. The next one,³ dated in 1175 (ś. 1097), belonging to the reign of Vīra-Ballāḷa II (1173-1220), refers to a Hoysaḷa-gauḍa of Mysore. Coming to later times, another lithic record,⁴ dated in 1494 (ś. 1416), claims our attention. It registers a grant of the village of Bommanahaḷḷi—assigned to God Tryambaka—to provide for the feeding of the great Haradanahaḷḷi Wodeyars. The grant was made by Parvatāya, a son of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar (1446-1487). The record incidentally

1. For the derivation of "Mysore," vide Appendix I—(2).

2. E. C., III (1) My. 16, ll. 9-10: *Maisu-nāḍu svasti Śrī-Mārbalada tīrthakke*.

3. *Ibid.*, My. 8, l. 10: *Mayisūra Hoysaḷa-gauṇḍa*.

4. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Gu. 2, ll. 28-29: *Mahisūra-dēvara nidāna*. *Nidāna* here is a colloquial for *nidhāna*, treasure. Rice renders the passage as "treasury of the lord of Mysore," taking *dēvara* apparently to mean the ruler of the place. But, according to the context, *dēvara* would suggest a local god.

refers to the setting up of a stone charter both at Triyambakapura and at the treasury of the God of Mysore. The God of Mysore referred to here, was probably God Sōmēśvara, now situated in the Mysore fort, which claims⁵ to have been set up in the time of the Chōlas.

These records, however, do not help us much regarding the early history of the place and its rulers, beyond indicating that in the twelfth century Mysore formed part of, or was situated in, *Maisa-nāḍu* (the buffalo country) and was known as *Mayisūr* (lit. buffalo town), and that towards the close of the fifteenth it was known by the still earlier form *Mahisūr*,⁶ the place itself being directly under the control of the Vijayanagar governor at Terakaṇāmbi (*Triyambakapura*).

The founding of the Ruling House of Mysore has to be dated in 1399, according to tradition preserved in the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*⁷ (1864-1865). Yadu-Rāya and Krishṇa, two brothers, princes of the lunar race and of Yādava descent, of Ātrēyasa-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra, having left the region of Dvāraka, proceeded, it is said, by way of the Vindhya to Vijayanagar. From there they went to Mēlkōṭe (Yadugiri), where they paid their obeisance to their family god Nārāyaṇa. Crossing the Cauvery, they next paid a visit to the Goddess Chāmunḍēśvarī of the Mahābalāchala hill and were taking rest in the temple of Kōḍi-Bhairava situated near the tank behind the temple of Triṇēśvara in Mysore. About this time, however, the chief of that place, Chāmarāja, had died, leaving behind him the dowager queen (Dēvājammaṇṇi) and a daughter (also named Dēvājammaṇṇi). Māra Nāyaka, the general of the late chief, had usurped all power and was causing much distress to the queen. The two princes, informed

5. *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, p. 26; *vide* also Ch. IV.

6. See also Appendix I—(2), for details.

7. I. 4-12.

of this state of affairs, entered the town of Mysore, assisted by a loyal Jangama preceptor (*Woḍeyar*). Despatching Māra Nāyaka's men who obstructed them at the gate, they took up their abode in the palace. Later Yadu-Rāya slew Māra Nāyaka in a mortal combat. The queen, in deep gratitude, bestowed her daughter on Yadu-Rāya. Yadu eventually succeeded to the principality of Mysore and became the progenitor of the *Mysore Royal Family*, the title *Woḍeyar* being subsequently affixed to the name of each ruler, in recognition, it is said, of the valuable assistance rendered by the Jangama preceptor to Yadu-Rāya during his chivalrous exploit.

Jaina tradition, as narrated in the *Rājāvalī-Kathā* (1838) of Dēvachandra,⁸ is as follows: There was a twelve-year famine in Vijayanagar between 1414-1426 (ś. 1336-1348). Thereupon, runs the account, the Arasus and Seṭṭis of the place went over to the Karnāṭak and other parts of the Empire. Among them three Arasus, of Yādava descent, established themselves in Nuggēhalli. The youngest of them by name Vijaya-Rāja, however, settled in Kumbāra-Koppal (*Kumbhakāra-Koppal*, lit. Potters' settlement), near Mysore (*Mahisūr*), devoting himself to agricultural pursuits. He married a maiden of the potter community in the locality and leased out for himself five villages near by. After some time Vijaya-Rāja died, leaving behind him his wife and a daughter. The Toreyas, taking advantage of the situation, were forcing Vijaya-Rāja's widow to marry away her daughter against her wishes. At this juncture, two of the descendants of Viṣṇuvardhana of the Yadu dynasty, namely. Dēva-Rāja and Śānta-Rāja, then going about the country in search of a kingdom for themselves, happened to pass thither and were halting for the while on the tank bund at Mysore. Having ascertained the state of affairs in the locality, they entered Mysore and became masters

of the situation by despatching the king-leaders of the trouble and forcing others to take to their heels. Dēva-Rāja and Śānta-Rāja became the lords of Mysore. Dēva-Rāja acquired some villages and made two Jain Brāhmanas (Śāntaiya and Padmaṇṇaiya) of Maleyūr, his chief officers. In due course Śānta-Rāja, owing to differences with his elder brother, settled himself in Kārugahallī and became master of some adjoining villages. Later Dēva-Rāja was slain by one Māra Nāyaka, a powerful member of the Toreya community, who usurped all power in Mysore. Māra Nāyaka was, however, eventually put to death by Rāja Wodeyar, a posthumous son of Dēva-Rāja the main line of rulers in Mysore being restored with the help of his Jain adherents.

The *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre* (c. 1800) of Venkaṭa-ramaṇaiya,⁹ has it that from the closing years of the incarnation of Lord Kṛṣṇa the kings of the Yādava dynasty had been settled in Mysore (*Mahishapura*) favoured by the Goddess Chāmundeśvarī of the Mahā-balāchala hill, that among them one by name Yadu paid a visit to Mēlkōṭe (*Nārāyaṇagiri*) and worshipped God Tirunārāyaṇa there, and that his descendants continued to rule from Mysore.

The *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamśāvali*¹⁰ (c. 1800) merely refers to the kings of Yādava descent who were settled and were ruling in Mysore.

A manuscript entitled *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*¹¹ (c. 1734-1740), relied upon by Wilks,¹² contains the following account: From Dvāraka two brothers by name Vijaya-Rāja Wodeyar and Kṛṣṇa-Rāja Wodeyar, it is said, proceeded to Vijayanagar and were staying with the king (*Rāya*) there. The latter proposed to give them a territory (*sīme*) to administer. The brothers accepted the offer, expressing their desire to choose one in the south

Having obtained the king's permission, they went about the Seringapatam country and devoted themselves to the service of the Goddess Chāmuṇḍēśvarī to the south of the Cauvery. They proceeded as far as the fort named Haḍadaṇa in the vicinity of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills. About this time the chief of Haḍadaṇa, one Śānta Woḍeyar, having for some reason or other renounced the world, had left the place (*vairāgya hutti . . . horaṭu hōḍaru*), leaving behind him a daughter, who was being looked after by a certain Woḍeyar. The Toreya chief of Kārugahaḷḷi, profiting by the absence of the ruler in Haḍadaṇa, became puffed up with pride and arrogance and plotted to marry the chief's daughter himself. The two brothers, who were stationed near the tank of Haḍadaṇa, came to know of all this and were also told that preparations were afoot for the coming marriage. Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa offered their willing help in the cause of the distressed maiden and, accompanied by the Woḍeyar, proceeded to the fort where temporary structures had been erected for the marriage. They quietly won over the local militia (*haḷēpaika* men and the *rāṇuves*), led the leading members of the Kārugahaḷḷi party one by one to the marriage pavilion and made short work of all the mischief-mongers. Vijaya then married the princess; Haḍadaṇa, and subsequently Mysore (*Mahisūr*)—then a sort of irregular fort (*hūḍēvu*)—came into his possession.

A still earlier manuscript entitled *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyaḍaya-Vivara* (c. 1710-1714), is silent regarding the origin and founding of the dynasty.

Inscriptions¹³ of the eighteenth century, ranging from 1716 to 1761, record that certain princes of the race of Yadu, having left the region of Dvāraka (or Dvārāvātī-pura), proceeded to the Karnāṭaka country, either led by fancy (*ichchayā*) or to visit their family god Nārāyaṇa (*īkshitum Ramā-ramaṇam*), and being attracted by the

13. *Vide* references cited in f.nr. 1 to Table II.

beauty and fruitfulness of the land, took up their abode in the city of Mysore (*Mahisūr*), from where they ruled.

The available literary works and inscriptions of the seventeenth century,¹⁴ unanimously echo the same tradition, the earliest among the former being the *Kanṭhīravanarasarāja-Vijayam* (1648) and among the latter, the *Hālaṭere copper-plate grant* (1663)

In seventeenth century literary works and inscriptions
 Tirumalārya, however, in his *Chakradēvarāja-Vamsāvali* (c. 1678-1680), elaborates thus¹⁵: In the lunar race Yadu sprang up. Among his descendants, Bala and Krishṇa, with a view to worship their family god, proceeded to Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe). There they worshipped God Nārāyaṇa, presented him with the sacred jewelled crown (*Vaira-muḍi*) and returned to Dvāraka, leaving one of their descendants for the protection of the place (Mēlkōṭe) and carrying on the services to the god. The latter resided at Yadugiri for some time, but later, under the advice of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, went over to Mysore, from where he began to govern. In the *Yādaragiri-Māhātmya* (of Timma-Kavi)¹⁶ also, among others, we have a similar account.

Only one record of the seventeenth century, namely, the *Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant*, dated in 1639,¹⁷ however, echoes the following tradition, in a direct and more significant manner "The glorious kings of the banks of the Gōdāvarī, formerly sent forth with honour by the rulers (before the Vijayanagar king, Venkaṭa II), again obtained the Karnāṭa portion of the earth, to protect it; sprung from the *Ātrēya-anvaya*, of the

14. *Vule f n* 1 to Tables II and III.

15. *Pp* 11-12

16. I, 70-77.

17. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj 198, ll. 29-33

Pūrvam Gōdāvarītīra bhūpālā bhūri tējasah :

Ētat pūrvaur mandalēndrarah sādaram prēritah punah :

Pātum Karnāta bhūbhūgam prāptāh prathitā tējasah :

Ātrēyānvaya sambhūtā Āśvalūyana-sūtrṇah :

Rg-Vēdānō mahābhūgā Mahāshūpūr-nivāśmah ||

Āśvalāyana-sūtra, followers of the *R̥g-Vēda*, dwelling in Mahishāpura."

It will be seen from the above gleanings from the available sources that the tradition relating to the Yādava descent of the present Ruling House of Mysore has had a continuous course of development during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An examination of the nineteenth century tradition preserved in the *Annals*, in the light of the earlier sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, would show that it has been based, in the main, upon the latter. The traditional date 1399, assigned in the *Annals* to the founding of the dynasty, remains, however, uncorroborated, there being, so far, hardly any reference to the Ruling House in Mysore, in the inscriptional and other records prior to c. 1550. The Jaina tradition in the *Rājāvalī-Kathā*, while it confirms the Yādava descent of the Ruling House, differs totally from other accounts in regard to the details about the founding of the dynasty. The sequence of events narrated appears also to be loose and vague. The twelve-years' famine referred to, stands uncorroborated, while the names¹⁸ of the progenitors of the dynasty form a distinct departure from the position taken in other sources. In the absence of confirmatory evidence, the Jaina tradition would only seem to indicate a later attempt to connect the Ruling House of Mysore with the Hoysaḷas and trace the Jaina connection with it from the time of its foundation—a position perhaps best borne out by a further examination of the *Rājāvalī-Kathā* itself.¹⁹ The information contained in the *Mysūru-Rājara-*

18. Vide Table VIII, compared with Nos. V and IX.

19. See, for instance, XII. 450-475, where Dēvachandra, while closely following the text of Tirumalārya's *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali*, freely makes his own interpolations. One of these (*Rājāvalī-Kathā*, 454-455), in keeping with Dēvachandra's earlier position (XII. 446-449 and X. 285-288, etc.), clearly connects the progenitors of the Mysore Ruling House with a collateral branch of the Hoysaḷas.

Charitre, is clearly an improvement on the earlier tradition. The tradition referred to in the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamsāvali*, is in keeping with the one preserved in the literary and epigraphical records of the seventeenth century, while the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara* only attempts to fix the succession, etc., of some of the early kings of the dynasty, on a chronological basis.

There seems, however, to be an air of reality in the account narrated in the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*, though it lacks chronological data and fuller genealogical details. The archaic nature of its language— which seems to correspond to the type of colloquial Kannada prose prevailing in the earlier part of the sixteenth century— would appear to reflect the genuine historical tradition handed down from time immemorial. The place *Haḍudana* referred to in the manuscript as the fort at which the two princes Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa are said to have arrived in the course of their sojourn, is to be seen even to-day as a village south of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, Mysore, though in a corrupt form as *Haḍudana* or *Haḍajana*,²⁰ in the Kaḍakoḷa hōbḷi of the Mysore taluk. Wilks, while first using this source, spelt *Haḍadaṇu* as *Hadana*,²¹ which has been identified by later scholars with the distant place *Hadināru*²² or *Adināru*²³ in the Nanjangūd taluk. The information recorded in this manuscript, is also, in general outline, in keeping with the trend of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava tradition echoed in the earlier sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in respect of the extraneous origin of the dynasty.

The tradition preserved in the seventeenth century sources (inscriptions and literary works), is of a general

20. Vide Mysore Government *List of Villages*, 83. The identification of *Haḍadaṇu* with *Haḍudana* was first made in the *Annals* (II. 87), on the authority of a copy of the *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, in the possession of Mr. Muddarāja Urs, noticed in f.n. 11 to Ch. I.

21. I. 39.

22. By Rice in *Mys. Gaz.*, I. 361.

23. By R. Narasimhaiah in *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 38.

character, there being in them very little data which would enable us to determine the exact chronological limits within which the founding of the dynasty in Mysore can be fixed. There is also a tendency in these sources, as in the case of the works of Tirumalārya and Timma-Kavi among others, to elaborate and improve upon the Vaishṇava tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty.

The *Gujjiganahalli copper-plate grant* (1639), is, however, of some interest. The statements in it that "the glorious kings of the banks of the Gōdāvarī, formerly sent forth with honour by the rulers (before Venkaṭa II), again obtained the Karnāṭa portion of the earth, to protect it" and that they dwelt in Mysore, are significant. The record belongs to the reign of Kaṇṭhīraṇa-Narasarāja Wodeyar I of Mysore (1638-1659), who acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagar. If we are to identify "the glorious kings of the banks of the Gōdāvarī" with a branch of the line of Yadu princes—from the circumstance that the Yādavas of Dēvagiri formerly ruled in that region (c. 1200-1312)—than this record should be taken to suggest that they (i.e., the line of Yadu princes) having been for long out of power, obtained the permission of the Vijayanagar rulers—predecessors of Venkaṭa II—to proceed to the south and establish their sway in Mysore. Hence the expression "again obtained the Karnāṭa portion of the earth, to protect it" (*punaḥ pātum Karnāṭa bhūbhāgam prāptāḥ*). Thus this record would, in the main, corroborate the tradition contained in the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*, noticed above.

Pushing our inquiries further backwards, we have already seen that the earliest available reference to Mysore in the fifteenth century, is in a record dated in 1494.

It contains no reference to the ruler of the time in Mysore, nor, as indicated, is there any decisive evidence to fix the date of the founding of the

Probable date of
the founding of the
Dynasty c. 1390-
1420.

Ruling Dynasty. The earliest ruler of the dynasty who can, however, be fairly well located, is Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (1513-1553), who is found invariably referred to, in the seventeenth century inscriptions and literary works,²⁴ as one of the immediate descendants in the line of Yadu princes in Mysore. Apart from differences in point of detail, the manuscripts are agreed that Vijaya or Yadu-Rāya was the founder of the dynasty. If, in the light of the seventeenth century records, we are to allow a period of about one hundred to one hundred and fifteen years for the ancestors²⁵ of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III, the founding of the dynasty itself will have to be fixed not later than c. 1420 and not earlier than c. 1399. The circumstance that there is no reference to the early members of the House, in the records up to about 1550, is, perhaps, due to their having been purely local rulers within the jurisdiction of the Terakapāmbi or the Seringapatam province of the Vijayanagar Empire. The dynasty, it would seem, emerged from small beginnings into an important local power about the early years of the sixteenth century. This position would find some support from the traditional history of the contemporary dynasty of Kaḷale, the founding of which is dated in 1500, in a family manuscript entitled *Kaḷale-Arasugaḷa-Vamśāvali* (c. 1830). From this work we find²⁶ that matrimonial relations between the Kaḷale and Mysore families began only subsequent to 1500, during the reign of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III of Mysore, who is referred to in the manuscript as *Vijaya-Chāmarasa Wodeyar of Mysūru-Nagara*, *Vijaya* probably indicating that he was named after Vijaya, the progenitor of the Mysore Ruling House according to the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*. At the same time it is to be noted that the

24. *Vide* Tables II and III and references cited in f.n. 1 thereto.

25. *Vide* Tables IV-IX.

26. ff. 2-3; see also Ch. X and Table XIII.

tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty, noticeable in the records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is conspicuous by its absence in the extant records of the rulers of the sixteenth century. In particular, one lithic record,²⁷ dated in 1598 (ś. 1520), refers only to the *Ātrēyasa-gōtra*, *Āśvalāyana-sūtra* and *Ṛk-śākhā* of the Mysore Royal House.

It would thus appear from an examination of all the available sources that the founding of the Mysore Ruling House—of Yādava descent, *Ātrēyasa-gōtra*, *Āśvalāyana-sūtra* and *Ṛk-śākhā*—took place towards the close of the fourteenth century or the earlier part of the fifteenth (c. 1399-1420), more probably under the circumstances narrated in the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pārvōttara* and in keeping with the main trend of tradition preserved in the *Annals*.²⁸ The development of tradition relating to the Yādava origin of the dynasty, by about 1639 and more markedly throughout the rest of the seventeenth century, seems to have kept pace with the parallel rise of the dynasty from small beginnings to a prominent position commanding a powerful kingdom, and the gradual growth of Śrī-Vaishṇavism in the country.

27. *E.O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., Sr. 198 (M.A.R., 1911-1912, p. 52).*

28. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 275-276.



Yadu-Rāya (Vijaya), 1399-1423.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY RULERS.

The Early Rulers, down to 1578 - Yadu-Rāja (Vijaya) 1399-1423--Hiriya-Bettada-Chamarāja Wodeyar I, 1423-1459--Timmarāja Wodeyar I, 1459-1478--Hiriya-Chamarājarasa Wodeyar II, 1478-1513--Hiriya-Bettada-Chamarāja Wodeyar III, 1513-1553—Glances of Mysore—Political position—Domestic life—Partition of territories--Gifts and charities—Death—Timmarāja Wodeyar II, 1553-1572--Bola-Chamarāja Wodeyar IV, 1572-1576--His achievements—Political advance, c. 1573-1574—Domestic life--Gifts--Death—Bettada (Devanarāja) Wodeyar, 1576-1578

OF THE early rulers of the dynasty down to Hiriya-Bettada-Chamarāja Wodeyar III (1513-1553), very little is known from authentic sources. The Early Rulers, down to 1578. Some accounts of them, particularly of their genealogical succession and domestic life, are given in later writings.¹ Certain differences, genealogical and other, are noticeable amongst them. The *Annals*, however, seems to push back and fix up the succession of the rulers, mostly in the light of the manuscript sources. As indicated, the dates for the early rulers (down to 1513), as given in the *Annals*, remain uncorroborated. Till more authentic evidence is forthcoming, these have to be treated as traditional dates. From 1572 onwards a certain measure of chronological agreement is noticeable as between the *Annals* and the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara* (c. 1710-1714), the earliest available manuscript recording the succession, etc., of the Rulers of Mysore.

1. *Vide* sources, on which Tables IV-IX are based.

Yadu-Rāya, the traditional progenitor of the Mysore Royal Family according to the *Annals*, is assigned in it² a period of twenty-four years' rule (1399-1423). He is identical with Vijaya³ of the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*. He is said to have married Dēvājammaṇṇi, daughter of Chāmarāja of Mysore, and had by her two sons, Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I and Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.⁴ Yadu-Rāya, it is also said,⁵ proceeded against, and slew, Śāntarājaiya, a kinsman of his father-in-law and chief of Kārugahallī, bestowing that place on his brother Kṛṣṇarāja. According to the *Mysūru-Nagarada-Pūrvōttara*,⁶ however, Vijaya had subdued the chief of Kārugahallī before he became the lord of Haḍaḍaṇa and Mysore.

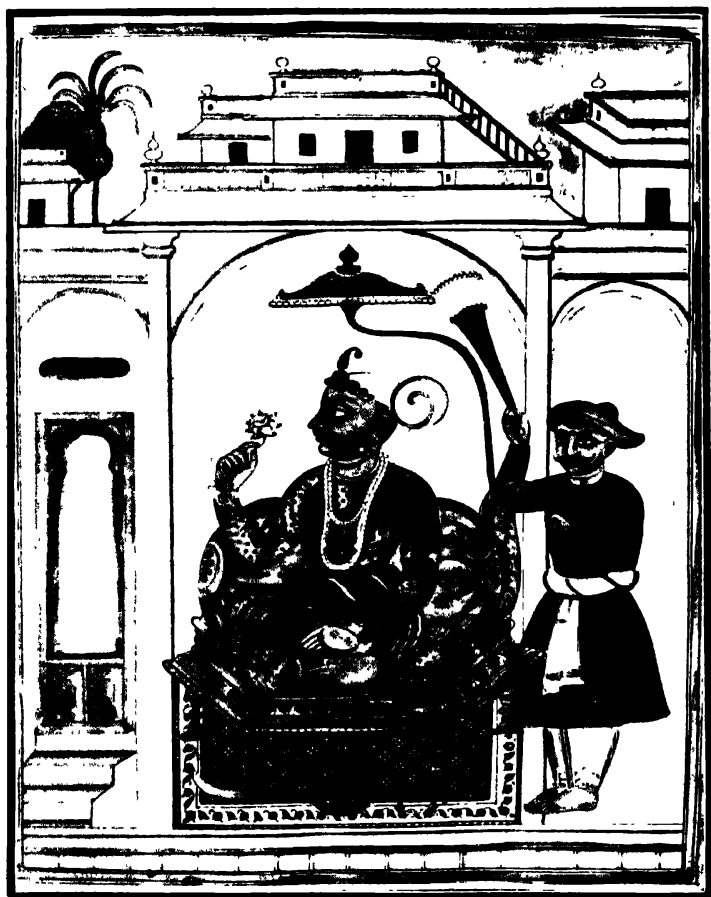
Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I, eldest son of Yadu-Rāya, is next assigned a period of thirty-six years' rule (1423-1459).⁷ He is mentioned first in the order of succession as given in the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyaḍaya-Vivara*.⁸ His younger brother, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, is credited with the founding of the Kenchalgūḍ branch of the Mysore Royal Family.⁹ Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja is said to have married Gōpājamma of Beṭṭadakōṭe and had by her a son named Timmarāja Woḍeyar.¹⁰

The next ruler, Timmarāja Woḍeyar I, is allotted a period of nineteen years' rule (1459-1478).¹¹ He is identical with Appaṇṇa-Timmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, mentioned as second in the order of succession, in the

2. I. 4, 11-12; also Table IX 3. *Vide* Table V 4. *Annals*, I 12-13
 5. *Ibid* 12. 6. P. 26, *vide* also Ch III 7. *Annals*, I. 13.
 8. II. 58, also Table IV
 9. *Annals*, I 12, also see and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 449; *Mys. Rāj. Cha*, 15; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff 3; and Tables VI-IX
 10. *Ibid*, I 13, *Rāj. Kath.*, l. c., *Mys. Rāj. Cha*, 15-16, etc.
 11. *Annals*, l. c.



Hirya-Bettada Chāmarāja Woḍeyar I, 1423-1459



Tinnurāja Wodeyar I, 1159-1478

*Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyaḍaya-Vivara.*¹² Timma-rāja Woḍeyar I is said to have married Kāntājamma of Kaḷale and had a son by name Hiriya-Chāmarājarasa Woḍeyar II.¹³ From the *Kaḷale-Arasugaḷa-Vaṁśāraḷi*, however, it would appear, as indicated already, that there were matrimonial relations between the Mysore and Kaḷale families, only subsequent to 1500, after the founding of the latter.

Hiriya-Chāmarājarasa Woḍeyar II is next assigned a period of thirty five years' rule (1478-1513)¹⁴ He is identical with Chāmarasa or Hiriya-Chamarasa Woḍeyar, the *Arberaḷ* (lit. six-fingered), mentioned in the manuscripts.¹⁵ He is said to have married Padmājamma of Bīlikere and had a son named Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III¹⁶

Perhaps the most acceptable date of the *Annals*, as already indicated, seems, however, to be the one assigned to Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III (1513-1553).¹⁷

He is said to have been born on September 29, 1492,¹⁸ and is the first ruler known to us within the limits of authentic history.¹⁹

Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III is identical with 'Dodḍa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar' 'Bettēndra,' 'Bettā-rājēndra,' 'Bettā-Chāmarāt,' 'Bettā-Chāmēndra,' 'Śāma,' 'Bettāda-Chāma,' etc., mentioned in the inscriptions and literary works of the seventeenth century,²⁰ as one of

12 I. 1, II 58 and Table IV, cf. *Mys. Dho. Van*, I c., and Table VII; cf. also *Wilks*, I 41 and Table I.

13 *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 16, *Itāj. Kath*, I c.; *Annals*, I c., and Tables VI, VIII and IX.

14 *Annals*, I 14.

15 *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I 1; *Mys. Nag. Pūr*, p. 26; *Itāj. Kath*, I c.; also Tables IV-VI and VIII, cf. *Wilks*, I c., and Table I.

16 *Annals*, *Itāj. Kath.* and *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, I c.; also Tables VI, VII and IX 17. I 14-15; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 3; see also Tables VII and IX.

18 *Annals*, I 14. *Paridhāvi*, *Āśvija* su. 8.

19 *Vide* Tables II and III and references cited in f.n. 1 thereto.

20 *Vide* references cited in f.n. 1 to Tables II and III.

the immediate descendants of the Yadu princes in Mysore. He is identical also with 'Hiriya-Chāmarasa Woḍeyar,' 'Beṭṭada-Chāmarasa Woḍeyar,' 'Hiriya-Bēṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar,' 'Vijaya-Chāmarasa Woḍeyar' and 'Chāmarasa Woḍeyar' of the manuscript sources.²¹ According to the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyudaya-Vivara*,²² he was actually known as Timmarāja Woḍeyar. This appears borne out by a lithic record, dated in May 10, 1551, mentioning 'Timmarāja Woḍeyar of Mayisūr' (Mysore).²³ The probabilities are that while 'Timmarāja' was his real name—after his grandfather's—'Chāmarāja or Hiriya-Bēṭṭada-Chāmarāja' was only a later appellation in keeping with the traditions of the family.

Chāmarāja III seems to have been an important ruler. Inscriptions speak of him as "a mill for grinding the corn, his enemies, victorious in war and delighting in the spoils of victory," "destroyer of enemies, famous among kings as the moon from the milky ocean," etc.²⁴ He is also said²⁵ to have acquired the title *Antembara-gaṇḍa*,²⁶ under the following circumstances: Certain chiefs

21. *Mys. Nag. Pāṇ.*, l c; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l c; *Mys. Dhō. Vam.*, ff 2, K A V, ff. 2-3, *Rāj. Kath.*, l c; see also Tables V-VIII and XIII

22. I 72; also Table IV.

23. *E. C.*, III (1) My 60. Rice doubtfully fixes this record in 1611(?) But *Virādhakṛt, Jyēṣṭha* su 5, the actual date of the document, corresponds to May 10, 1551

24. *Ibid.*, Sr 64; T. N 63, IV (2) Yd. 17, etc.

25. *C. Vam.*, 18; also see *C. V.*, II, 4-5, *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll 20-21, (*M. A. R.* 1912, para 127), III (1) Sr 64, ll. 24-25, etc. Cf. the literary works of Chikkupādhvāya and Timma-Kavi, *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 16; *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 450 and *Annals*, I 15, ascribing the acquisition of this title to Timmarāja Woḍeyar II (1553-1572), son of Chāmarāja III, under similar circumstances. *E. C.* XII, Kg. 37 (1663) ascribes it to Timmarāja I, father of Chāmarāja III (?) [vide also Table II, f.n 2]; and the *Mys. Dhō. Vam.*, (ff 5), to Bōla-Chāmarāja IV Cf. also *Wilks*, I. 42 and S K Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 277-278 The version in the *C. Vam.* (c. 1678-1680) is preferred as the earlier and more specific one. The right to this title, as we shall see, seems to have been securely established under Timmarāja Woḍeyar.

26. Short for *Bṛud-antembara-gaṇḍa*, champion over those who say they have such and such titles. Cf. *Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, champion over kings who break their word--of the Vijayanagar inscriptions.



Hirva Chamarājaresu Wodeyar II, 1478-1513

had once, during his reign, assembled at Najangūd, on the occasion of the car festival of the local god Nanja Setṭi of Kaḷale, a faithful adherent of Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja,²⁷ was also on the spot. The chiefs recited the various titles which they claimed to belong to themselves. Not tolerating this, Nanja Setṭi challenged them as to the lawful ownership of the title *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa*. Whereupon a scuffle ensued and all the chiefs attempted to put an end to him. Nanja Setṭi was, however, able to hold his own against his opponents and proclaim the title of his master, which became thenceforward the distinctive appellation of the Rulers of Mysore.

We have some glimpses of Mysore in the time of Chāmarāja III. Till his period of rule, ^{Glimpses of} Mysore (*Mahisūr*), it is said,²¹ was only a sort of irregular fort (*hūdīvu*),²² with an outskirt named *Puragēri*²³ (lit main street of the town) containing a *Tammatagēri* (drummers' lane). To the north-east lay the temple of God Sōmēśvara, set up, according to local tradition, by a certain Chōḷa king. Near by the temple was a tank named *Chōḷa-kere*²⁴ (after the Chōḷas) and near its outlet, the temple of Bhairava.²⁵ There was also the temple of Lakshmī-nārāyaṇasvāmī²⁶ likewise set up in the time of the Chōḷas. In 1524 Chāmarāja, it is further said,²⁷

27 Referred to as *Muttayya* of Rāja Wodeyar, which literally means 'great-grandfather,' but from the context 'grandfather' is obviously meant. The allusion here is to Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III, grandfather of Rāja Wodeyar.

28. *Mys Naq. Pūr.*, p 26.

29. For an explanation of this word, *vide* Appendix I—(3).

30. *Vide* Appendix I—(4), for an explanatory and critical note on this word.

81. Probably identical with, or the nucleus of, the extant *Dodda-kere* to the east of the Mysore fort.

32 *Vide* Appendix I—(5).

33. Identical with the extant Lakshminiramaṣasvāmi temple to the west of the Mysore fort.

34. *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, 1. c. The event is dated in *ś. 1444 Tārana*. The Śaka date, however, does not tally with the cyclic year mentioned. Taking the cyclic year as the correct date, *Tārana* corresponds to *ś. 1446* which is equivalent to 1524.

laid the foundations of the fort of Mysore by putting up the inner enclosure-wall (*vaḷasuttinakōṭe*) and named the place *Mahisūru-nagara*³⁵ (the town of Mysore).

Hiriyā-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III was a contemporary of Krishṇadēva-Rāya (1509-1530), Achyuta (1530-1542) and Sadāśiva (1542-1570) of Vijayanagar, of whom he appears to have been a loyal feudatory. He was also, we note,³⁶ a contemporary of Kānta Woḍeyar I (1505-1527) and Timmarāja Woḍeyar I (1527-1546) of Kaḷale and of the chiefs of Hura, Mūgūr, Tagaḍur, Ummattūr, Heggadḍēvankōṭe, etc. His authority seems, however, to have been confined to the territory comprising the town of Mysore and a few villages in its neighbourhood.

Of his domestic life, we have some particulars. He was, it is said,³⁷ married to Aḷagājamīna (otherwise known as Gōparasamīna) and had by her, three sons, Timmarāja Woḍeyar, Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar and Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (surnamed Bōḷa or the bald), who are invariably referred to in inscriptions and literary sources.³⁸ He had also three daughters,³⁹ Doḍḍa-Dēvīramma, Chikka-Dēvīramma and Nanjamīna, the eldest of whom was given in marriage to Kānta Woḍeyar of the Kaḷale family, and the second to Mallarāja Woḍeyar, the latter's nephew.⁴⁰

Chāmarāja, we note,⁴¹ made also, during his life-time, a partition among his sons. To Timmarāja Woḍeyar, the eldest, he gave Hemmanahallī,⁴² to Krishṇarāja

35. See also Appendix I—(4), for a critical notice of Wilks's position.

36. *K. A. V.*, ff. 2-10, also Table XIII.

37. *Annals*, I. 14; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 16; *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 449, see also and compare Tables VI-IX.

38. *Vide* Tables II and III, with f.n. thereto.

39. *Annals*, I. c.

40. *K. A. V.*, ff. 2, 9 and 10; also Ch. X and Table XIII.

41. See *Annals*, I. 14-15; *Rāj. Kath.*, I. c.

42. The *Annals* (I. 15) speaks of Bettā Woḍeyar, son of Timmarāja Woḍeyar,



Hirya-Bettada-Chamarāja Wodeyar III, 1513-1551

Woḍeyar, the second, Kembal, and to Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, the third, Mysore. It is said,⁴³ he so arranged the succession that Timmarāja should be installed first and that the latter should be followed by Bōḷa-Chāmarāja.

Timmarāja Woḍeyar—afterwards Timmarāja II—appears to have been living in Mysore during his father's rule. Krishnarāja Woḍeyar is referred to⁴⁴ as 'Krishṇa-Nripa,' 'Krishṇa-Bhūpati' and 'Krishṇa Woḍeyar of Mysore,' and spoken of as possessed of "distinguished valour," etc. He was reputed also for the beauty of his person.⁴⁵ During his father's reign it would appear,⁴⁶ he was victorious over the chiefs of Haravū and other places and acquired the title *Śringāra-hāra* (ornament of beauty). He seems to have spent the rest of his lifetime in the village assigned to him.⁴⁷ Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar—afterwards Chāmarāja IV—the third son of Hīriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja, appears to have stayed with his father in Mysore.

It has been pointed out above, that Chāmarāja III was actually known as Timmarāja Woḍeyar. Wilks⁴⁸

as having been given Hemmanahalli, but the *Raj. Kath.* (l c.) clearly refers to the partition among the three sons of Chamarāja III, and Wilks also adopts the same position (I 41). Moreover Bōḷa Woḍeyar or Bettāda (Devarāja) Woḍeyar was the son of Krishnarāja Woḍeyar and not of Timmarāja (*vide* Tables IV, V and VII).

43. *Annals*, l c.; see also f.n. 47 *infra*.

44. *Vote* references cited in f.n. 1 to Tables II and III.

45. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 16.

46. *Annals*, l c., also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l c. (compared).

47. The *Mys. Raj. Cha.* (l c.) and the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 3) speak of Krishnarāja's rule, the former fixing his accession after Timmarāja, and the latter after Chāmarāja III himself (*vide* also Tables VI and VII). The earlier manuscript, *Mys. Dho. Pur.*, is silent on this point (*vide* Table IV). The *C. Vi.* (II, 10-11) speaks of Krishnarāja's rule in succession to Timmarāja, apparently by way of a literary flourish. The probabilities are, however, that Krishnarāja never actually ruled, having predeceased his father and brothers, which seems to account for why his younger brother, Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, was intended by his father to succeed Timmarāja Woḍeyar and why his (Krishnarāja's) son, Bettāda (Devarāja) Woḍeyar, was, as we shall see, chosen to rule in succession to Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (in 1676), in preference to the latter's own eldest son, Raja Woḍeyar. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 278-280.

48. I 42; see also f.n. 51 *infra*.

speaks of an extant grant from Timmarāja, dated in 1548, which has not come down to us. We have, however, as already referred to,⁴⁹ a lithic record dated in May 10, 1551, in which Channa Woḍeyar and Mallarāja Woḍeyar of Hura make a transfer of the villages of Nannigahalli and Miṇṇanahalli to Timmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore. The villages, we are told, were transferred with all the usual rights, and the transfer arrangement between the parties was to last for a period of eleven years, 1541-1552 (*Plava-Parīdhāvi*). The document, it is significant, was drawn up ten years after it came actually into force.

Hirya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, it is said,⁵⁰ got constructed, behind the temple of
 Gifts and charities Chāmuṇḍēśvarī on the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, a tank named *Hirī-here*, probably so named after himself. In November 1548 (*Kīlaka, Mārgaśīra*), we note,⁵¹ he purchased the village of
 Death Tippūr for the temple of Chaluvārāya-svāmi of Mēlkōṭe. He is said to have passed away on February 7, 1553.⁵²

Hirya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III was succeeded by his eldest son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar
 Timmarāja II, 1553-1572 II, who is assigned a period of nineteen years' rule (1553-1572).⁵³ Timmarāja Woḍeyar is referred to in inscriptions and literary works⁵⁴ as 'Timmāvanipa,' 'Timmarājēndra,' etc., and spoken of as "always engaged in destroying the hostile kings at the point of the sword" and as having been distinguished for his "dignity, depth and bravery."

49. See fn 23 *supra*.

50. *Annals*, I. 14.

51. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I. 72. This village was probably given away as a grant to the Mēlkōṭe temple, in which case the grant would correspond to the one alluded to by Wilks as above.

52. *Annals*, I. 15 *Parīdhāvi, Māgha* 1a 9

53. *Annals*, I. 15-16, also Table IX

54. *Full references cited in fn 1 to Tables II and III.*



Temmaraja Wodeyar II, 1553-1572

He is said to have been an expert in political policy (*nīti vidam nipuṇarereyan*) and was noted for his pious rule.⁵⁵ It seems not impossible that the right to the title *Antembaru-gaṇḍa*, which was evidently a matter of dispute during the reign of his father, was securely established under Timmarāja Wodeyar.

Timmarāja Wodeyar appears to have been a loyal feudatory of Sadāśiva (1512-1570) and Tirumala I (1570-1574) of Vijayanagar. He is mentioned⁵⁶ as having protected his local contemporaries, the chiefs of Sindhuvali, Huṣasanālu, etc., places and been victorious over the chief of Ummattu becoming famous as *Monegāra* (a daring hero).

He was married, it is said,⁵⁷ to Kempanna of Toravalli and appears to have had no issue.⁵⁸

Timmarāja Wodeyar was succeeded by his younger brother, Bōla-Chāmarāja Wodeyar IV (Chāmarāja, the bald).⁵⁹ under the arrangement said to have been effected by Chamarāja Wodeyar III, already referred to. Bōla-Chāmarāja is identical with 'Mysūru-Chāmarasa Wodeyar,' 'Chāmarāja,' 'Chāma-nripa,' 'Chāmarājēndra,' 'Immaḍi-Chāmarāja, etc., mentioned in inscriptions and literary works.⁶⁰ He is said to have been born on July 25, 1507,⁶¹ and was so named because

55 *C. Vi.*, II, 9, *Yad-Mahat.*, II, 29, etc.

56 *Annals*, I c., *Raj. Kath.*, XII, 450; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, I c.

57 *Annals*, I 15.

58 The *Annals* (I c.) speaks of his having had a son by name Betṭa Wodeyar (see also Table IX). But Betṭa Wodeyar or Bettada (Dēvaraja) Wodeyar was a son of Krishnarāja Wodeyar, according to the earlier sources, i.e., *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, and *Mys. Dho. Vam* (vide also f n. 42 *supra*).

59 *Annals*, I 16; see also and compare Tables IV-IX, also f n. 17 *supra*.

60 Vide references cited in f n. 1 to Tables II and III. The reference to Bōla-Chāmarāja as *Immaḍi-Chāmarāja*, is in keeping with the position of these earlier sources (i.e., inscriptions and literary works), according to which Hiriva-Bettada-Chāmarāja was known to have been the first ruler. Cf. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I 1-9, 60, 72, II 58), which loosely makes Bōla-Chāmarāja identical with Hiriva or Doḍḍa-Chāma (vide also Table IV), a position uncritically followed by Wilks (I 42-44).

61. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 2. *Prabhava, Śrāvana* ba. 2; cf. *Annals*, I. c.

tradition⁶² has it that once, while on a visit to the Chāmundi Hills, during his boyhood, he had a narrow escape from a stroke of lightning which, however, only burnt away the hair on his scalp leaving it bald. Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, we note,⁶³ ruled for four years (1572-1576).

The *Daḷavāṇi-Agrahāram Plates* I⁶⁴ (1623) speak of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja as an expert in his achievements archery and in the handling of weapons of war, and as possessed of great courage and prowess. The *Gajjiganahalli Plates*⁶⁵ (1639) and the *Hālagere Plates*⁶⁶ (1663) also echo his valour. The *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648) points to him as a pious ruler.⁶⁷

Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was a contemporary of Tirumala I (1570-1574) and Śrī-Ranga II (1574-1586) of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagar.⁶⁸ Of Rāma-Rājaiya⁶⁹ (Rāma III)—son of Tirumala I—the Vijayanagar Viceroy at Seringapatam, he was, we note,⁷⁰ a local contemporary. The extant records of Rāma-Rājaiya in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty, as indicated already, range from 1569 to 1581. But it does not appear that he was actually present in Seringapatam in 1572-1573, i.e., early during the reign of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. Indeed one record⁷¹ seems to suggest that he was in Penukoṇḍa in 1573, when Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, probably taking advan-

62. See and compare Introd. Ch. in the *Diega-Sōri-Charitre* (1678) and other works of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi, noticed in Ch. XIV, also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II 58; *Mys. Dho. Pam.*, ff. 5, *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 17, *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 460, and *Annals*, I. 17.

63. See *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I 3, 9) and *Annals* (I. 16-17); cf. *Mys. Dho. Pam.*, ff. 3, 7; see also Tables IV, VII and IX.

64. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 62, II 13-17

Sūrahā yudhi vikhyāta dhanurvidyā viśāradaḥ,
Mahipala *mahātīrāśchāmarājōti kīrtman* II

65. *Ibid.*, Nj. 198, 1 34; *apraṭhita vikramah*.

66. *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37, 1. 26. *Sūrasamabhavat* *Chāmarāja mahipatih*.

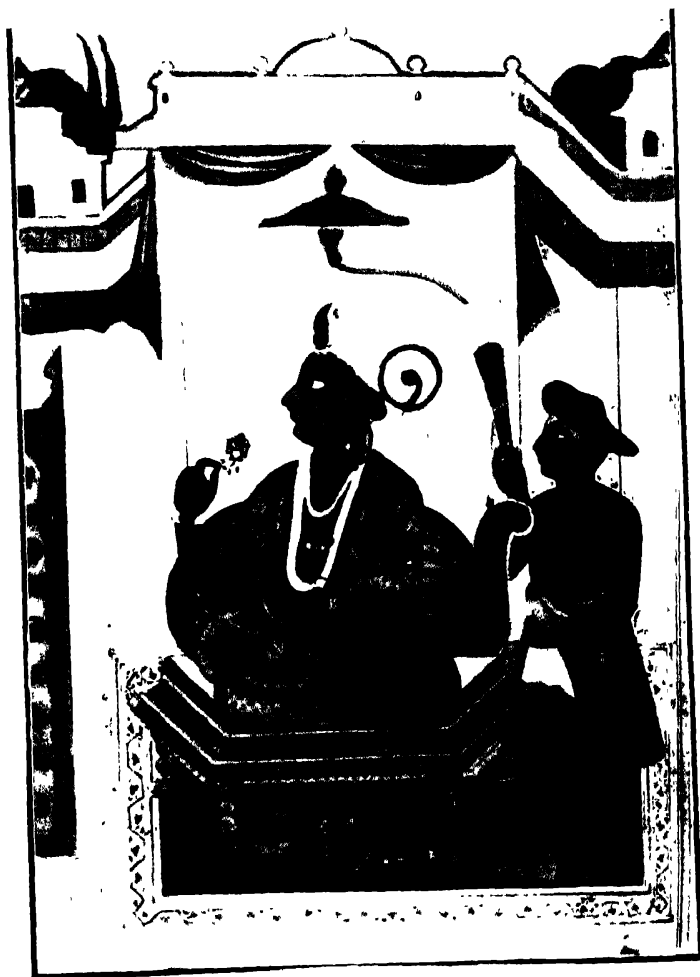
67. III, 8

68. *Vide* Table XIV.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *C. Pam.*, 23.

71. See *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2127.



Bôla-Châm uâpa Wodeyar IV, 1572-1576

tage of the absence of a strong local government in the viceroyalty, appears⁷² to have showed signs of aggression against the neighbouring chiefs of Kārugaballi, Kannambāḍi, Talakāḍ and Ammachavāḍi. In or about 1574 Rāma-Rājaiya, we glean,⁷³ proceeded against him at the head of these chiefs and laid siege to Mysore for a period of three months. Chāmarāja intercepted the supplies and reduced to considerable straits the advancing forces commanded by Rēmaṭi-Venkataiya, the general of Rāma-Rājaiya. The latter was obliged to raise the siege and the former put to rout by Chāmarāja, who made prize of his (Rēmaṭi-Venkata's) insignia *Suguna-Gambhira*, horses, elephants, palankens and war-drums. The enemy was hotly pursued by Chāmarāja's men who cut off the noses⁷⁴ of those who persisted in opposing them. It was a complete victory for Mysore, and, for a time, there was no security in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. At length Rāma-Rājaiya concluded a truce with Chāmarāja by the cession of *Kālve-Kottāgāla*⁷⁵ to Mysore.

Evidently this event seems to have considerably enhanced the prestige of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja in the eyes of his contemporaries. Indeed an inscription (dated in 1635)⁷⁶ speaks of his "fame pervading all quarters." Already by 1576, we note,⁷⁷ he had become an overlord of thirty-three villages⁷⁸ commanding a force of 300 men and surrounded by hostile neighbours.

72 See *C. Vam.*, 23, also 7, 8 and 10, mentioning the chiefs referred to on p. 23.

73. *C. Vam.*, 23-24, *C. Vi.*, II, 20-22; *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14, II, 13-14; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My 115, II 24-25 *ājau ajayat Romarāja sēnānyam*. Also see and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff 5, 10; *Annals*, I 17, etc.

74. This is the earliest recorded instance, in the history of Mysore, when "nose-cutting" was freely resorted to during war.

75. Probably identical with the extant *Kottāgāla*, in the T-Narasipur taluk (see *List of Villages*, 90). There is no village of this name, either in the Mysore or the Seringapatam taluk (*Ibid*).

76 *M. A. R.*, 1924, p. 23, No. 6.

77. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff 6 and 7.

78. For the names, etc., of these villages, vide Appendix I (6).

Bōla-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, it is said,⁷⁹ had two consorts, Kempamma (Hiriyamma) of Bīḷkere and Dēvāmma (Kiriyaṃma) of Kōṭe (Heggaḍḍēvankōṭe). He had four sons, two by the former, Rāja Woḷeyar (b. 1552) and Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1554); and two by the latter, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1553)—afterwards known as Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—and Channarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1555).⁸⁰ He is also said to have had three daughters,⁸¹ one of whom, Chikka-Dēpamma, was, we are told,⁸² married to Timmarāja Woḍeyar I of Kaḷale (1527-1546).

Bōla-Chāmarāja is credited⁸³ with having drained the Chōḷagere (near the Sōmēśvara and Kōḍi-Bhairava temples in Mysore) and erected a temple⁸⁴ to Triṇēśvara—the image of which is said to have been, for long, lying immersed in the tank—and arranged for the conduct of worship in it, offerings, etc. He died on November 9, 1576.⁸⁵

Bōla-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was, we note,⁸⁶ succeeded by⁸⁷ Beṭṭada (Dēvarāja) Woḍeyar,⁸⁸ a nephew of his and grandson of Hiriyā-Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III. His selection in preference to Rāja Woḍeyar, the eldest son of

79 *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I 2, 60; cf. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 5-6, *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 450; and *Annals*, I 16; see also Tables IV, VI-IX.

80 *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I 2-3, 32; also see and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, *Annals*, I c, and Tables I-IX.

81 *Annals*, I c.

82 *K. A. T.*, ff. 10, also Ch. X and Table XIII.

83 *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, p. 27, also *Annals*, II 88, quoting from the Mudda-rāja Urs Ms.

84. Extant in the fort of Mysore, opposite the Palace.

85. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I. 9. *Dhātū, Kārtika* ba. 3; cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 7; *Annals* I 17.

86. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I. 10; *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, l. c. Cf. *Wilks* (I. 44-49), referring to the succession, rule, etc., of Beṭṭada Woḍeyar but making him identical with *Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar*, mentioned by him as the *elder* brother of Rāja Woḍeyar; *Annals* (I 17-18), speaking of the rule of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, also mentioned as the *elder* brother of Rāja Woḍeyar; and S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (pp. 279-280),



Beṭṭada (Devarāja) Woḍeyar, 1576-1578.

CHAPTER V.

RĀJA WODEYAR, 1578-1617.

Principal authorities for the reign—Birth, accession and early life—His full name—His political position in 1578—The Rise of the Kingdom of Mysore *First Phase*. 1578-1585—First signs of aggression—*Second Phase*: 1585-1610—Raja Wodeyar and Tirumala—Raja Wodeyar's further aggressions—His designs on Seringapatam—His proposed visit to Tirumala—Attempted assassination of Raja Wodeyar—The siege of Kesare, August 1596—Subsequent relations between Raja Wodeyar and Tirumala—Fresh attempt on Raja Wodeyar's life—Tirumala seeks Imperial aid—Tirumala's weakened political position, 1609-1610—Tirumala's departure from Seringapatam, c. January 1610—Raja Wodeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam, February 8, 1610—The acquisition, a conquest—Effects of the conquest—Seringapatam, the new capital of the kingdom—*Third Phase*. 1610-1617—Relations with Vijayanagar—Formal confirmation of his conquest by Venkata I—The significance of the Imperial confirmation—Further territorial acquisition: Siriyu, Hadinad, Terakanambli and Unniattur, 1610-1616—Conquest of Hura, Haradanahalli, Talakad, Hullahalli, Kalale, etc., 1615-1617—Position of Raja Wodeyar in 1617—The extent of his kingdom, 1617—Raja Wodeyar's Rule—His administrative measures—Organisation of the Mahanavami (*Navaratri*) *Durbār*, 1610—Institution of the office of *Dalavai*, c. 1614—Religion, gifts, grants, etc.—Statute of Raja Wodeyar—His piety—Literary activity during his reign—Domestic life—His last days—His death, June 20, 1617—Raja Wodeyar in history and tradition—An estimate of Raja Wodeyar.

THE principal authorities for the reign of Rāja Wodeyar are chronicles (18th-19th cent.), literary works and inscriptions (17th cent.). Among the chronicles, the *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pūrvābhyaḍaya-Vivara*, the earliest, deals mainly with the political aspect of Rāja

Principal authorities for the reign.



Rājā Wodeyar, 1578-1617

Wodeyar's reign; others, like the *Mysūru-Naḡarada-Pūrvōttara*, *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre*, *Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vamśāvali* and the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, contain traditional accounts of him. Among the literary works, the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648) of Gōvinda-Vaidya and the *Chikka-Devārāja-Vamśāvali* (c. 1678-1680) and *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) of Tirumalārya, though more or less contemporary, embody an account of Rāja Wodeyar drawn up in the poetical language. The available inscriptions of Rāja Wodeyar himself illumine, to some extent, his political position and other particulars. Other literary works and inscriptions—of the reigns of the successors of Rāja Wodeyar—seem to echo in a significant manner, certain facts relating to his rule.

Rāja Wodeyar was born on June 2, 1552,¹ and was twenty-six years of age² at the time of his accession on November 26, 1578.³ Of his early life very little is known, except that in his boyhood he had studied the sciences and practised at arms (*elareyoḷ śāstra śāstrābhyaśadoḷ*).⁴

Rāja Wodeyar appears to have been actually known as Timmarāja. Wodeyar,⁵ having been probably so named after his grandfather, Chāmarāja III, whose real name also was, as we

1 *Mys. Dh. Pā.*, I 3 *Pirādharu, Jyēṣṭha su* 10, cf. *Annals*, I 18 *Pirādharu, Jyēṣṭha su* 7 (May 30, 1552). The date, as given in the earlier Ms., is preferred here.

2 The *C. Vam.* (12) seems to convey a general picture of Rāja Wodeyar as a person of a sufficiently advanced age at the time of his accession (see fn. 180 *infra*, for further details). In the absence of confirmatory evidence on this point, the authority of the chronicles is preferred here.

3 *Mys. Dh. Pā.*, I 12 *Bahudhānya, Kārtika su* 12, cf. *Annals* (1 c), fixing the accession in *Bahudhānya, Varsāha su* 15 (April 20, 1578). The date of the former Ms. seems more acceptable, if we are to make a due allowance for the two years' reign of Bettāda (Dēvarāja) Wodeyar (1576-1578).

4 *C. Vam.*, 12.

5 *Vide* colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti Vilāsa* of Chamarāja V (1617-1637) *Timmarāja tanūbhava Narasarāja garbha dugdha sindhu sudhākara Chāmarāja Odeyaravaru*. Here Chāmarāja V, son of Narasarāja, is referred to as the grandson of Timmarāja who is, obviously, identical with Rāja Wodeyar (*vide* also Table II). For a fuller notice of the work, see Ch. VI.

to have sought Tirumala's permission to erect in Mysore a fort-wall of a man's height; to enable him to raise the crops and pay up punctually the annual tribute. No sooner was the permission accorded than the fort-wall was raised and the tax collectors of Seringapatam (*Pattanaḍa sunkaḍa kōlukāraru*) expelled from Mysore.¹⁴ Possibly Rāja Woḍeyar, who seems to have had a thorough knowledge of the conditions in the southern Viceroyalty, early found Tirumala unequal to the task of administering it. Accordingly we find him, in February 1586, acquiring Rangasamudra (with the adjoining twelve villages) from Tirumala.¹⁵ By 1590, Rāja Woḍeyar's position as the ruler of Mysore had become secure, though he appears to have continued diplomatic relations with the court of Seringapatam. In that year, he is stated to have paid a visit—a second one—to Tirumala.¹⁶ An interesting incident is recorded to have taken place on this occasion, which gives us an insight into the conditions of the times. Rāja Woḍeyar, says the manuscript,¹⁷ proceeded to the court accompanied by music. On his way he met Dēparāja Woḍeyar of Kembal, likewise accompanied. At this Rāja Woḍeyar was much incensed and visited Tirumala unattended by music. Asked by the latter why he had stopped the music, Rāja Woḍeyar replied that he had to do so because he could not tolerate Dēparāja of Kembal—who was much inferior to him in status—being also accorded the same honour. Further, he represented that the right of either of them being attended by music should be determined in an open contest. This being agreed to, Rāja Woḍeyar proceeded against Dēparāja and took possession of Kembal in the course of the same year. Whatever the truth in the story may be, there can be no question that Rāja Woḍeyar was a man both proud and

14. *Ibid.*, I. 3-4.

15. *Ibid.*, I. 73-74; also see and compare *Annals* l.c.

16. *Ibid.*, I. 13.

17. *Ibid.*, I. 13-15; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 46-47.

courageous and bent on maintaining his status as the ruler of an expanding kingdom. Next year (1591), he acquired Muḷḷūr.¹⁸

Between 1592-1595, Rāja Wodeyar's aggression went on apace. Tirumala's absence from the Viceroyalty in this period, as suggested by the absence of his records for these years, would indicate that he was engaged in the war against Virappa Nāyaka of Madura. Tirumala, it is said,¹⁹ sought Rāja Wodeyar's help on the occasion, but the latter refused it. However, the absence of Tirumala from Seringapatam seemed a favourable opportunity for Rāja Wodeyar to advance further. In 1592, he built a new fort at Rangasamudra²⁰; in 1593, he acquired Hārohaḷḷi,²¹ and in July 1595, he took Narunelḷ from Mallarājaiya.²² In October 1595,²³ assisted by his younger brother (Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar) and 300 select followers, Rāja Wodeyar curbed²⁴ the power of his cousin, Virarājaiya,²⁵ chief of Kārugahaḷḷi, who had incurred his hostility by encroaching upon the boundaries of Mysore up to the Chāmunḍi Hills (*Chāmunḍiya giriya piridelle gattigōskara vairara berasi*),²⁶ and had also, it is said,²⁷ plotted in vain against Rāja Wodeyar's life. An action is recorded to have taken place near an elevated place known as *Kāḍubasavana-tittu*,²⁸ in which Rāja

18. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10.

19. See *Annals*, I. 21-22. This work, however, loosely refers to the Viceroy of Seringapatam as Śrī-Ranga Itāya (for Tirumala) and to the Nāyaka of Madura as Venkaṭappa Nāyaka (for Virappa Nāyaka).

20. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 74; cf. *Annals*, I. 48.

21. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10. There is no evidence for a siege of Mysore by Bijāpur in 1593—referred to by Ferishta and accepted by scholars. *Vule Appendix II*—(I), for a discussion of the subject.

22. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c., see also and compare *Annals*, l.c.

23. *Ibid*.

24. *Ibid.*, I. 16-24; cf. *Wilks*, I. 46.

25. Identical with Vira Wodeyar of Kāraganahaḷḷi, mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 54, para 118—a lithic record of c. 1600.

26. *K. N. V.*, III, 16; also see and compare *C. Vam.*, 7.

27. *Annals*, I. 19-20; vide also section on Rāja Wodeyar's piety, for further details.

28. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c.; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 9.

Woḍeyar fought²⁹ a hand to hand fight on horse-back, horse-whipped (*kaśābhūhatiyim*) Vīrarājaiya and removed his nose by a sledge-hammer (*chammatigeyim . . . mūgu paridu*; *mūgam bēruḷiyadantaridu*). The fort of Kārugahaḷḷi was felled down, the township razed to the ground and the land sown with castor seeds.³⁰

In or about 1596, shortly after Tirumala's return from Madura to Seringapatam, the local chiefs, disheartened by the aggressions of Rāja Woḍeyar (*aggūlikegekangettu*),³¹ it would appear,³² proceeded to the court of Seringapatam with tribute and presents, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Tirumala by accepting the insignia of office from him (*kappa-kāṇkegaḷanoppisi-yavana mudreyam rahisi*). From hence, favoured by him and being settled in the sovereignty of their respective territories (*avanolacaram paḍedu tamtamma neladoḍetanamam nelegoli*), they all, it is said,³³ began to pursue an attitude of hostility towards Rāja Woḍeyar (*anbarum ondāgi . . . machcharamam manungoli*; *mūḷisabalidu*). At the same time Rāja Woḍeyar had sent his agents to Seringapatam to study the political situation (*saptāṅgaḍirava-nārayrenendu gūḍhachāraram praṇidhigaḷumam kaḷupurimam*),³⁴ while Tirumala himself, having heard from the *Niyōgi* (i.e., diplomatic representative) of Mysore³⁵ a favourable account about Rāja Woḍeyar, wished to make friends

29 *C. V.*, II, 28; *C. Vam.*, 7-8, also see and compare *Dir. Sū. Cha.*, I, 70-72; *Kāmond Nī.*, I, 52; *Bhag. Gi. Tr.*, I, 35, *Munwam.*, II, 17, *E. C.*, III (1) *Sr.*, 14, II, 16-17; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, II, 23-29; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 17; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff 9; *Annals*, I, 20, etc., referring to and echoing this exploit

30 *C. Vam.*, 8; also *K. N. V.*, III, 17.

31 *K. N. V.*, III, 18.

32. See *C. Vam.*, 6

33 *Ibid.*, 6, 7-11; *K. N. V.*, l.c.

34. *Ibid.*, 2.

35. From *Niyōgaḷa*, employment, commission, appointment; any business committed to one's share; from it is derived *Niyōgin*, appointed, employed, authorized; an officer, minister or functionary. The *Niyōgis* were, during the times we are writing of, Brahmans by caste, who specialized in this sort of public duty. They are to-day known as *Niyōgi* Brahmans. They are found widely distributed over Southern India, though only in scattered numbers.

with him.³⁶ With this end in view, says the *Chikka-dēvarāya-Vamśāvali*,³⁷ he duly honoured the *Niyōgi*, desiring him to communicate whether it would be possible for Rāja Wodeyar to pay him a visit in Seringapatam or whether he (Tirumala) himself should go to the latter. Subsequently, however, we are told,³⁸ Tirumala, considering the presence of a neighbour like Rāja Wodeyar a source of anxiety, decided, in consultation with his councillors, to capture his person if he proceeded to Seringapatam agreeably to fair words, failing which, to plan an expedition against Mysore. Accordingly, he had palm-leaf letters addressed forthwith (*ōlegaḷam kaḍu tavakadolatti*) to the chiefs of different parts of his dominions,³⁹ requiring them to bring in their forces to the capital on the pretext of the *Mahānavami* festival (*Mānōmiyosageya nevaḍim*).⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Rāja Wodeyar had been well posted by his agents about the course of affairs in Seringapatam.⁴¹ Agreeing with his half brother, Dēvarāja, continues the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*,⁴² he thought it expedient to renew and establish cordial relations with Tirumala, having regard to the circumstance that the neighbouring chiefs, and not Tirumala, were hostile to Mysore (*emmoḷ kēṇamā prabhugaḷgullade ā rāyaṅilla*). Accordingly a letter was sent to the court of Seringapatam through the *Niyōgi*, communicating Rāja Wodeyar's proposed visit to Tirumala.

Shortly after, Rāja Wodeyar, accompanied by Dēvarāja, proceeded thither, prepared to pay a visit to the temple of Ranganātha also. Meantime Tirumala, on receipt of the letter, had crossed the southern branch of the Cauvery

36. *Ibid.*, 11-13.38. *C. Vam.*, 1.c40. *C. Vam.*, 1.c.

37. P. 13.

39. *K. N.* V., III, 22.41. *Ibid.*, 3-6, 11-14

42. Pp 15-18.

and proceeded as far as the Paśchimavāhini river (*tenkana poḷeyam dāṇṭi paḍuvange pariva kiruvoleya taḍivaregumeydi*), sure of success in his project. Here he met Rāja Woḍeyar. As they went further, towards the camp intended for the latter, a friendly talk followed, in the course of which they agreed, on mutual oaths and promises (*bāse nambugegaḷunittu*), to enter into a firm alliance between themselves. Presently, however, as Tirumala was about to leave Rāja Woḍeyar's camp, one of the latter's attendants recited his titles including *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa*, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Mysore. This last-mentioned one gave so much offence to Tirumala that he desired one of his ministers to communicate to Rāja Woḍeyar not to have it recited in his (Tirumala's) presence, as it belonged to his family also by long usage. Thereupon Dēvarāja (brother of Rāja Woḍeyar) retorted, pointing out that the title *Antembara-gaṇḍa* belonged as a matter of right to the kings of Mysore⁴³ from the time of his grandfather, Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.⁴⁴ This having been communicated to Tirumala, he at once gave up all thoughts of an alliance with Rāja Woḍeyar and deliberated with the assembled chiefs on a plot to seize his person while he was engaged in performing his devotions at the temple of Ranganātha.⁴⁵ The plot was, however, promptly disclosed to Rāja Woḍeyar by a faithful adherent of his (Sōmayāji).⁴⁶ Whereupon, cautioning Dēvarāja, Rāja Woḍeyar quietly effected his escape to Mysore by the *Brahmapuri* gate of Seringapatam.⁴⁷ At this news

43 *Ibid* Ch. IV, for details about the acquisition of this title.

44 *C. Yam*, 18-19, 23.

45 *Ibid.*, 18-23.

46 *Ibid*, 23; also f.n. 47 *infra*.

47 *Ibid*; *vide* also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 6-9, etc. This Ms., however, as indicated already (*vide* f.n. 13 *supra*), loosely assigns this event to the reign of Bōla- (Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (1572-1576), and Wilks also has adopted this view (I. 44). As pointed out above, it has been shifted on to the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar. *Brahmapuri* is an extant village in the Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 93).

Tirumala, in utter disappointment, proposed to lay siege to Mysore.⁴⁸ The chiefs, however, having brought home to him the futility of an attack on Mysore in the light of their past experience during the regime of his father, Rāma-Rājaiya,⁴⁹ it was decided that the fort of Kesare⁵⁰ commanding Mysore should be first blockaded.⁵¹

On August 18, 1596 (*Durmukhi, Bhādrapada śu.* 5), the siege of Kesare came off.⁵² The siege lasted but a few days.⁵³ The investing forces consisted of about a lakh of foot, seven to twelve thousand horse and one to two hundred elephants, levied from chieftains in various parts of the Karnāṭaka country.⁵⁴ A major portion⁵⁵ of Tirumala's army encircled Kesare, while a section of it, headed among others by the chiefs of Ummattūr and Mūgū, halted in the neighbourhood of Kerehatti,⁵⁶ ostensibly with a view to deliver an eventual attack on Mysore. While Tirumala was directing preliminary operations before Kesare, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Channarāja Wodeyar, younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar, were preparing for the emergency both in Mysore and Kesare. Grasping the reality of the situation, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja hit upon

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Vide* Ch. IV, for details.

50. An extant village in the Mysore taluk to the south-west of Seringapatam and north-west of Mysore (*Ibid.*, 1 c.)

51. *C. Vam.*, 23-4.

52. *Mys. Dho Pār.*, I 24. Wilks (I 47), on the authority of this Ms., speaks of the siege of Kesare, without, however, noticing the date of the event. The date 1596 appears corroborated by the internal evidence of the *C. Vam.* also, according to which there is a clear gap of twenty years between the siege of Kesare and the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's rule (*vide* 12, 31; also see fn 180 *infra*). We know from other sources that the year 1616-1617 was the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's reign, his death taking place in June 1617. Deducting 20 from 1616 we arrive at 1596, the date of the siege of Kesare.

53. *Ibid.*, I. 24-27; see also *K. N. V.*, III, *C. Vam.*, 24-27, *C. V.*, II. For a critical estimate of these poetical works, in their chronological bearing on the siege of Kesare and other political events of Rāja Wodeyar's reign, *vide* Appendix II—(2).

54. For the composition of Tirumala's army, etc., *vide* Appendix II—(2).

55. *K. N. V.*, III, 44-46, 53-60; also *C. Vam.*, 15, 24; *C. V.*, II, 41-43.

56. An extant village in the Nanjangūd taluk (see *List of Villages*, 110).

causing a diversion. Having left Rāja Woḍeyar in charge of Mysore, he marched at once southwards and turned against the chief of Heggaddēvankōṭe (Kōṭe). Crossing the Kapini—near Nanjangūd (*Garaḷapura*)—at dead of night, he put to rout the forces of the enemy at Kerehaṭṭi, plundering their camp (*pāḷayam*) near Satyāgāla. Then, fording the Cauvery at Sōsale, he surprised the foe at Kirangūr (*Kiravangūr*)⁵⁷ and marched back to Mysore. At this news, Tirumala hastened the siege of Kesare. The fort of Kesare was in a decadent state.⁵⁸ It was commanded by only 30 *ōlekārs* with 12 matchlocks (*kōvi*).⁵⁹ Nevertheless the inhabitants held out bravely against the besiegers, repulsing them and breaking up and plundering their ranks.⁶⁰ At this juncture, Jakka,⁶¹ one of the chiefs in Tirumala's army, began to lay his hands on the village named Hancheya,⁶² belonging to Mysore. Thereupon Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, with Channarāja, proceeded thither at the head of his forces, while Rāja Woḍeyar, accompanied by Dēvarāja, marched on with a contingent towards Kesare. Jakka was seized and put to death, his troops being slaughtered largely, many losing their noses. At the same time, Rāja Woḍeyar made headway in relieving the fort of Kesare and obliging most of the chiefs to retreat. He was soon joined by Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja and Channarāja who, marching by way of the fort of Sātagahallī,⁶³ captured,⁶⁴ among others, an elephant, a horse and a transport ox belonging to Tirumala. Rāja Woḍeyar, however, we are told,⁶⁵ sent back the elephant, significantly observing, "It is easy to satisfy 40 *ōlekārs* rather than maintain one elephant."

57. Ditto in the Seringapatam taluk (*Ibid.*, 93).

58. *C. Vam.*, 24, *C. Vi.*, II, 44.

59. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 24.

60. *Ibid.*; also *K. N. V.*, III, 60-61; *C. Vam.*, l.c.; *C. Vi.*, II, 47.

61. *K. N. V.*, III, 62-71; also *C. Vam.*, 24-25; *C. Vi.*, II, 44-48.

62. An extant village in the Mysore taluk (see *List of Villages*, 82).

63. Ditto.

64. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 25-26.

65. *Ibid.*, I, 26; cf. *Walks*, I, 47.

Then Rāja Wodeyar held⁶⁶ a review of his troops near the elevated ground in the neighbourhood of Bellavatta,⁶⁷ and ordered a general attack on the chiefs (*Pāḷegārs*) who had encamped to the east of Kesare. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Channarāja Wodeyar, at the head of the *halepaika* warriors, put them to rout, pursuing them as far as Brahmapuri.⁶⁸ Proceeding north, they met Rāja Wodeyar; and the united forces of the brothers began to pursue Tirumala. Tirumala, however, in utter discomfiture, quietly retreated to Seringapatam, leaving his insignias on the field, which fell into the hands of his pursuers who returned with them in triumph to Mysore.⁶⁹

In 1597 (*Hēvilambu*) Rāja Wodeyar acquired Hariharapura.⁷⁰ Early in 1598, we find him paying a visit to the court of Tirumala and obtaining from him a grant of lands (yielding 100 *khaṇḍugas* of paddy) in Beḷaguḷa.⁷¹ On October 24 (1598), demanded to pay the tribute due, Rāja Wodeyar is stated to have pleaded his inability to pay owing, it is said, to the alleged damage and destruction, caused by the officials of Tirumala, to his garden land. Whereupon, in lieu of the garden land, Tirumala granted him the village of Rangasamudra.⁷² Between 1598-1607 Rāja Wodeyar, it would appear, systematically defied the authority of Tirumala, encroaching upon the latter's territorial limits

66. *Ibid*

67. Another extant village in the Mysore taluk (see *List of Villages*, I c)

68. *K N V*, III, 75-94, also *Mys Dho Pāṇ*, I 26-27, *C Vam*, 25, *C Vi*, II, 49-51. For the derivation, etc., of *halepaika*, see Appendix IX.

69. *C Vam*, 25, *C Vi*, II, 52-53, *Mys Dho Pāṇ*, I 27, see also *Hastī Māhāt.* (I, 51), *Muniwam*, (II, 17), *Annals* (I 22), etc., echoing, and referring to, Rāja Wodeyar's victory at Kesare. For details of Mysorean warfare, *vide* Appendix *Ibid*.

70. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10

71. *Mys. Dho. Pāṇ*, I 27 29, cf. *Wilks*, I 47. It is, possibly, this grant of Tirumala, which is referred to as a *rakta-kodiyu* in a lithic record dated in March 1598—see *E. C*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol*, Sr. 198 (*M. A. R.*, 1911-1912, pp. 52, para 112)

72. *Ibid.*, I. 29; cf. *Wilks*, I c.

in the north and the east. In March 1600, he took Arakere from Adhāṭa-Rāya, a general of Jagadēva-Rāya;⁷³ in August 1606, he acquired Sōsale,⁷⁴ and in January 1507, he took Bannūr,⁷⁵ from Nanjarāja of Talakād.

These activities of Rāja Woḍeyar considerably alarmed Tirumala who, about the middle of 1607 (*Plaranga*), made a fresh attempt on Rāja Woḍeyar's life.⁷⁶ On this occasion, it is said, one Singappa Woḍeyar of Belagūḷa was secretly entrusted with the execution of the plot in Mysore. Accordingly Singappa Woḍeyar, while paying an informal visit to Rāja Woḍeyar, drew out his dagger and was about to thrust it into Rāja Woḍeyar. Luckily, however, Dēparāja Woḍeyar of Yeleyūr, a nephew of Rāja Woḍeyar, who was lying concealed behind a pillar in the apartment of the palace, flung himself from behind and made short work of the assassin, thus promptly averting the dark deed. In January 1608, Rāja Woḍeyar took possession of Kannambāḍi—with its dependency of Būkankere—from Doḍḍa-Hebbāruva.⁷⁷

During 1608, Tirumala, finding his position in the Viceroyalty more and more delicate, consequent on the steady encroachments of Rāja Woḍeyar, is said to have made overtures for a peace with his uncle Venkaṭa I, the reigning Vijayanagar sovereign, probably seeking his help also against Rāja Woḍeyar.⁷⁸ About this time, it is said,⁷⁹ a confederacy of Pāḷegārs, headed among

73. *Ibid.*, I. 75 and *Annals*, I. 43, see also *C. Vam.*, 8 and 9.

74. *Ibid.*; also *C. Vam.*, 9-10

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I. 39-42, cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 10-11, fixing this event in 1599 (*Vikāri*). The earlier Ms. is preferred here. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 47-48.

77. *Ibid.*, I. 75; *Annals*, I. 44; also *C. Vam.*, 8.

78. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 19.

79. *Ibid.*, 18-19; also see and compare *Annals*, I. 22 and 44. According to the former source (19), Venkaṭa I's attitude of indifference towards Tirumala, since 1596, was the chief cause of this combination. The *K. N. I.* (III, 51) only refers to the curbing of the chiefs of Bēlūr and Hoḷe-Narasipur by Rāja Woḍeyar and Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.

others by Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Bēlūr, Vīrarājaiya of Grāma, Bālālōchana Nāyaka of Mūgūr, Immaḍi-Rāma-rāja Nāyaka of Yeḷandūr and Mallarājaiya of Ummattūr, assembled near Kuṇigal, contemplating the acquisition of Seringapatam itself. On receipt of this news, Rāja Wodeyar, alarmed for the safety of Mysore, proceeded against them and put them to rout, acquiring Bēlūr, Grāma and other places. Meanwhile, Tirumala's overtures having been rejected by Venkaṭa, he was, in 1609, returning in state to Seringapatam by way of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Narasimhapura) with (Daḷavār?) Bhadrāya and other officers, when he was captured by Lakshmappa Nāyaka, the local chief.⁸⁰ Tirumala, hard pressed, earnestly sought Rāja Wodeyar's help, to save the situation. Rāja Wodeyar marched thither, attacked Lakshmappa Nāyaka and put him to flight, and, cutting off his nose, took possession of Hoḷe-Narasipur, releasing Bhadrāya and others. By this achievement, Rāja Wodeyar rose high in the favour of Venkaṭa. Indeed Venkaṭa is even said to have assigned to him (Rāja Wodeyar) in recognition of his services, as rent-free (*umbali*), the villages of Āladūr and Navilūr (in the Tāyūr-nāḍu of the Ummattūr-sīme) and Kōṇagahalli, and other villages (belonging to Bannūr), communicating the same to Nanjarājaiya of Ummattūr.⁸¹

Tirumala's political position in Seringapatam, in and after 1609, was by no means secure. Tirumala's weakened political position, 1609-1610. As indicated, he went down in the estimation of Venkaṭa I by the most humiliating circumstance that he had to be rescued by the very person (*i.e.*, Rāja Wodeyar) against whom he had had to seek Venkaṭa's help. Venkaṭa himself, it would

80. *Mys. Rāj. Cha*, l.c., also see and compare *Annals*, I. 22-23 and 44; and *K. N. V.*, l.c.

81. *Annals*, I. 23; see also the *Daḷavār-Agrahāram Plates I (1623)* [*E. C.*, III (1), TN 62], ll 67-68, 72, referring to Āladūr and Navilūr in the possession of the Mysore Rulers.

seen, was, with complacency, forestalling Tirumala's overthrow and downfall. Venkaṭa, it is said,⁸² had even sent him an order, promising him assurance of protection (*abhayaḥastada nirūpa*) and probably admonishing him also to retire from his charge of the Viceroyalty. Tirumala had been dissociated from his feudatories. Although Rāja Wodeyar had stood by him (Tirumala) at a critical moment, his aggressions were going on apace.⁸³ Supplies to the capital were being cut off; stores were running short; Tirumala's officials were being harassed; there was considerable difficulty in meeting the cost of feeding elephants and horses and the allowances of the military; the ditches and moats of the fort were being wrecked; only Tirumala's palace had been spared by the Mysoreans; and, for his bare existence, he had to depend on the inhabitants of Brahmapuri, a suburb of Seringapatam. Tirumala's authority was, thus, fast dwindling away. Yet, we are told,⁸⁴ he was ruling all these years (*i.e.*, since the siege of Kesare) with considerable rigour (*kattarasugeyyuttire*), which seems nothing more than a mere poetical expression.

About the end of January 1610,⁸⁵ some of the local chiefs (of Talakād, Ammachavāḍi and other places), who had retreated with considerable loss during the siege of Kesare, hoping to stand by Tirumala to the last, prevailed upon him to join them against Rāja Wodeyar. To relieve Tirumala from his difficulties, they encamped to the north of Seringapatam with necessary supplies, arms and ammunition. This was an opportune moment for Rāja Wodeyar to strike. It was now that he resolved upon to drive out Tirumala from the Viceregal

Tirumala's departure from Seringapatam, c January 1610.

82. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I 54-55; cf. *Wilks*, I. 51-52; also Appendix II—(3).

83. *C. Vam.*, 28

84. *C. Vi*, II, 54 The poet is, obviously, to be understood to be referring here to an hiatus between the siege of Kesare and Tirumala's final retreat from Seringapatam (1596-1610).

85. *C. Vam.*, 27-28.

seat.⁸⁶ Forthwith,⁸⁷ he despatched some forces under his eldest son, Narasarāja. A swift and decisive action followed, in which Narasarāja put the chiefs to rout, obliging them to retreat with considerable loss as far as Kodiyāla (*Kōḍāla*),⁸⁸ about ten miles further north of Seringapatam.

On the morrow of this reverse, Tirumala, alone and helpless, having lost all hope of succour from his allies and being obsessed by the fear of an impending siege of Seringapatam by Narasarāja (*paṭṭanmam vēḍhaipanendalki*), quietly retreated towards Mālangi (near Talakāḍ), leaving his family behind.⁸⁹ Immediately after receipt of this news, Rāja Wodeyar proceeded towards Seringapatam accompanied by his younger brother, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar.⁹⁰ It was his first concern to⁹¹ arrange to send Queen Ranganma,⁹² the wife of Tirumala, to Mālangi under a proper escort. That done,⁹³ he entered and formally took possession of the city of Seringapatam on February 8, 1610 (*Saumya*,

Rāja Wodeyar's
acquisition of
Seringapatam, Feb-
ruary 8, 1610.

86. See *C. V.*, II, 55 *Putrghāṭiyam . . . poḷalandareyattuvencu*; also *C. V.*, 2 *i putrghāṭiyani paṭṭanadim poramudisariḷkum* (cf. the sequence of events as described in both these works). The passages literally refer to Tirumala as a traitor to his uncle, Venkaṭa I. But Tirumala, in contemplating an action against Rāja Wodeyar who had recently saved him, appears to have evidently proved ungrateful to the latter also—a position perhaps best reflected in the *K. N. V.* (III, 50-52).

87. *C. V.*, 28-29.

88. An extant village in the Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 93).

89. *C. V.*, 29; see also and compare *K. N. V.*, III, 95, *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 19, *Annals*, I. 29-30; *Wilks*, I. 51-52, and Appendix II--(d).

90. *Ibid.*, l.c.; *K. N. V.*, III, 96.

91. *Ibid.*, 29-30.

92. Cf. *Annals* (I. 30-32), which speaks of two wives of Tirumala (mentioned as Śrī-Ranga-Rāya), Alamēlamma and Ranganma, accompanying him to Mālangi, the first of whom is said to have plunged herself into the swirl of the Cauvery (at Mālangi) when she was, subsequently, compelled by Rāja Wodeyar's officials to return the jewels of the temple of Ranganātha, said to have been in her possession, etc. In the earlier sources, however, there is neither any reference to the two wives of Tirumala nor to this incident. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 284-285.

93. *C. V.*, 30; also *K. N. V.*, III, 96.

Māgha ba. 10).⁹⁴ Thus passed into Mysore hands the old town of Seringapatam and the territory subordinate to it, which had been a Vijayanagar possession and subject to its direct rule for nearly a century and a half.

The acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar was thus an act of conquest. This fact is unanimously echoed and re-echoed, and finds the most significant expression, in the literary works and inscriptions of the seventeenth century.⁹⁵ It was the culmination of a long course of affairs in the Viceroyalty of Seringapatam during a period of twenty-five years (1585-1610) and, more particularly, during a period of fourteen years from the siege of Kesare (1596-1610). It was, obviously, the outcome of an antagonism between the Viceroy Tirumala and his uncle, Venkaṭa I, on the one hand and of alternate rivalry and friendship as between Tirumala and Rāja

94. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I, 75, also see and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 19; *Annals*, I, 29 and 45

95. Among writers other than Gōvinda-Vaidya and Tirumalārya, Chikku-pādhyāya, in his *Dvaya Sūri-Charitre* (I, 72), speaks of Rāja Woḍeyar tactfully conquering Tirumala and expelling him from Seringapatam, and taking possession of the place (*Tirumala-Rājendranati-kusalopāyadvinde geldēlchē Śrīrangapattānana-mradildam*). Other works of his, namely, *Kāmandaka-Nīti* (I, 54), *Pāschimaranga-Māhātmya* (I, 34), *Hastigiri-Māhātmya* (I, 52), *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 39) and *Bhagavadgītā-Tīku* (I, 36), likewise refer to Rāja Woḍeyar taking Seringapatam by wonderful tactics (*atichitra-rachaneyam Śrīrangapattānana rajyapra-kondū, matsaradinde(bisi)*), etc. Timma-Kavi, in his *Yādō-giri-Māhātmya* (I, 88), speaks of Rāja Woḍeyar subduing Tirumala by his prowess (*śauryadam geldu*). Chidānanda, in his *Mumukṣūbhyaḍaya* (II, 17), writes of Rāja Woḍeyar attempting the acquisition of Seringapatam after curbing Tirumala's pride (. . . *Tirumala-nrēpana hamma murdu Śrīrangapurava sādhisadam*), referring, obviously, to the "acquisition" following long after the siege of Kesare. Inscriptions of 1680, 1686, c. 1686-1690, among others, refer to Rāja Woḍeyar's conquest of Tirumala and his acquisition of Seringapatam from him (*jūtva Tirumala-Rājam kṛtvā Śrīrangapattānam*). (See *E C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bu. 144, ll. 9-10, III (1) *Sr.* 14, ll. 17-18; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, *My.* 115, ll. 29-30. For particulars about these sources, see Chs. XIII and XIV. In the light of these data, the versions in later writings, relating to Rāja Woḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam as an act of "conditional transfer," "gift," "bequest," etc., are not entitled to credence. For a detailed examination of these versions, *vule Appendix II—(3)*).

Wodeyar on the other, a position which was quite in keeping with the general political conditions in the Karnāṭaka during the half century following the battle of *Raksas-Tagḍi* (1565).

The year 1610 has thus to be reckoned an important landmark in the history of Mysore. With the conquest of Seringapatam, Rāja Wodeyar evidently took formal possession of the Viceregal throne that had been long established there. This throne has been referred to⁹⁶ as "the throne of Bhōja" (*Bhōja-simhāsana*), and was generally known⁹⁷ as "the throne of the south" (*dakṣiṇa-simhāsana*) and "the jewelled throne" (*ratna-simhāsana*). Rāja Wodeyar is said⁹⁸ to have actually inaugurated his rule in Seringapatam on March 21, 1610 (*Sādḥārāṇa, Chaitra śu 7*), nearly a month and a half after his occupation of the place. He seated⁹⁹ himself on the throne (*simhāsana madhitiṣṭhan*), holding¹⁰⁰ his first *durbār* at Seringapatam at an auspicious moment (*jōyisaganitta nalvoṭṭinol ōlagamirdu*). This may be taken to definitely mark the assertion of independence on the part of Mysore rulers from Vijayanagar overlordship, though they formally acknowledge it in some of their grants for some years yet. Evidently diplomacy required such recognition. It is only on this footing that we can understand the acknowledgment of

96. See *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md., 155 (1623), l. 5.

97. *E. C.*, III (1) TN 54 (1669), l. 10. See also inscriptions and literary works noticed and cited in Chs. VIII-XIV. One of these records, dated in 1680 (*Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn 144, ll. 16-17), in particular, speaks of the throne as "the jewelled throne of Śrīraṅga-Rāya" (*Śrī-Raṅga-Rāya maṇisūbhita piṭha*), from which it seems possible that it was transferred for safety to Seringapatam during the troublous years of Śrī-Raṅga II's rule in Penukonda (1574-1586). For a critical notice of Wilks's position regarding the "Mysore Throne," *vide* Ch. XI, fn. 178.

98. *Annals*, I. 30.

99. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, l. 18; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 30-31, etc.

100. *C. Vam.*, 30.

Vijayanagar supremacy down to as late a period as 1668.¹⁰¹

Seringapatam became henceforward the capital of the kingdom of Mysore. The political centre of gravity shifted thither from the old town of Mysore. Narasarāja, the eldest son of Rāja Woḍeyar, was designated *Yuvarāja* (Crown-prince).¹⁰² Rāja Woḍeyar continued to rule the kingdom assisted by his younger brothers, one of whom, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, appears to have held direct charge of the patrimony of Mysore.¹⁰³ Narasarāja, however, died on September 7, 1610 (*Sādhārāṇa, Bhādrapada* ba. 30),¹⁰⁴ and, it would seem, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar became the *Yuvarāja* thereafter.¹⁰⁵

Rāja Woḍeyar's political position after his acquisition of Seringapatam is, perhaps, best reflected in a record,¹⁰⁶ dated in 1612, referring to him as *Śrīman-Mahādhirāja*, which points to him as a prominent feudatory of Venkaṭa I of Vijayanagar (1586-1614). Indeed, Venkaṭa seemed to regard Rāja Woḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam as the stepping-in of a

101. See *E. C.*, IV (2) (4) 65. Kanthirava-Narasarāja I of Mysore is said to be the right-hand of the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1643—*Ibid.*, Yd. 5. At the same time the Mysore kings make numerous grants on their own independent authority, one of the earliest that can be cited being, of the date 1612 *Ibid.*, Ch. 200; also see *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 160 (1617) and 117 (1625), TN 13 (1638), etc. For further particulars, *vide* Chs. VI, VIII-X.

102. *Annals*, I, c.

103. See *K. N. V.*, III, 100-105.

104. *Annals*, I, 32; see also *C. Vam.*, 31, referring to Narasarāja as having predeceased Rāja Woḍeyar.

105. The *K. N. V.* (IV, 2) and the *Munwam.* (II, 18) speak of the joint rule of Rāja Woḍeyar and Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (*Beṭṭada-Chāmēndra samasta bhūtalava nagaraja saha naludu; agrajānugar dharanyanu taledu*). The latter (II, 14) perhaps significantly refers to Rāja Woḍeyar as *Adhirāja* and to Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja as *Yuvarāja* (*Rājodraya-gadhiraṇa padavi, Yuvarāja padavi Chāmarāja tēgn-nūhgr*).

106. *E. C.*, IV (2), Ch. 200, l. 2.

powerful and loyal feudatory in place of Tirumala who, by his treacherous conduct at Madura—and later, possibly, by his refractory attitude—had alienated his sympathy from him, and whose ultimate retirement, as we have seen, he (Venkaṭa) appears to have systematically planned. Venkaṭa I, as the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsavali*¹⁰⁷ puts it, was even pleased with Rāja Wodeyar for having expelled his nephew from Seringapatam and taken possession of the place. Considering this, probably, as loyal service rendered to the cause of the Empire, he also, about the end of March 1612,¹⁰⁸ it is said,¹⁰⁹ sent through his minister, Gambhīra-Rāva-Virupanna, rutting elephants, horses, jewels and robes, by way of honouring Rāja Wodeyar. Rāja Wodeyar accepted these presents and duly honoured Virupanna, sending in return presents to Venkata I.

It was, further, on this occasion, that Rāja Wodeyar, according to the *Daḥarāṇi-Agrahāraṇi* Plates I (1623),¹¹⁰ received from Venkata I, by means of an order of assurance (*abhaya hasta nirūpa pūrvakavāgi*), the grant of Uminattur and Seringapatam as an hereditary possession (*kāṇanchiyāgi*). In keeping with this, the *Mēlkōṭe copper-plate grant*¹¹¹ of Rāja Wodeyar himself, dated in 1614, refers to Seringapatam as a rent-free estate assigned to him by Venkata I (*namage Venkatapaturāyarinda*

107. Pp. 30-31. *Venkatapati-Rāyam tannam Madhureya puriḥol paṇḍar
goppisi-yeral-bageḍu būtu pūgi pūntenisade tēramgondu hūkadul
tannaṇam tannaṇūlaguḥa doregaḥam baṇamagaḍe paḍibariḥi bal-
meyolirpa Tṛimūla-Rājana dēśakōṣaṇḥalam kondavanūmelidudarkē
perkaḥi sorkānegal-anurku-guduregaḥa nollude-t o d a o u g a l a m
pāvūḍamam koḭḭu mantriḥaḥol kattaḭenisula Gambhīra-Rāya-
Vīrapaṇḥanam kalupe; avarey-taṇḍu tanduvanoppise-yavam
kondavanam maṇḥiḥi, Rāyange paḍipavūḍamam kaṭṭiḥi kalupi
santasadolirdam.*

108. See *E. C.*, III (1), TN. 62 (1623), ll 36-41, referring to a grant of Venkaṭa I to Rāja Wodeyar on March 27, 1612 (*Paridhānu, Chakra* su. 5).

109. *C. Vam.*, 31; also text *supra*.

110. E. C., III (1), TN. 62, l.c.

111. *Ibid.*, Sr. 157, ll. 8-9.

umbaliyāgi banda Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa). A lithic record,¹¹² dated in 1615, refers to Bannūr also as a rent-free grant to Rāja Woḍeyar (*umbaliyāgi banda Bannūra sthaḷa*). Bannūr and Seringapatam, referred to in these records, were clearly conquests of Rāja Woḍeyar made in 1607 and 1610. Rāja Woḍeyar evidently obtained formal confirmation of these conquests as rent-free grants at the hands of Venkaṭa I. In all these records we find him referring to the latter as his overlord, a sure sign of his loyalty to the Imperial house,¹¹³ though he had in fact wrested the Viceroyalty from its own scion.

Rāja Woḍeyar was thus, in theory, a feudatory of the ruling Vijayanagar Emperor. His actual political position in the eyes of the latter seems to have been that of a representative or an agent for the seat of imperial power in the south (*lakṣhīṇa-simhāsana Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇake kartarāda*), as is significantly echoed in one¹¹⁴ of the later records. Seringapatam, though a distinct gain to the kingdom of Mysore from Rāja Woḍeyar's point of view, was, as we shall see, not completely lost to the Empire at least for another half a century or so. In actual practice, however, Rāja Woḍeyar was more or less

112. *Ibid.*, TN 116, l. 17.

113. The earliest available record of the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar, mentioning the suzerainty of Venkaṭa I, is, however, a lithic one dated in March 1598 (*E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198, ll. 3-4). The exceptions are *E. C.*, III (1) My 4 (1594) and Sr 150 (1617), referring only to Rāja Woḍeyar's services in local temples. There is, thus, enough data pointing to Rāja Woḍeyar's loyalty to the Empire both before and after his acquisition of Seringapatam.

114. See, for instance, *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 54 (1669), ll. 10-11. The expressions, *lakṣhīṇa-simhāsana Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa*, literally mean southern throne of Seringapatam. Since Seringapatam had been a Viceroyalty under the Vijayanagar Empire, these expressions also seem to convey that it continued, in theory, as a seat of Imperial power in the south long after its conquest by Rāja Woḍeyar (in 1610). In keeping with this position is the well-known tradition that the rulers of Mysore from Rāja Woḍeyar onwards were generally known as *Kartar*.

independent as a ruler of Mysore, steadily expanding his kingdom at the expense of the Pālegārs in different parts of the Viceroyalty.

In April 1610, Rāja Wodeyar acquired Siriyūr from Nanjunḍa-Arasu of Piriyāpatṇa.¹¹⁵ In July 1612, he took Saragūr from Śrīkaṇṭha Wodeyar.¹¹⁶ Early in 1614, Rāja Wodeyar apparently found in Nanjarāja Wodeyar of Hadināḍ Twenty Thousand country a serious competitor for the sovereignty of the Seringapatam province. At the head of a large army, levied from the chiefs of Ālambāḍi, Kōleya, Yelandūr, Satyāgāla and Madura (*tanage Madhureyavariva kuppada paṇadol kaṭṭida kālāḷgaḷ*), Nanjarāja¹¹⁷ began the offensive against Rāja Wodeyar by walking away with the latter's horse (named *Mēghapushpa*) stationed in Yeḍadore, a frontier fort of Mysore (*Eḍadoreyemba gaḍi-gōṇṭe*). Rāja Wodeyar decided upon hostilities and laid siege to Tāyūr. Nanjarāja was proceeding thither, with convoys, by way of Ammachavāḍi. Rāja Wodeyar surprised him in the neighbourhood of the hill overlooking Vāṭahāḷu and Gaṇaganūr,¹¹⁸ and began to obstruct his passage. A fierce fight ensued, in which Nanjarāja was, with considerable loss, slain, and his camp plundered. In February 1614,¹¹⁹ Terakaṇāmbi and Ummattūr—with their dependencies¹²⁰—which had belonged to Nanjarāja, were annexed to Mysore. The Hadināḍ-sīme was, however, left in charge of Chandrasēkhara Wodeyar, younger brother of Nanjarāja.¹²¹

115. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, I. 76; *Annals*, I. 44.

116. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*

117. *C. Vam.*, 31; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 78; see also and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 19-20.

118. Extant villages in the T-Narasipur and Yelandūr taluks (see *List of Villages*, 90, for Vāṭahāḷu).

119. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 76-77; *Annals*, I. 44.

120. Tāyūr, Tagaḍūr, Heḍatale, Hemmaragāla, Nilusōge, etc., (see *C. V.*, II, 29).

121. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 77-78.

In December 1614, Rāja Woḍeyar acquired Hura,¹²² and in February 1615, Haradanahalli,¹²³ from Śrīkanṭha Woḍeyar and Nanjarāja Woḍeyar (sons of Lingapādaiya) respectively. In February 1615, he also acquired, and exacted tribute from, Talakāḍ (from Sōmarājaiya), Hullahalli (from Śrīkanṭha Woḍeyar), Kaḷale (from Karikāla Mallarājaiya), Heggaddēvankōṭe (from Channarājaiya), Maḷalavāḍi (from Gōpālarājaiya), Bīḷikere (from Śāntarājaiya), Kottāgāla and Ammachavāḍi.¹²⁴ In March, Mūgūr from Basavarāja Woḍeyar,¹²⁵ and in November, Kikkēri and Hosaholalu from Jagadēva-Rāya,¹²⁶ were taken. In February 1616, on the death of Chandraśēkhara Woḍeyar (in January), Rāmasamudra, in Hadināḍ, was annexed.¹²⁷ In March 1617, Māvattūr was acquired from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṇṇa.¹²⁸

By about the middle of 1617, Rāja Woḍeyar had effectively established his sway over a greater portion of the present district of Mysore. He was evidently at the height of his power (*maṇḍalādhipatyadoḷire*), as the *Chikkadēvarājā-Vijāyam*¹²⁹ seems to indicate. The long series of Rāja Woḍeyar's conquests, between 1584-1617, had resulted in the acquisition by him of a number of insignias,¹³⁰ such, for instance, as *Dharaṇīvarāha* (boar crest), *Garuḍa* (eagle), *Makara* (crocodile), *Śaṅkha* (conch), *Sitātupatra* (white umbrella) and *Chakra* (discus). These conquests were, again, important from the domestic point of view. Rāja Woḍeyar, as we shall see, entered

122. *Ibid.*, I. 79; *Annals*, I. 44.123. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*124. *Annals*, I. 44-45; also *O. Vi*, I. c.125. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 80-81; cf. *Annals*, I. 45.126. *Ibid.*, I. 81-82; *Annals*, I. c.127. *Ibid.*, I. 77, 79; *Ibid.*128. *Ibid.*, I. 82; cf. *Annals*, I. 44.

129. II, 29.

130. See *Śrīranga-Māhātmya* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 24: *Dhore dhoregaḷa-nrudūradottarasute dharaṇīvarāha nāmanananta hrudugalāntam gaṇuḍa makara śaṅkha sitātupatra chakrādūgalam* ||

into matrimonial relations with some of the more important local chiefs subdued by him

The kingdom of Mysore, in 1617, extended from Seringapatam in the north to Ummattūr and Terakanāmbi in the south, and from Bannūr in the east to Māvattūr, Akkihebbālu and Hoḷe-Narasipur in the west and the north-west. Western Daṇḍyakankote, Raṅgasamudra, Vijayāpura, Naḷūr, Arakere, Veleḷu and Mangala, were among the important places within its sphere of influence.¹³¹ The kingdom, thus built up by Rāja Wodeyar, was coterminous with the Channapaṭṭa Viceroyalty (under Jagadēva-Rāya) in the north and the territory of the Nāyaks of Madura¹³² in the south.

Rāja Wodeyar was a pious ruler. His government was conducted in accordance with the ancient ideal of *dharma* (*dharmadim dhareyam pālisi*), i.e., with due regard to the happiness and well-being of his subjects.¹³³ The words, *dharmadim dhareyam pālisi*, mean that he ruled the kingdom agreeably to the *dharma*. Here the word *dharma* has a wider, in fact a special, significance and indicates something more than mere conduct or religion. Indeed, according to Sōmadēva-Sūri, the author of *Nītwākyāmrita*, who is better known by his *Yasastilaka* which he wrote in 959, *dharma* is a technical term in Hindu Politics and has a definite connotation attached to it. He defines it as that which promotes

131. *C. Vam.*, 32. The places mentioned are villages in the T-Narasipur, Guṇḍlupet, Chāmarājauagar, Seringapatam and Mandya taluks (see *List of Villages*, 87, 89, 92, 93 and 106).

132. R. Satyanatha Aiyar, on the authority of Taylor, speaks of a probable invasion of the Dinḍigal province by one "Mukilān," a general of Rāja Wodeyar (*Nāyaks of Madura*, p 105), for which there is no evidence. The reference here is, possibly, to a general of Nanjarāja of Hādināḍ, who, according to the *C. Vam.* (31), had levied tribute from Madura.

133. *C. Vam.*, 13, 31; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 20; *Annals*, I 45, 46; cf. *Wilks*, I. 52-53.

the greatest good of society. *Rājadharmā* would thus be something in keeping with the good of the greatest number of the governed. This theory, whether it anticipated Bentham's great principle or not, made happiness of the governed the end of kingly rule and the test of royal virtue. A king's actions were right in proportion as they tended to promote happiness and wrong as they tended to promote the reverse. Judged from this high and exacting standard, Rāja Wodeyar, who was uniformly kind to the cultivator and strict towards the feudatory, must be said to have been not only a great success but also one who governed according to the *dharma*. The rigour of his rule no doubt told heavily on the subordinate local chiefs (*Pālegārs*) but it must be held to have been in keeping with the requirements of the times.

In the conquered tracts, Rāja Wodeyar, it is said,¹³⁴ continued the land revenue settlement of the Pālegār regime. To facilitate the collection and transmission of revenue dues, however, shrewd officials, closely acquainted with the details of the local administration of the units (*gaḍī*), were newly appointed, and under them were placed accountants (*haraṇika*) to maintain regular accounts. For the prevention of crimes and the maintenance of public peace in the local parts, officials like *Thāṇḍārs*, *Hōḷḍārs* and *Ōlekārs* were posted in suitable numbers.

Rāja Wodeyar is reputed to have organised the Mahānavami (*Navarātri*) Durbār in Seringapatam, in continuation of the Vijayanagar traditions. We have an elaborate traditional account of how he first celebrated the *Navarātri* in 1610 (September 8-17).¹³⁵ His eldest

134. *Annals*, 1 c ; see also and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 467.

135. *Annals*, I 38-40. For a contemporary reference to the Mahānavami festival, vide Ch. IX.

son, Narasarāja, having died in that year (September 7), Rāja Wodeyar, in consultation with experts, is also said to have laid down the rule that, in future, the death even of the closest relatives of the Royal House should not interfere with the celebration of ceremonies connected with this feast.¹³⁶

In or about 1614 Rāja Wodeyar, we note,¹³⁷ keenly felt the need for a *Dalavāi* (Commander-in-Chief), which appointment had been discontinued ever since the usurpation of Māra Nāvaka (1399). He had but an insufficient force with him, either to make fresh territorial acquisitions or to cope with opponents like Nanjarāja of Hadinād. Accordingly, having deliberated with his councillors, Rāja Wodeyar sought the assistance of his nephew, Karikāla-Mallarājaiya (son of Timmarāja Wodeyar I of Kaḷale Forty Thousand country);¹³⁸ and concluded with him a solemn deed of promise (*bhāshā-patra*), to the effect that, while Rāja Wodeyar's descendants were to rule Seringapatam, Mysore, Kaḷale and other places annexed from time to time, the descendants of Mallarājaiya were to hold the office of *Sarvādhikāri* (office of Chief Minister) and *Dalavāi* (Commander-in-Chief) in Mysore. In pursuance of this agreement, Karikāla-Mallarājaiya was appointed the first *Dalavāi*. Mallarājaiya, having accepted the office, went over to Kaḷale, but later sent in his resignation through

136 *Ibid.*, I 32-33.

137. *Ibid.*, I. 45-47, *Mys Dho Vam. Kay.*, ff 7-8 (compared). The word *Dalavāi* literally means mouthpiece of the army (*dala* + *vāyi* or *bāyi*) and denotes a military officer of the rank of Commander-in-Chief. It is a colloquialism for *Danḍa-nāvaka* or *Dannāvaka* of the Vijayanagar inscriptions, and occurs for the first time in the seventeenth century records of the Wodeyars of Mysore, the earliest being *E.C.*, III (I) Sr 36 (1620) (*Vide* also f.n. 6 to Ch. VI). The word is generally spelt as *Dalavāyi*, *Dalaroy*, *Dalavōy* and *Dalavāi*, the last being conveniently followed in this work. Wilks's spelling, *Dulwoy* or *Dulwoy*, is obsolete.

138 *Vide* Table XIII. For further particulars about Karikāla-Mallarājaiya, see Ch. X.

his grandson, Nandināthaiya. Thereupon Beṭṭada-Arasu, a natural son of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (younger brother of Rāja Woḍeyar), was appointed Dalavāi in January 1617.¹³⁹ The latter, it is said,¹⁴⁰ was of considerable assistance to Rāja Woḍeyar in the acquisition of Māvattūr from Nanjuṇḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṭṭaṇa (March 1617).

Rāja Woḍeyar, as depicted to us,¹⁴¹ was a devout Vaishṇava, adoring God Lakshmīkānta of Mysore, the tutelary deity of his family (*tanna manedēvarenipa*), Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri, the deity of his race (*tanna kula-dēvarenipa*), and Ranganātha of Seringapatam. He was noted for the catholicity of his religious outlook. Numerous¹⁴² were his gifts and grants, alike to individuals and to Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples in the kingdom. Repairs and services to the temples of Ranganātha and Nārāyaṇa in Seringapatam and Mēlkōṭe, respectively, claimed his constant share of attention.¹⁴³ In particular, he is said¹⁴⁴ to have endowed the latter shrine with a jewelled crown known as *Rāja-muḍi* (named after himself), and the former with lands yielding 50 *khaṇḍugas* of paddy

139. *Annals*, I. 47; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 66; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 286.

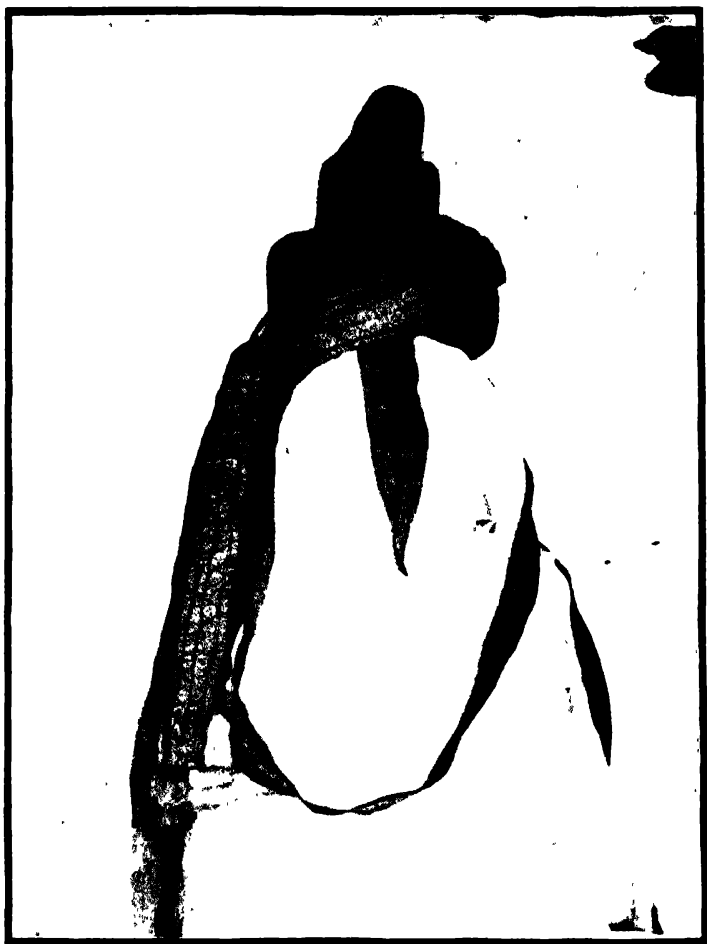
140. *Ibid.*, I. 47-48.

141. *Vide* on this point *C. Vam.*, 10, 19-23. See also *Introd. Ch.* in the works of Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Ṭavi, etc., cf. *Wilks*, I. 52. There is no evidence in support of Wilks's statement that the cult of Viṣṇu was adopted by the Mysore Rulers only after Rāja Woḍeyar's acquisition of Seringapatam (1610). For the Vaishṇava predilections of Rāja Woḍeyar before 1610, *vide* references *infra*.

142. See *Mys. Raj. Ch.*, 20; *Annals*, I. 40-42, referring to Rāja Woḍeyar's grants of *agrahāras* to Brāhmins, and his services in the temples at Chāmuḍi Hills, Mysore, Seringapatam, Mēlkōṭe, T. Narasipur, Yeḍatore, Rāmanāthapur, etc. Dēvachandra (*Raj. Kath.*, XII. 465) even speaks of Rāja Woḍeyar as having made rent-free grants to the *Ādiśvara-Bastī* at Seringapatam and to individual Jains, and got built a *prākāra* to the *Bastī* at Kanakagiri (Maleyūr).

143. See, for instance, *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 23-24, 26-27, referring to Rāja Woḍeyar's services to the temple of Ranganātha during 1600-1616; also *C. Vam.*, 9, 15.

144. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, I. c.; *Annals*, I. 41; also *C. Vam.*, 9.



Bhakta-vigraha of Rāja Wodeyar, now in the Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa
(Lakṣmīśantasvāmī) Temple, Fort, Mysore.



Bhakta-vigraha of Rāja Woḍeyar in the Nārāyanasvāmi Temple, Mēlkōṭe

under the tank of Kaṣṭavādi enlarged by him.¹⁴⁵ He is also said¹⁴⁶ to have built the tower over the outer gate (*mahā-dvāra*) of the Lakshmīkāntāsvāmī temple at Mysore, setting it with a golden pinnacle (*suvarṇa kaṣaṣu*). Among the extant records of his reign, a lithic one, dated March 13, 1594,¹⁴⁷ refers to the construction of a *Saṅkrānti-maṇṭapa* to God Lakshmīkanta of Mysore. Another, dated March 31, 1598,¹⁴⁸ records a grant of lands for *Rāmānuja-kūṭa* and a feeding house (*chutru*) in the precincts of the temple of Janārdanasvāmī at Beḷa-guḷa. The *Mēlkōṭe copper-plate grant*, dated April 14, 1614,¹⁴⁹ registers a gift by Rāja Wodeyar of the village of Muttigere (*Nṛsiṃhapura*) divided into 50 shares, of which 49 were distributed among 28 Brāhmins and one was set apart to provide for the offering of the Garuḍa-vāhana in the temple of Chaluvārāyasvāmī (Nārāyaṇa) at Mēlkōṭe. Another record, a lithic one, dated April 3, 1615,¹⁵⁰ refers to a grant by him of the village of Bēvinahalli to God Rāmachandra of Vahnipura. A third, also lithic, dated February 5, 1617,¹⁵¹ mentions a service of Rāja Wodeyar in the Śrīnivāsasvāmī temple at Karīghaṭṭa.

A *Bhakta-vigraha* of Rāja Wodeyar, a bas-relief statue, one and a half feet high, standing with
 Statues of Rāja Wodeyar folded hands, with his name inscribed on the base, is found carved on one of the pillars of the *navaranga* of the Nārāyaṇasvāmī temple at Mēlkōṭe.¹⁵² A similar statue of his, about two feet high, is also to be seen to the right in the *prākāra* of the Prasanna-Kṛṣṇasvāmī temple at Mysore.¹⁵³

145. *I. M. C.*, Ditto, p. 27 (1616).

146. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Mx 95 (1851), II 23 (*M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 3, para 10).

147. *E. C.*, III (1) My. 1 s. 1516, *Jaya, Chautra* su 1.

148. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198 s. 1520, *Vilamba, Chautra* su. 5.

149. *Ibid.*, III (1) Sr. 157 s. 1536, *Ānanda, Vaiśākha* su. 15.

150. *Ibid.*, TN. 116 s. 1537, *Rakshasa, Chautra* su 15. The week-day, Thursday, mentioned in the record, is apparently an error for Monday.

151. *Ibid.*, Sr. 150 *Nala, Māgha* su 10.

152. See *M. A. R.*, pp. 21 and 58, paras 41 and 142.

153. *Ibid.*, 1920, p. 3, para 10.

Two miracles, said to have occurred during the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar, give us some insight into his piety. As already mentioned, early in his reign, Vīrarājaiya of Kārugahallī, a cousin of Rāja Woḍeyar, plotted against his life, it is said,¹⁵⁴ by administering poison into the holy water of God Lakshmīkānta (*Lakshmīramanāsvāmi*) at Mysore. Rāja Woḍeyar partook of the holy water from the priest of the temple, when the sediment of poison, contained therein, only remained, and became distinctly perceptible, on the palm of his own hand. Again, in February-March 1599 (*Viḷambi, Phālguna*), a blind man (a Brāhman by name Venkaṭeśaiya) from Tirupati is stated¹⁵⁵ to have got back his eye-sight at the temple of Lakshmīkāntasvāmi in Mysore, under the influence of Rāja Woḍeyar's faith in that God.

The influence exerted by Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism during this reign is, perhaps, best illustrated by two Kannada works extant, assignable to the period of Rāja Woḍeyar. The earliest of these is the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*¹⁵⁶ (c 1600) by Singarāchārya who refers to himself¹⁵⁷ as a teacher

Literary activity
during his reign

154. *Annals*, I 19-20. See also *E. C., Mys Dist Suppl. Vol*, My 95 (1861), l. 2, echoing this tradition.

155. *Mys Dho Pūr.*, I. 29-32, also see and compare *Annals*, I. 20-21; *C Yam*, 10, and *Introduct Ch* in the works of Chikkupādhyāya, etc. Some of the literary works (including the *C Yam*.) speak of the recipient of the eye-sight as a woman from Tirupati. The authority of the *Mys Dho. Pūr.*, however, is preferred here as the more specific one.

156. Ms. No. 19-14-3—*P. L.*, *Mud Or Lib*, cf. *Kar Ka Cha* (III. 133-134), assigning this work, on grounds of style, to c 1770, and identifying Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, mentioned in the Ms., with Chāmarāja VII (1771-1776). There is no evidence in support of this position. On the other hand, a detailed examination of the Ms. goes to show that a copy of it was made by a scribe, named Tirunārāyaṇa, for Dēvāmbā, queen of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704)—*vide ff. 21*. See also and compare Ms. No. K. A. 194—*P.*, *Mys. Or. Lib*.

157. *Vide* colophon to Chs. *Śrīmad-rājādhirāja rāja-paramēśvara prauḍha-pratāpa Yadukula payah purāvāra . . . Śrī-narapatr-Bettā[da]-Chāma mahārāyaṇa Mahāpādhyāya Singarāchārya virachitamappa . . .* The ascription of the titles, probably by way of literary flourish, is in keeping with the position of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja as a ruler jointly with his elder brother, Rāja Woḍeyar. See also f.n. 105 and 173.



Śrī-Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa-Lakṣmīkūṭasvāmin Temple, Fort. M. 309-

of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar, and is possibly identical¹⁵⁸ with Singarayangār I of Seringapatam, of Kauśika-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajus-śākhā. The work begins with invocations to God Ranganātha, Ranganāyaki and Rāmānuja, and deals with the legendary history of Śrīrangam in Kannada prose (in 10 chapters). The other work, *Karṇa-Vṛttānta-Kathe*¹⁵⁹ (c. 1615) dealing with the episode of Karṇa in the *Mahābhārata* is an incomplete poetical production (in 12 chapters), written in the popular *Sāngatya* metre. The author's name is nowhere mentioned in the text, but there are indications¹⁶⁰ in it that he was a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhman of Seringapatam living with his parents and a brother. The authorship, however, is attributed to one Thirumalārya, said to have been at first a preceptor, and afterwards *Pradhāni* (minister), of Rāja Wodeyar.¹⁶¹ If this Thirumalārya is presumed to have written the *Karṇa-Vṛttānta-Kathe*, then he is, perhaps, identical¹⁶² with Thirumalayangār I, eldest son of Singarayangār I of Seringapatam. The *Karṇa-Vṛttānta-Kathe* begins with an invocation to God Paśchima Ranganātha (the God at Seringapatam) and is pervaded by an essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava background.

Vīrāmbā (Vīrājamma), sister of Channarāja of Bonmahallī, was the principal consort of Rāja Wodeyar.¹⁶³ Among other consorts of his were,¹⁶⁴ Doddamma of Bīlikere, Kempamma of Hura, Timmājamma of Bīlugalī and Muddamma of Tippūr. He had four sons,¹⁶⁵ three by

158 Vide Table in Appendix II—(4)

159 Pub. *Karnataka-Karṇa-Kalāndha Series* (No. 2), Mysore 1917. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 326

160 See I, 1-4, 23

161 Vide Appendix II—(4), for a discussion of the evidence, etc.

162 Vide Table in Ditto

163 K. N. V., III, 12. see also and compare *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 60; *Annals*, I, 18.

164 *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, 1c. cf. *Annals*, 1c

165 *Ibid.*, I, 33, see also *C. Fam.*, 31-32, cf. *Annals*, I, 19; and Tables IV and IX.

Vīrāmbā and the fourth and last by Timmājamma. Narasarāja, the eldest, was born in July 1579; Nanjarāja, the second, in September 1581; Beṭṭa Woḍeyar (Beṭṭada-ṛya), in 1583; and Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, the youngest, in May 1612. Narasarāja, as we have seen, was of active assistance to Rāja Woḍeyar, during the conquest of Seringapatam (1610). The *Mākuballi copper-plate grant* (February 1635) echoes his prowess.¹⁶⁶ Rāja Woḍeyar, as noted already,¹⁶⁷ had a younger brother, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1554), and two half-brothers, also younger, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1553)—afterwards known as Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar—and Channarāja Woḍeyar (b. 1555). Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar had two wives,¹⁶⁸ Guruvāmbā (Guruvājamma), daughter of Timmarāja of Hura, and Lingājamma of Bāgaḷi. Dēvarāja Woḍeyar also had two,¹⁶⁹ Dēvājamma and Kempamma (Kempamāmbā). Channarāja Woḍeyar, it would appear,¹⁷⁰ predeceased Rāja Woḍeyar after the siege of Kesare (1596). Rāja Woḍeyar, as depicted to us,¹⁷¹ had the full co-operation of all his brothers, alike in times of war and peace. We have seen how faithfully they served him during the siege of Kesare. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, in particular, was of considerable assistance to Rāja Woḍeyar during 1595-1596. Inscriptions and literary works point to him as a gallant warrior.¹⁷² Indeed, there are indications¹⁷³ of his having ruled Mysore jointly with Rāja Woḍeyar, both before and after the acquisition of Seringapatam (1610). We find him prominently

166. *M. A. R.*, 1924, p. 23, No. 6.

167. *Fide* Ch. IV, f.n. 80 and text thereto.

168. *K. N. I.*, III, 13, *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 61, also see and compare *Annals*, I, 17, 65.

169. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 52-53, 61, *Annals*, I, 95, also Table II (compare).

170. *C. Fam.*, 31.

171. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

172. *R. C.*, V (1) and (2) A. 2, 64 (1647), III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), *K. N. I.*, Ch. III; *C. Fam.*, 24-25.

173. *Fide* *A. N. I.*, Chs. III-IV; see also f.n. 105 and 157.

mentioned in two lithic records, dated in March 1594 and 1598.¹⁷⁴ In 1604 (*Krōdhā*), however, it would appear, some differences arose between Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Rāja Wodeyar, in connection with the acquisition of a village named Majjigepura.¹⁷⁵ Whereupon Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar we learn¹⁷⁶ proceeded to Seringapatam and sought the friendship of Rāmānujaya, Dalavāi of Tirumala. In vain did Rāja Wodeyar persuade him to return to Mysore. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja refused to move thither until he had taken Majjigepura. Rāja Wodeyar, in turn, sent word to him that he would be captured if he persisted in his resolve. Heedless of this warning, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja, at the head of some forces, marched on from Seringapatam towards Majjigepura. On hearing this news, Rāja Wodeyar despatched a contingent under his sons, Narasarāja Wodeyar and Beṭṭa Wodeyar (Beṭṭadaya). Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja had almost succeeded in taking Majjigepura when Narasarāja and Beṭṭa Wodeyar made a surprise attack from an ambuscade and captured him. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja was taken to Mysore, where Rāja Wodeyar, in brotherly affection, extended him a hearty embrace. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja, however, in great wrath, pushed him aside, only to find himself kept in honourable confinement in Mysore. Meanwhile, Narasarāja, ostensibly to win Rāja Wodeyar's approbation, engaged a hireling to put out the eyes of his uncle. The plot was, however, promptly communicated to Rāja Wodeyar by an adherent of his (Ranganātha-Dīkshita). Rāja Wodeyar was on his way to Tippūr. Cancelling his programme, he forthwith

174 *Vide* fn. 147-148 *supra*.

175 An Inām village in the Belagula hobli, Seringapatam taluk (see *List of Villages*, 94). According to *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 198 (1598), ll. 13-15, Majjigepura was otherwise known as Śankarapura, and had been acquired by the Mysore Ruling House, by a deed of sale, from the inhabitants of the place. The village does not, however, appear to have been actually occupied by the rulers till 1604.

176 *Mys. Dio. Pūr.*, I. 34-39; cf. *Wills*, I. 48-49.

sent for Narasarāja and desired him to remove the eyes of his own younger brother, Nanjarāja. "What fault has my brother, Nanjarāja, committed that I should be asked to blind him with?" submitted Narasarāja. "And what fault has *my* brother, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja, committed that *you* should thus plot to take off his eyes?" retorted Rāja Woḍeyar. Narasarāja blushed; Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja was at once released and advised to reside in Rangasamudra.

The last days of Rāja Woḍeyar were rather clouded by sorrow. As already referred to, his youngest brother, Channarāja, had predeceased him after the siege of Kesare (1596), while his eldest son, Narasarāja, had died in September 1610. And this was followed by the deaths of two other sons (Nanjarāja and Beṭṭa Woḍeyar) of his.¹⁷⁷ Rāja Woḍeyar was considerably weighed down with this domestic affliction. Yet, so attached to him were the surviving younger brothers (of Rāja Woḍeyar), Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, that their company was in itself, it would seem, a solace to him.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, the question of succession to the kingdom continued to engage his attention. His last son, Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, was yet in his infancy, while Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja and Dēvarāja were already sufficiently well advanced in age. The only immediate lineal descendant for the throne was his own grandson Chāmarāja (*b.* 1603), son of Narasarāja. Accordingly, in the last year of his reign, Rāja Woḍeyar, in consultation with his brothers, nominated Chāmarāja as his successor, and made a provision for the members of the Royal family, assigning western Daṇāyakankōṭe to Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar; Rangasamudra, Naḷūr and Vijayapura to the sons of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar; and Arakere, Yeleyūr and Mangala to those of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.¹⁷⁹

177. See *C. Tam*, 31.178. *Ibid.*, 31-32.179. *Ibid.*, 32.

Rāja Wodeyar passed away on June 20, 1617, in his sixty-sixth year.¹⁸⁰ At the time of his death, a weird spectacle is said¹⁸¹ to have been observed in the Nārāyaṇa-svāmi temple at Mēlkoṭe, where Rāja Wodeyar, having entered the *garbha-griha*, was known to have become one with the deity.

An historical character like Rāja Wodeyar with an eventful record extending well nigh to four decades in the history of the Karnāṭaka country in general and of Mysore in particular, could not but have exercised a profound influence over his contemporaries, although it is not possible to determine the extent of that influence from the scanty records of his own period, available to us to-day. So fresh and so deep, indeed, appear to have been the memories of his rule and achievements to his own contemporaries and to those who followed them, that they left a lasting impression on the succeeding generation of writers in Mysore. The result was, as is often the case with historical celebrities, that slowly,

180 *Mys. Dho Pūr*, I, 13. *Paṅgala, Jyēṣṭha* ba 13, see also *Annals*, I, 49. The *C. Vam* (31-32) conveys to us a picture of Rāja Wodeyar as an extremely old person (*chadu muppaṇṇa* at the time of his death, and speaks of his having ruled for eighty years (*ambattum barisam . . . dhareyam palisu*). Again, according to this work (12) Rāja Wodeyar had ruled for sixty years (*aruvattum barisamam baḷadeya nelalalidu darinda*) already about the time of the siege of Kesari (1596), so that there is, as already indicated (*vide fn. 52 supra*), a clear gap of twenty years between that event and the last year of Rāja Wodeyar's reign (1616-1617). Dēvachandra (See *Rāj. Kath.* XII, 467, relying on the *C. Vam*, speaks of Rāja Wodeyar's death in his eightieth year, on December 8, 1616 (*Nala, Mārṇakura* ka 10, evidently interpreting the passage from the *C. Vam* as the life-period of Rāja Wodeyar (*Paramāyushyamāṇi embhattu varuṣam kaṭṭe*). If the *C. Vam*, is to be literally interpreted, Rāja Wodeyar's accession itself will have to be pushed back to 1536 and his date of birth perhaps even much earlier. If, on the other hand, Dēvachandra's interpretation be accepted, Rāja Wodeyar's date of birth would have to be fixed in 1536. In the absence, however, of confirmatory evidence, the authority of the *Mys. Dho Pūr* and the *Annals* is preferred here as the more specific one and in keeping with the probabilities of historical fact.

181. *C. Vam*, 32; also see and compare *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 21; *Annals*, I, 49, etc.

within half a century from his death, Rāja Wodeyar came to be looked upon as a deified warrior-king of Mysore with all the halo and glamour attaching to an epic personage, the only difference being that, in his case, the background is unmistakably historical. Thus, the *Mākuballu copper-plate grant* (February 1635), already referred to, speaks of him "as the sun in dispelling the darkness, the host of hostile kings, whose courage was widely known and who was ever ready to do good deeds." To Gōvinda-Vaidya, the author of the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648), Rāja Wodeyar appears prominently as a warrior, building up the kingdom of Mysore assisted by his younger brother, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar. To Tirumalārya, the author of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali* (c. 1678-1680) and *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686), he is the establisher of the ruling dynasty of Mysore on a sound footing and is the first systematic builder of the Mysore kingdom by policy and prowess. In working out these aspects to their logical conclusion, Tirumalārya draws freely on the exuberance of his poetical imagination, adjusting the facts of history to the atmosphere of tradition. To the other writers, who were contemporaries of Tirumalārya, Rāja Wodeyar is essentially the conqueror of Tirumala, the Viceroy-nephew of Venkata I. Inscriptions, dated in 1680, 1686-1690, etc., significantly echo his prowess and fame.¹⁸² The chronicles fix up, with a tolerable degree of certainty, the life-period of Rāja Wodeyar and the events of his reign, not, however, unmixed with tradition.

Nevertheless, these materials enable us to form some estimate of Rāja Wodeyar. In appearance he was evidently of an imposing stature, well-built and possessed of exceptional strength and vigour. Trained early in life in

¹⁸² *Vide* *l.n.* 95 *supra*; see also *E. C.*, III (1) *Sr.* 64 (1722), II. 30-34; IV (2) *Yd* 17 and 18 (1761), II 18-22 and 6-11, among the 18th century inscriptions, referring to Rāja Wodeyar's rule.

the rigorous methods of warfare common to the times in which he was born, he was reputed to have been a successful warrior, fighting hard against heavy odds, with limited resources at his command, making dexterous use of his weapons. Of military tactics and diplomacy, he was, from all accounts, a past master. These, coupled with his own personal prowess, the spirit of co-operation and devotion he inspired in his followers and the good character and amiable disposition of his brothers, should have contributed in no small measure to his success as a military leader of the first rank.¹⁸³ His rule appears to have been unquestionably popular, based as it was on the fundamental principle of the *Dharma*, a code of practical ethics which, as he is said to have defined,¹⁸⁴ was to be observed by a ruler both in times of war and peace. It was an important feature of his rule that the revenues received from his subjects and the tribute collected from his feudatories were expended by him upon numerous daily gifts, charities and benefactions, only a portion of it being set apart for his own personal use, while the spoils in war were devoted exclusively to the service of Gods and their devotees, the Brāhmanas.¹⁸⁵ In his daily life, he adhered to a strict programme of morning ablutions, prayers and worship, and listening to the Purāṇās and the epics.¹⁸⁶ A devout yet tolerant Vaishṇava, a chivalrous warrior, a kindly brother, a humane and magnanimous ruler, Rāja Wodeyar must be reckoned a typical character of his age. His policy of political expansion of the kingdom of Mysore was in accord with his own environment and the conditions of his times. From this point of view, his conquest of Seringapatam (1610) was fully justified. Though it might have appeared at first sight a serious blow and a loss to

183 See *C. Vam.*, 8, 9 and 12.

184. *Ibid.*, 32. *Puṇya navaṇṇavalliyum padaviṇṇam poravalliyum . . . dharma-mama nārāyaṇa nāterudendu buddhi vēldu . . .*

185. *Ibid.*, 13.

186. *Ibid.*, 12.

the Vijayanagar Empire and though Venkata I seemed originally to regard it more as a temporary occupation than as a permanent acquisition by Rāja Woḍeyar, yet his confirmation of the conquest shows that he had faith in Rāja Woḍeyar and preferred him, a strong and trusty ruler, to his own nephew, who had proved himself treacherous at the siege of Madura and whom he cordially detested¹⁸⁷ Rāja Woḍeyar's loyalty to the Empire, both before and after the memorable occupation of Seringapatam, was undoubted. Viewed thus, Rāja Woḍeyar has an abiding claim to greatness as the first "Maker of Mysore"

187. See *Mys. Gaz.*, II iii. 2207.



Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V, 1617-1637.

CHAPTER VI.

CHĀMARĀJA WOḌEYAR V, 1617-1637

Birth, accession and identity— Political Development : *First Phase* : 1617-1621—General political situation First aggression in the north, 1618—First aggression in the south, 1618-1619— Local acquisitions, 1619-1620—Fall of Dalavai Bettada Arasu, 1620-1621— *Second Phase* 1621-1626— Local campaigns, 1621-1626 *Third Phase* : 1626-1630— Local campaigns, 1626—Further local campaigns, 1627-1630—*Fourth Phase* 1630-1637— Relations with Ikkeri, down to 1630—Hostilities continued, 1630—Renewed aggressions in the north and the north-west, 1630-1631— More aggressions, 1631-1634—Relations with Vijayanagar, down to 1635—Chamaraja's Royal titles Political position of Mysore, 1637—Chamaraja's Rule 1617-1620—Minister, Dalavais and officers, 1620-1637—Administrative and other measures (a) Settlement of conquered tracts, (b) Organisation of elephant-hunting, (c) Institution of the armoury—Religious toleration—Gifts, grants, etc.—Court life Chamaraja's avocations—Religious disputations—Literary activity —Progress of Kannada literature—Domestic life—Death, May 2, 1637—Chamaraja Wodeyar in history and tradition —An estimate of Chamaraja Wodeyar.

ON JULY 3, 1617, twelve days after the death of Rāja Woḍeyar, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V succeeded to the throne of Mysore.¹ He was the grandson of Rāja Woḍeyar and son of Narasarāja by Honnamāmbā (Honnā-jamma).² Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was born on April 21, 1603, and was in his fifteenth year at the time of his

Birth, accession and identity.

1. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 44. *Paṅgaḷa, Āśhāḍha tu.* 10; also *Annals*, I. 49.

2. *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155. The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (January 1623) ll. 8-4.

*Maisūra Rajabhūpala sūnōr Narasarājataḥ |
Sanjātō Honnamāmbāyām Chāmarājēndra bhūpatḥ ||*
See also *ibid.*, ll. 25-27; and *Annals*, I. 55.

accession.³ The earliest available lithic records of his reign refer to him as "Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, son of Narasarāja Woḍeyar" and "Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Mayisūr (Mysore) ruling in Seringapatam."⁴

The years 1617-1620 marked the period of Chāmarāja's minority. During this period,⁵ arrangements had been made for his education and training in the palace at Seringapatam while the affairs of the kingdom were being actually administered by Beṭṭada-Arasu (Chāmappa),⁶ Dalavāi of Mysore since February 1617.

Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was a contemporary of Vīra-Rāma-Dēva IV (1614-1630 ? 1633) of Vijayanagar. During the period covered by Chāmarāja's minority, Vīra-Rāma-Dēva had been securely established on the throne at Penukonda. The Empire was slowly recovering from the disastrous effects of the civil war of 1616-1617. The menace of the Muhammadans of Bijāpur on the south was becoming more and more pronounced. Disruptive tendencies were slowly at work among the feudatories. Though there were signs of settled government, there was very little effective central control, particularly over the remote parts in the south. The general political situation in the country was eminently suited for the steady and systematic expansion of a kingdom like

3. *Mys Dho Pūr*, I 49. Śābhakrit, *Varāḥkha* ba 6; cf. *Annals*, I 49. *Parabhuva*, *Āśāḍha* ba. 6 (July 15, 1606). The authority of the earlier Ms. is preferred here. Wilks (I 54), following this Ms., states that Chāmarāja was "a youth of fifteen" at the time of his accession in 1617.

4. E. C., III (1) My. 17 (June 1620), ll. 6-7. *Narasarāja Woḍeyara putrarāda Chāmarāja Woḍiravaru*; IV (2) Hg. 21 (1624), l. 3: *Śrirangapaṭṭana-vanāḷuva Mayasūra Chāmarāja Wade[yaru]*. These two records are private grants.

5. *Annals*, I. 54-56.

6. See E. C., III (1) Sr. 36 (November 29, 1620), ll. 5-6, referring to Chāmappa as the Dalavāi of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (. . . *Chāmarājodeyaravara Dalavāyi Chāmappanavaru*). Chāmappa of this lithic record is identical with Beṭṭada-Arasu, the latter name being only a shortened form of Beṭṭada-Chāmappa or Beṭṭada-Chāme Urs. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr*. (I 66) refers to this name in its still shorter form, Beṭṭappa.

Mysore. It was but natural that Dejavai Bettada-Arasu had first to direct his attention towards this objective. As indicated already, Mysore was, as it were, hemmed in by the dominions of Jagadēva-Rāya of Channapaṭṇa in the north, by the kingdom of Madura (under Muttu-Virappa Nāyaka I, 1609-c. 1623) in the south, and by the principalities of local chieftains in the east and the west.

In 1618 (*Kālayukti*) Jagadēva-Rāya despatched an embassy to Seringapatam, with presents (consisting of an elephant named *Rāmalinga* and 3,000 *varahas*), seeking Chāmarāja Wodeyar's assistance in connection with the acquisition of Chiknāyakanahalli.⁷ Chāmarāja, however, desired Bettada-Arasu to send back the presents and attempt the acquisition for Mysore of Nāgamangala, an important dependency of Jagadēva-Rāya himself. Bettada Arasu marched on thither, at the head of his forces. At a village named Honne-maḍu,⁸ he was obstructed by Dodḍaiya, elder brother of Channaiya of Nāgamangala, an adherent of Jagadēva-Rāya. A scuffle ensued, in which Dodḍaiya was slain. Proceeding further, Bettada-Arasu laid siege to Nāgamangala. Thereupon Ankuṣa-Rāya,⁹ brother, and Prime minister, of Jagadēva-Rāya,

7 *Mys Dho Vam*, ff 21-22, *Annals*, I 52-53, see also *C Vam*, 34, and *C Vt.*, II, 73-75. Jagadēva-Rāya is identical with "Jugdeo Row" and "Jugdeo Raj" of Wilks (I 53-55). His actual name in its Telugu form was Jagadēva Rājalu. Inscriptions and literary works (like the *C Vam*) spell the name in its Kannada form, Jagadēva Rāya. He was colloquially known as Jagadē-Rāya, by which name he is referred to in the *Mys Dho. Pār*, *Mys Rāj Cha* and *Annals*. The *Mys Dho. Vam* spells it in both the forms.

8. An extant village in the Maṇḍya taluk (see *List of Villages*, 92). The chronicles speak of Honne-maḍu as situated in the Hirisāve region (Hassan district), which is not identifiable. The former identification seems more probable, since the place commands the passage to Nāgamangala.

9. *Jagadēva-Rāya* *oḍavuṭṭudanādankuṣa-Rāya* (*C Vam.*, 34); *Anguṣa-Rāyam* . . . *Rāya-vajiranemba piridum birudantidvāmparillavemba* . . . (*C Vt.*, II, 73-74). In the light of the latter passage and the context (*Ibid.*, II, 74-75), the word *vajira* is to be taken in its two-fold sense, viz., minister and cavalier. Evidently, as the Prime minister of Jagadēva-Rāya, Ankuṣa-Rāya seems to have been a reputed cavalier.

put up a stout opposition and raised the siege. Beṭṭada-Arasu was obliged to retrace his steps to Seringapatam. But, on his way back, he found himself attacked by Gōpālarājaiya of Kannambādi, a recalcitrant chieftain. Halting at Honne-maḍu, Beṭṭada-Arasu requisitioned for reinforcements from the capital and, on their arrival, laid siege to Hosakōṭe,¹⁰ a fort belonging to Jagadēva-Rāya. He gave battle to Ankuṣa-Rāya and Gōpālarājaiya, and put both of them to rout. Hosakōṭe was taken and among the spoils acquired were two elephants (named *Bhōjarāja* and *Chokkalika*) and several insignias. These were sent to Seringapatam and Beṭṭada-Arasu was about to re-attempt the acquisition of Nāgamangala.

At this juncture, affairs in the south seemed to call for Beṭṭada-Arasu's immediate attention. News reached him that some difference had arisen as between the Pālegār of Daṇḍyakankōṭe (below the ghāṭs) and the chiefs of the surrounding places¹¹ Western Daṇḍyakankōṭe was, as we have seen, the southern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, almost coterminous with the dominions of the Nāyak of Madura, and it had been assigned by Rāja Wodeyar to Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar as a rent-free estate (*umbali*). Any trouble, therefore, arising in the south-east of this limit, would naturally have its repercussion on, and threaten the safety of, the kingdom of Mysore. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things for Mysore to advance further and take possession of Daṇḍyakankōṭe and other places in its neighbourhood, below the ghāṭs. Accordingly, Beṭṭada-Arasu sent thither a contingent at the head of Mallarājaiya, a relation of his.¹² Daṇḍyakankōṭe was besieged. Mean-

10 An extant village in the Nāgamangala taluk (see *List of Villages*, 101). In the poetical language of the *C. Vam.* (l.c.) and *C. Vi.* (l.c.), this event is made to appear as if it took place towards the latter part of Chāmarāja's reign. But, as narrated above, it was connected with the affairs of 1618.

11. *Annals*, I. 53.

12. *Mys Dho Vam.*, ff. 22, *Annals*, I. 53-54.

time the Pālegār of the place had sought the assistance of the Nāyak of Madura (Muttu-Virappa Nāyaka I) who, through the mediation of his agent, Chikkappa-Setṭi, eventually concluded a truce with Mallarājaiya, fixing on the Pālegār of Daṇāyakankōṭe an annual tribute of 12,000 *varahas* to Mysore. Whereupon the siege was raised, Chikkappa-Setṭi went back to Madura, and Mallarājaiya returned to Seringapatam with the stipulated amount of tribute.

Thereafter, Beṭṭada-Arasu, having temporarily relinquished his attempts at the acquisition of Nāgamangala, turned towards the other dependencies of Jagadēva-Rāya. In November 1619, he took possession of Maddūr from Benṇe-Honni-Viṭhanṇa who had, it is said, formerly received it as a rent-free gift from Nanjarājaiya of Talakād.¹³ This was followed by the acquisition by him from the same person of Keregōḍu, in 1620 (*Raudri*).¹⁴ These activities resulted in the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore in the direction of Channapaṭṭṇa, the seat of Jagadēva-Rāya, in the north.

The power and influence of Beṭṭada-Arasu and his adherents in the court of Seringapatam, during 1617-1620, appear to have been not inconsiderable, for, about this time, according to the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali*,¹⁵ Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the two surviving younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar and elderly members of the Royal House, had been away from Seringapatam on a pilgrimage to Mēlkōṭe, Tirupati, Kānchi, Kumbakōṇam, Śrīrangam, Rāmēśvaram and other sacred places. In April 1620, however, Chāmarāja attained his majority. This was, it would seem, a serious

13. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, II 2; *Mys. Dho. Vam*, ff 23, cf *Annals*, I. 50-51

14. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c., see also and compare *Mys. Dho.*, *Pūr*, II. 1-2; and *Annals*, I. 51.

15. P. 33.

blow to the prominence of Beṭṭada-Arasu, while it proved a source of strength to the powerful court party. By way of counteracting their seductive influence, Beṭṭada-Arasu ordered the removal of the personal servants of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, including the latter's teacher (Ranganātha-Dīkshita) and physician (Bommarasa-Paṇḍita), appointing in their places men of his own choice :¹⁶ so influential, indeed, was the old court party, that the new servants were soon thrown out and Chāmarāja was, as usual, being attended upon by his former attendants. To Beṭṭada-Arasu, this state of affairs was the most humiliating, and he resented the flouting of his authority. At this turn of affairs, his younger brother, Doḍḍa-Chāmappa, and the latter's son, Chikka-Chāmappa, to ensure their own predominance and the continuity of office of Beṭṭada-Arasu, conspired against Chamarāja's life, anticipating the sure installation in his place of Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar, the youngest son of Rāja Wodeyar. Their deliberations were, however, overheard by a chambermaid and promptly communicated to Chāmarāja. An inquiry was instituted; Doḍḍa-Chāmappa and Chikka-Chāmappa were found guilty of treason and capital punishment was inflicted on both of them. Beṭṭada-Arasu, in view of his own safety, was about to leave Seringapatam. Early in 1621, however, he was sent for, lest he should join the insurgent Pāḷegārs and foment trouble against Mysore; his eyes were put out and he was kept in confinement for the rest of his life.¹⁷ In March 1621, Linganna of Bannūr was appointed Daḷavāi of Mysore in succession to Beṭṭada-Arasu, and Chāmarāja began his independent rule.¹⁸

16. *Annals*, I. 54-55; also *Mys. Dho. Vam*, I. c.

17. The latest available record referring to Beṭṭada-Arasu (Chāmappa) is, as already pointed out (*vide* f.n 6 *supra*), dated in November 1620. Since, as we shall see, Linganna of Bannūr was appointed Daḷavāi of Chāmarāja in March 1621, it is possible that Beṭṭada-Arasu was deprived of his office between these dates. Probably we would not be far wrong if we fix this event early in 1621.

18. *Annals*, I. 55; see also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 66 and *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, *Ibid.*

The first act of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, shortly after the fall of Daḷavāi Beṭṭada-Arasu, was to inaugurate a series of campaigns with a view to expand the kingdom of Mysore in all the eight directions (*digjayangeyyalujjugisi*).¹⁹ In October 1621, Daḷavāi Linganna, under the direction of Chāmarāja, marched towards the east, taking possession of Talakad from Sōmarājaiya.²⁰ In May 1623, he took Maḷavalli after a tough siege,²¹ putting to rout the army of Jagadēva-Rāva (which had proceeded to the relief of the place) and promising assurance of protection to the inhabitants (*ūrugarge karal-nambuḡeyanuttu*).²² In December, Arikūṭhāra was taken from Bālōji Nāyaka, son of Channarāja Nāyaka;²³ and in May, Bukankere and Sindhughatṭa were acquired from Jagadēva-Rāya.²⁴ In May 1625, Satyāgāla—formerly belonging to Nanjarāja of Hadināḍ—was taken;²⁵ and in July, Heggaddevankote was acquired from Channarāja Wodeyar.²⁶ Early in January 1626, Daḷavāi Linganna laid siege to Channapaṭṇa and, in the struggle which followed, was slain by Channaiya of Nāgamangala.²⁷

19. *C. Vam*, 33-34, C. VI, II, 64-65. In the poetical language of these works, the campaigns are mixed up and made to appear as having taken place in regular succession within a short space of time during the life-period of Chāmarāja Wodeyar. But they actually took place at considerable intervals during different years of his reign. The gleanings from, and references to, these texts are, accordingly, to be understood in their chronological setting, with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. See also and compare Wilks's *List of Conquests of Chāmarāja* (I. 55-56), which is based primarily on the *Mys Dho Pūr*. Dēva-chandra (*Rāj Kath*, XII. 468-469), in the main, closely follows the *C. Vam*., in detailing Chāmarāja's conquests.

20. *Mys Dho Pūr*., II. 3; cf. *Mys. Dho Vam*, I. c.; *C. Vam*., 33; *C. Vi*, II, 64-65.

21. *Annals*, I. 51; also *Mys Dho Vam*, ff. 24.

22. *C. Vam*., 38; *C. Vi*, II, 65.

23. *Mys. Dho Pūr*, I. c.; *Annals*, I. c.

24. *Ibid.*, II. 3-4; *Annals*, I. c. 25. *Ibid.*, II. 4.

26. *Ibid.*; see also and compare Wilks, I. 54-55.

27. *Annals*, I. 57; also compare *Mys Dho. Vam*, ff. 24.

On the fall of Linganna, Basavalinganna was appointed to the office of Daḷavāi.²⁸ In March 1626, proceeding in the south, Basavalinganna took Honganūr and Ammachavāḍi which formerly belonged to Nanjarāja of Hadināḍ.²⁹ In July, turning westwards, he acquired Hāḍya from Nanjunḍa-Arasu of Piriyaṭṭaṇa (*Piriyaṭṭaṇa*) and Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavāḍi from Prabhu-Channarāja Woḍeyar.³⁰ Marching towards Piriyaṭṭaṇa, he next broke up, it is said, a combination of Channarāja Woḍeyar and Gopālarājaiya, chiefs of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavāḍi and Kannambāḍi, sending the former a captive to Seringapatam.³¹ Then he laid siege to Piriyaṭṭaṇa which was defended by Bommarasaḷya (a minister of Nanjunḍa-Arasu)³² assisted by Singaḷa-Rāya of Ikkēri (Keḷaḍi).³³ Basavalinganna requisitioned for fresh reinforcements from Seringapatam under Niyōgi Bommarasaḷya; and with these pressed on the siege, putting his opponents to rout, cutting off the nose of Singaḷa-Rāya and capturing an elephant (named *Bōlamalla*) among the spoils. Bommarasaḷya of Piriyaṭṭaṇa was ultimately obliged to sue for peace with the Niyōgi of Mysore, agreeing to send annually to Seringapatam an elephant and a cash contribution of 3,000 *varahas*.³⁴ Daḷavāi Basavalinganna followed up this victory by the acquisition of Hanasōge and Sāligrāma (dependencies of Piriyaṭṭaṇa);³⁵ and returned to Seringapatam where, it is said,³⁶ he made Channarāja Woḍeyar (of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavāḍi)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 66

²⁹ *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II, 5, *Annals*, I, 51

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 5-6, *Ibid.*, I, c.

³¹ *Annals*, I, 57

³² *Ibid.*; also see and compare *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25.

³³ See *C. Vam.*, 33; *C. Vt.*, II, 68; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26. [According to the *Keḷaḍi-Nriṭa-Vijayam* (c. 1800), Keḷaḍi was the capital of the Ruling Chiefs (*Nayaks*) of Ikkēri, between 1500-1512; Ikkēri, between 1512-1638; and Bednūr (Bidarūr or Vēṇupura), between 1639-1763. See also Ch. VIII of this work. To avoid confusion, the kingdom is referred to throughout by the general name, Ikkēri.]

³⁴ *Annals*, I, c. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25-26, *C. Vam.*, I, c.; *C. Vt.*, II, 68-69.

³⁵ *Annals*, I, c

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 58.

confess his fault and obtained for him the king's pardon. In July 1626, Tagadūr and Kottāgāla were acquired from Prabhudēva and Lingarājaiya, respectively;³⁷ and in December, Jādāle was taken from Channarājaiya of Heggaddēvankōṭe.³⁸

In or about 1627, Basavalinganna proceeded against Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār (*Ghaṭṭa-Madanāri*), a recalcitrant chieftain in the south-east (*āgnēyadoḷ*) of Mysore, below the ghāṭs. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār was forced to submit and sue for peace with the Daḷavāi, tendering 3,000 *varahas* with an elephant (named *Chengodeya*) and an ivory palankeen.³⁹ Following closely on Basavalinganna's return, Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār, it is said,⁴⁰ again proved troublesome to Mysore. About the end of 1627, Basavalinganna was sent against him a second time. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār was thoroughly humbled and an annual tribute of 3,000 *varahas* settled on him. During the next three years the Daḷavāi stayed in Seringapatam and died in February 1630, just at a time when he was about to re-attempt the acquisition of Nāgamangala.⁴¹

In March 1630, Vikrama-Rāya, a brother of Beṭṭada-Arasu, was appointed Daḷavāi in succession to Basavalinganna.⁴² Between April and October (1630), the attention of Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya seems to have been directed towards Ikkēri, in the north-west of the kingdom of Mysore. We have seen how Singaḷa-Rāya of Ikkēri assisted the chief of Piriyāpaṭṇa (Nanjunḍa-Arasu) during the siege of that place by Daḷavāi Basavalinganna in July 1626 and

37. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 6, *Annals*, I. 51. 38. *Ibid.*, II. 7; *Ibid.*

39. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 24, *Annals*, I. 59; *C. Vam.*, 83. Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār is colloquially spelt as Ghaṭṭi-Mudaliār, in the Chronicles.

40. *Annals*, l.c. 41. *Ibid.*, cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25

42. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 66. Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya is found referred to in a lithic record of c. 1630 [*E. C.* III (1) Md. 4].

how he (Singaḷa-Rāya) sustained defeat and discomfiture at the hands of the latter. Singaḷa-Rāya appears to have been a general of Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri (1582-1629), whose object in proceeding thither was, ostensibly, the extension of the sphere of his influence in the direction of the kingdoms of the Changāḷvas and Mysore. In any case, the chastisement of Singaḷa-Rāya by Mysore, in 1626, seems to have formed the starting-point of hostility between her and Ikkēri. Already about the close of the reign of Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, a civil war had broken out between the two sons of Hiriya-Hanumappa Nāyaka of Tarikere on the question of partition of the latter's estate, and Mysore, along with the chiefs of Bēlūr, Chintanakal, Sīra (Sīrya) and other places, had, it is said,⁴³ espoused the cause of the younger son of Hiriya-Hanumappa Nāyaka against the elder who was backed up by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka himself. The civil war, however, terminated in favour of the elder brother and all the adherents of the younger retired when Venkaṭappa Nāyaka appeared in person at the head of his army.

The hostility of Mysore towards Ikkēri, however, continued unabated during the reign of
Hostilities con-
tinued, 1630
 Virabhadra Nāyaka (1629-1645), successor of Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I, against whom there was a general combination of the chiefs of the south, Mysore not excepted. A Jesuit letter from Canara,⁴⁴ dated in 1630, speaks of "the kings who are at war with this king in the upper ghats and also send help to the people of the lower ghats," and says, "The king of Baniguel has rebelled against the said king Virabadar Naique, and the king of Palpare and the king

43. *Kr. N. V.*, V 83-84.

44. Cited in Rev. H. Heras's article, *The Expansion Wars of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri*, in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XI, p. 112.

of Mayzur⁴⁵ (Mysore) are lending him aid. The following have also rebelled against the said king: the queen of Olala and the queen of Carnate . . . so that, from the Canhoroto to Batecalla everything is in revolt and the king Virabhadar Naique is no longer master of anything below the ghats and is in such straits that he will no more be able to recover his losses Evidently by about the close of 1630, it would appear, the crushing of Ikkēri had become a serious problem to Mysore.

Almost simultaneously, the conquest of the possessions of Jagadēva-Rāya continued to engage the attention of Chāmarāja Wodeyar. Renewed aggressions in the north and the north-west, 1630-1631. In October 1630, he directed the siege of Channapatna⁴⁶. The place was taken by Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya after a strenuous fight, and this was followed by the annexation of Kāṅkāṇhaḷḷi (Kāṇi-kāranahaḷḷi) and the siege and acquisition of Nāgamangula (in December).⁴⁷ In March 1631, Bellūr, another dependency of Jagadēva-Rāya—then in the possession of Parama-rāvuta Guruvaṇṇa, a general of the chief of Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi—was taken after a hard fight, in which Guruvaṇṇa was slain and his army put to rout.⁴⁸ This victory was followed by a truce concluded with Mysore by the chief of Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi, who, in token of his submission, sent to Chāmarāja presents

45. Cf. Rev. H. Horan (*Ibid.*, p. 122) who writes: "This seems to be the Rāja of Mysore. Probably Venkaṭappa had encroached upon the Mysore territory, though no record of this fact is hitherto known." But, as we have seen above, there were relations between Mysore and Ikkēri as early as July 1626.

46. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II, 7; *Annals*, I, 51; also *C. Vam.*, 34.

47. *Ibid.*, II, 7-8; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 25-26; *Annals*, I, 51, 59; see also *C. Vam.*, 1 c.; and *C. Vt.*, II, 77.

48. *Ibid.*, II, 8; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26; *C. Vam.*, 1 c.; *C. Vt.*, II, 78-82. Guruvaṇṇa was evidently a distinguished cavalier. All the authorities invariably mention him by his title (*Parama-rāvuta*). Only the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* refers to both his title and actual name. Wilks (I. 56) spells the name as "Peram Rawata."

consisting of robes and jewels and an elephant (named *Rāmalinga*).⁴⁹

Between 1631-1634, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar appears to have been engaged in a series of
 More aggressions,
 1631-1634 aggressions in the north-west of Mysore.

About the close of 1631, marching against the chief of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Lakshmappa Nāyaka), he inflicted a crushing defeat on him, accepting from him presents of gold and jewels and an elephant (named *Kanaka-Vasanta*).⁵⁰ Proceeding further, Chāmarāja directed his campaign against the chief of Bēlūr (Venkaṭappa or Venkaṭādrī? Nāyaka), who had incurred his ill-will by his encroachments on the boundaries of Mysore. Chāmarāja successively defeated the army of Bēlūr in three pitched battles at Chōḷēnahalli (*Chōḷeyanapalli*), Ānckere and Yeleyūr,⁵¹ amidst great loss, putting to rout Bhaira Nāyaka, Sāla Nāyaka and Pūvala-Hanumappa Nāyaka who had espoused the chief's cause. In February 1634, Chāmarāja laid siege to and took possession of Koḷatur—otherwise known as Channarāyapaṭṇa—from Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Bēlūr.⁵² The place, it is said,⁵³ had been formerly annexed from one Puṭṭagiri-Hebbāruva by Lakshmappa Nāyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur, who had given it away as a rent-free village (*umbaḷi*) to his son, Channa-rāya. Channa-rāya having built a fort there, the place became known as Channarāyapaṭṇa which had been later acquired by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. The acquisition of Channarāyapaṭṇa by Chāmarāja, in 1634,

49 *C. Vam.*, 1c

50 *Ibid.*, *C. V.*, II, 70-71, also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 26; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 21, also see and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 468. The acquisition of Nāgamangala in 1630 seems to have opened the way to the further advance of Mysore in the north-west. Hence these activities between 1631-1634.

51. Extant villages in the Channarāyapaṭṇa taluk (see *List of Villages*, 126).

52. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 9-10; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, 1c.; *Annals*, I. 51-52; also *C. Vam.*, 1c.; *C. V.*, II, 71.

53. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* and *Annals*, 1c.

marked the culminating point of his advance in the north-west of Mysore⁵⁴

During the early years of his reign we find Chāmarāja Wodeyar openly acknowledging the suzerainty of Virā-Rāma Dēva IV of Vijayanagar, down to 1635. Literary works and inscriptions for the period c. 1620-1634 seem to point to Chāmarāja as an almost independent local ruler, probably in keeping with the series of his conquests⁵⁵. The last years of Chāmarāja's reign synchronised with the early part of the reign of Venkaṭa II of Vijayanagar (1633?-1642), of whom he appears to have been a loyal feudatory. Indeed, Mysore, under Chāmarāja Wodeyar, figured prominently among the local powers represented at the court of Venkaṭa (at Pennakonḍa), on the occasion of his installation on January 13, 1635 (*Bhava, Māgha śu.* 5).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Satyanatha Aiyar, on the authority of a *Mackenzie Manuscript*, refers to an invasion of Madura by Mysore under Harasura (Karāchūri?) Nandirāja, and a counter invasion of Mysore by Madura before 1639, during the early years of the reign of Tiamala Nāyaka of Madura (c. 1623-1659) and the latter part of the reign of Chāmarāja Wodeyar (*Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 119-120). There is no evidence in support of this position, since Chāmarāja during 1630-1634 was, as we have seen above, engaged in a series of local conquests in the north and north west of Mysore, nor had he a general by name Harasura (or Karāchūri?) Nandirāja. On the contrary, a further examination of the manuscript itself (Taylor, *Or Hist. Mys.*, II, 169) would go to show that the events, referred to, took place "when Dēva-Rāyer-Uḍiyar was reigning in Mysore". The "Dēva-Rāyer-Uḍiyar" mentioned is, of course, identical with Dēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore (1659-1673). It seems, therefore, open to question whether these events could not have happened during that reign. *Vide* fn. 60 to Ch. X, for a further notice of this reference.

⁵⁵ See E. C., III (1) Mys. 17 (1620); Sr. 36 (1620), and Md. 17 (1628), *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 17 (revised) and 155 (1623).

⁵⁶ *Vide* references cited in the section on Chāmarāja's titles.

⁵⁷ *Vide* Venkaṭarāja's *Inmaḍi-Tamma-Rāja-Kempe-Rāja-Padaḡaḷu* (1635) a P. L., Ms. (No. 18-8-1) in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*, Chs. 1-II, ff. 1-41. According to this contemporary Kannaḍa poem, Inmaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (1569-1658) was the right-hand man of Venkaṭa II (*mandalapati Venkaṭa-Rājara bhujadanda*) whom he securely established on the throne of Vijayanagar (*narapatiya simhāsanaḡa nilasi; sthiradi Rayara simhāsanaḡa nilasi*) by subjugating the recalcitrant chiefs of Doḍḡaḷḷapur, Kandikere, Sirya, Haṇḍe, Bijjavara, Kōlāla, Dhūḷigōṭe, Kundurupe and other places in the Karnāṭak, and exacting tribute from them (*kappagaḷa teru*). Among the loyalists, said to have been assembled by

offering him presents which consisted of a rutting elephant (named *Ānimuttu*), jewels (including a necklace set with precious stones) and robes.⁵⁸ Again, we also find Chāmarāja Woḍeyar referring to the overlordship of Venkaṭa, in the *Mākuballi copper-plate grant* dated February 21, 1635 (*Bhāva, Phālguna śu.* 15).⁵⁹

The political position of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as the ruler of Mysore is, perhaps, best evidenced by the extant literary works and inscriptions of his reign referring to him as having been adorned by the following, among other, titles and insignias:⁶⁰ *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa* (champion over those who say they have such and such titles), *Śrīmad-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara* (emperor of kings), *Apratima-vīra* (unparalleled hero), *Kaṭhāriya-sālva* (a daggered hawk to his enemies), *Vairi-gaja-gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa* (a double-headed eagle to the elephants, hostile kings), *Gaja-bēṇṭekāra* (hunter of elephants),

Chāmarāja's Royal titles.

Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa on the occasion of Venkaṭa's installation (at Penukouḍa) in January 1635, were the rulers of Kereyūr, Hosakōṭe, Dēvanahalli, Chikballāpur, Māsti, Bāgalūr and Mysore. For his meritorious services in the cause of the Empire, Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa is said to have been duly honoured by Venkaṭa with robes and jewels (such as pendants, medallions, etc.) and two rutting elephants named *Nilakanṭha* and *Sōmalīṅga* (II, ff. 23-41, vv. 14-39). The earlier part of the poem throws a good deal of light on the general political conditions in the Karnāṭak during the years which followed the death of Vīra-Rāma-Dēva IV of Vijayanagar (1614-1680? 1683) (I, ff. 1-16; II, ff. 16-23). The value of the work for the history of the times of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi, is not inconsiderable. The poet Venkaṭaiaya refers to himself as the son of Poramāva-Timnappaya and dedicates the work to Chikka-Kuppakka (a consort of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa), on July 22, 1685 (*Yuva, Śrīvaṇa ba.* 3) (II, ff. 41). He not infrequently eulogises Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa, of whom he was evidently a protégé. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 298) which mentions this poem as an anonymous work, fixing it in c. 1650.

58. *Ibid.*, II, ff. 28, v. 22; . . . *Maṣṣaravara karaṇi Bāyarige santōsha-dāndānimuttēmpa nadagayava kāntimattāda urutara kaṇṭhamāle sara muntāda bhūṣhaṇḍambarava koḍu*

59. *M. A. R.*, 1924, pp. 22-23, No 6.

60. *Vide* colophons to *Āvaśāstra*, *Chāmarajōkti-Vilāsa* and *Brahmōttara-Khaṇḍa*; also see *E. C.*, II SB. 260 and 352 (1634); *M. A. R.*, 1924, l.c. (1635). For details about the literary works, see under *Literary activity*.

Śankha (conch), *Chakru* (discus), *Makara* (crocodile), *Matsya* (fish), *Śarabha* (unicorn), *Sālva* (hawk), *Gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa* (double-headed eagle), *Dharaṇī-Varāha* (boar), *Hanuma* (monkey), *Garuḍa* (eagle), *Ankuśa* (hook), *Kuṭhāra* (axe) and *Simha* (lion). These titles and insignias were, as indicated above, significant from the local point of view. Among the titles, *Bīrud-antembarā-guṇḍa* was, as we have seen, the distinctive appellation of the rulers of Mysore from the time of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (1513-1553). Others, like *Mahā-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara*, *Apratima-rīra*, *Gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa*, *Gaja-bhēṇṭekāra* and *Dharaṇī-Varāha*, were distinct borrowals, mostly from Vijayanagar, and seem to convey ideas of universal conquest and imperialism. Most of the insignias had been, as already referred to, acquired by Rāja Wodeyar during different years of his reign (1578-1617).

By 1637, the last year of Chāmarāja's reign, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore was as follows: On the north, it had been extended as far as Channapaṭṇa and Nāgamangala; in the west and north-west, up to Piriyaṭṇa and Channarayapaṭṇa; and in the east and south-east, as far as Maḷavalli and Daṇḍayakankōṭe. Indeed the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vaṃśāvali* does seem correctly to echo this position when it depicts that, towards the close of his reign, Chāmarāja had finished his campaigns in all the directions, extended his favour to the rulers of Ikkēri, Bāṇāvār, Basavāpaṭṇa and other places—who had latterly acted in a friendly fashion towards him—and brought the entire Kannāḍa country under his control (*Kannāḍa-nāḍellamam basakke tandu*)⁶¹ The reference to the friendly disposition of Ikkēri (*mitrabhānadoḷ pattidirkēri* . . .), in particular, towards Mysore, is further significant. We have seen how there prevailed hostile relations between the two

kingdoms during 1626-1630 and how during 1630-1634 Chāmarāja had extended his kingdom as far as parts of Bangalore and Hassan districts by the acquisition of places belonging to Jagadēva-Rāya and the chiefs of Chiknāyakanahalli, Bēlūr and Hoḷe-Narasipur. During 1634-1637, Virabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri, in view, apparently, of this stronger political position of Mysore, had probably found it expedient to move on friendly terms with Chāmarāja Wodeyar.

Although the earliest available record of the reign of Chāmarāja Wodeyar is dated in June 1620,⁶² the administration of Mysore, during the period of his minority (1617-1620), was actually in the hands of his first Daḷavāi, Beṭṭada-Arasu. To the latter, indeed, as we have seen, belongs the credit of maintaining the political integrity of the kingdom of Mysore and making a definite beginning in the policy of expansion in the north and the south. Beṭṭada-Arasu appears to have continued in office for more than six months after Chamarāja attained his majority (in May 1620), as is borne out by a lithic record dated November 29, 1620, in which he makes a grant of the village of Ānevāḷa for God Mahābalēśvara of the "Mysore hill" (Chāmunḍi Hills), on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, for the merit of Chāmarāja Wodeyar.⁶³ On the fall of Beṭṭada-Arasu early in 1621, Chāmarāja Wodeyar was securely established in his personal rule.

The rule of Chāmarāja Wodeyar during 1620-1637 thoroughly bore the impress of his personality. The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (1623)⁶⁴ speaks of him as having been ruling Mysore seated on the famous throne

^{62.} *Vide* f.n. 4 *supra*.

^{63.} *E. O.*, III (1) Sr. 36, ll. 7-9. . . . *Śrīman-mahādēva-dēvottama Maṣūra-beṭṭada Śrī-Mahābalēśvara-dēvarige* . . . *Vide* also f.n. 6 and 16 *supra*.

^{64.} *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155, l. 5: *Śrīrangapaṭṭana-khyāta-Bhūja-simbhāsanādhipaḥ*.

of Bhōja in Seringapatam, and mentions⁶⁵ also a minister of his, Rāmā[nu]jaiya-Virūpākshaiya-Gōvindaiya, son of Appāji-Paṇḍita and grandson of Hiriyaṇṇa-Paṇḍita (of Akajāpura), of Kāśyapa-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rik-śākhā. Other records of Chāmarāja Wodeyar point to his sovereignty of both Mysore and Seringapatam.⁶⁶ In his conquests, Chāmarāja Wodeyar was, as we have seen, considerably helped by Lingaṇṇa of Bannūr (March 1621-January 1626), Basavalingaṇṇa (January 1626-February 1630) and Vikrama-Itāya (March 1630-1637) — Daḷavāis in succession to Beṭṭada-Arasu.⁶⁷ In the actual administration of the local parts, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, it would seem, was assisted by agents (*kārya-karta*). Thus, we note, Basavalingaṇṇa, son of Kempa Wodeyar, administered the affairs of Chāmarāja at Talakād,⁶⁸ while Rājaiya was looking after the same in the Yedatore region.⁶⁹

Administrative and other measures (a) Settlement of conquered tracts. (b) Organisation of elephant-hunting (c) Institution of the armoury	Chāmarāja Wodeyar is credited with having carefully brought in his acquisitions under the respective hōblis of the administrative units (<i>gaḍi</i>) and maintained intact the regulations of Rāja Wodeyar. ⁷⁰ He is also, in 1626, reputed to have made elaborate arrangements with Channa-rāja Wodeyar, chief of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavāḍi, for the catching, and purchase, of
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65. *Ibid*, II 13-16, 72 (*Gōvindaṣṣākhya-mantramē*), also *Ibid*, Md 17 (revised) (January 1623), II 6-9, etc Cf *Wilks* in Appendix III

66. See *E.C.*, II SB 250 and 352 (1634) *Maṣūru-Paṭṭanādhīśvara*; *Maṣūru-Paṭṭana-puravarādhīśvara*. The reference here is to Mysore and Seringapatam, *Paṭṭana* being a shortened form of Śrīrangapaṭṭana. The expressions are in keeping with the local position of Chāmarāja Wodeyar at the height of his power after a series of conquests. See also sections on *Chāmarāja's relations with Vijayanagar and his titles*.

67. For a critical notice of Wilks's position regarding the early Daḷavāis of Mysore, etc., vide Appendix III.

68. See *E.C.*, III (1) TN 13 (1633). Basavalingaṇṇa of this lithic record appears to have been distinct from Daḷavāi Basavalingaṇṇa who died in February 1630 (*Annals*, I. 59).

69. *Ibid*, IV (2) Yd. 15 (1633).

70. *Annals*, I. 61; See also *Wilks*, I. 55.

elephants required for his army;⁷¹ and, in or about 1635, to have erected in Mysore an armoury (*alagina-chāvaḍi*; *alaguvane*), a substantial structure of three floors (*mūneleya jagalī*), for the preservation of various kinds of weapons (taken from the Pālegārs) and for the manufacture of new patterns.⁷²

Chāmarāja Wodeyar was, we note,⁷³ an ardent Vaishṇava, adoring his family God Lakshmikānta of Mysore and devoutly serving Trinayanēśvara (of Mysore), Goddess Chāmunḍēśvarī of the Mahābalāchala hill and Viṣṇuṣā. Toleration was the cardinal feature of his religion. Śaivism and Vaishṇavism seemed to claim his equal share of attention, while he was solicitous towards Jainism also.⁷⁴ Of the Jains, in particular, we find he

Religious toleration

71. *Ibid.*, I 58-59; see also *Mys. Dho. Vam*, ff. 27-28. The catching of elephants by ensnaring them into large-sized pits (*kappu*), seems to have been a very ancient practice in the southern and western parts of the present district of Mysore. The price of elephants thus captured — and subsequently trained — was, it is interesting to note, regulated by Chāmarāja Wodeyar as under. For an elephant with tusks measuring one full cubit (*mola*), 100 *varahas*, one span (*gēnu*), 40 *varahas*; three-fourths of a span (*chōṭu kombu*), 30 *varahas*; for one, with tusks just sprouting up (*magulu-kombu*), 25 *varahas*; for a female elephant measuring 5 cubits in length, 50 *varahas*; 4 cubits, 40 *varahas* and 3 cubits, 30 *varahas*, for a youngling (*maru*), 15 *varahas* (See *Annals*, I.c.). Evidently the title *Gaja-bhṅṭekāra* (hunter of elephants), ascribed to Chāmarāja Wodeyar in the colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa* already referred to (*vide* section on Chāmarāja's titles and f.n. 60 *supra*), seems very significant.

72. *Annals*, I 61, *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 21-22; *Mys. Dho. Vam*, ff. 26-27; also *C. Vam.*, 33-34 and *C. Vi.*, II, 71-72, depicting the armoury as an index of Chāmarāja's prowess and military glory.

73. *Vide* colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*: *Śrī-Lakshmikānta-pādā-ravināda-ivandāra nṣhyandā-manda-makaranda-bandu-sandohāsvādāna-nrmalikṛtāntakharana Trīṇayanēśvara sadbhaktiyukta Mahābalāchālaviśā Śrī-Chāmunḍikāmbā sadbhakti māṇḍitarāda Śrī-Chāmarāja-Oḍeyaravaru*; also see *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155 (1623), ll. 2-3: . . . *Viṣṇuṣā pūjaḥ satata subha samājaś-Chāmarājēndrabhōjaḥ*; *vide* also *C. Vam.* (33-34) and *C. Vi.* (II, 64-82), depicting Chāmarāja against an essentially Vaishṇava background.

74. *Vide* references *infra*. Among the secondary sources, the *Annals* (I. 56-57, 61-62) and the *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (22) speak of the services of Chāmarāja Wodeyar and his Daṣavāis (Lingapna of Bannūr and Vikrama-Rāya), in the Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples at T.-Narasipur, Gargēśvari, Nanjangūd, Seringapatam and Mēlkōṭe. The *Annals* (I. 60), in particular,

was a good friend, being referred to⁷⁵ by them as *Shaḍ-darśana-dharma-sthāpanāchārya* (lit. establisher of the *dharma* of the six *darśanas* or schools of philosophy) and *Shaḍ-dharma-Chakrēśvara* (lit. emperor promoting six kinds of *dharma* or religion). An interesting account is preserved⁷⁶ of how once, about the middle of 1631, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, while on a tour in the State, paid a visit to Śravaṇa-Belagola, and how, on being grieved to learn that the Jain *guru* of the place—Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgindra of the Dakṣiṇāchārya family—had left it for Bhallātākī-pura in consequence of obstacles (to the worship of Jina) caused during the regime of Jagadēva-Rāya, he (Chāmarāja Wodeyar) at once arranged for the recall of the *guru* from the latter place, and later accorded him a fitting reception in Seringapatam, allowing him every facility for the exercise of his religious avocations in the Pontificate at Śravaṇa-Belagola.

Among the extant records of Chāmarāja Wodeyar's reign, the *Honnalagere copper-plate* Gifts, grants, etc. *grant*, dated January 31, 1623,⁷⁷ registers the gift by him of three villages to his minister, Gōvindaīya, on the occasion of

refers to a grant of the Aghajaya (*Chāmarāja-samudra*) *agrahāra* of 32 houses (in the Bāchahalli-hōbī of the Nāgamangala-sthāna), said to have been made by Chāmarāja Wodeyar to the three sects of Brāhmanas (*Smārthas*, *Mādhyas* and *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas*), in October 1631, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Dēvachandra (*Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 469) writes of Chāmarāja Wodeyar as having granted lands rent-free (*umbāḷu*), to five Jain Paṇḍits. See also sections on *Court Life* and *Literary Activity*.

75. See *E. C.*, II SB 250 and 852 (1634).

76. In the *Munivamsābhyaudaya* (c. 1700) of Chidānanda (noticed in detail in Ch. XIV), II, 20-65. This work (II, 20) speaks of Chāmarāja's visit to Śravaṇa-Belagola, just at a time when he had finished most of his campaigns against the surrounding chiefs. The *Annals* (I 60) refers to this visit as having taken place at the instance of Bonunarasaiya, Niyōgi of Chāmarāja Wodeyar; and seems to place it shortly after Chāmarāja's acquisition of Nāgamangala and Bellūr (1630-1631). Since Bellūr was, as we have seen, taken by Chāmarāja Wodeyar in March 1631 and since, according to the *Annals* (l.c.), Chāmarāja was in Seringapatam by October 1631, he appears to have visited Śravaṇa-Belagola about the middle of that year (April-June).

77. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl.* Vol. I, Md. 155 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 23, para 75): s. 1544, *Dundubhi*, *Māgha* su. 10. The grant bears the king's signature as, 'Sri-Chāmarāju' (see l. 70).

ardhōdaya, for the merit of his parents. A lithic record (of the same date)⁷⁶ refers to a rent-free grant by Chāmarāja to the same donee, of additional villages situated in the Maddūr-sthaḷa of the Keḷale-nāḍu in the Seringapatam country. The *Daḷavāi-Agrahāram plates* I, dated March 6, 1623,⁷⁹ record the formation of an *agrahāra* named *Chāmarāja-samudra* (consisting of the villages of Āladūr and Navilūr in the Tāyūr-nāḍu of Mūgūr-sthaḷa) and the grant of the same—divided into 41 shares, 40 being distributed among Brāhmanas and one set apart for God Gunjā-Nṛsimha—by Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, for the attainment of perpetual bliss by his father, Narasarāja Woḍeyar. A lithic record of c. 1630⁸⁰ refers to a grant in perpetuity to Āne-linga in the Narasimhasvāmī temple at Maddūr, by Vikrama-Rāya, Daḷavāi of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated February 21, 1632,⁸¹ speaks of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as having restored the channels of the Cauvery in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam and of his having got constructed a bridge across the river (up to the junction of its branches), naming the area brought into cultivation thereunder as *Hosa-bayalu* (lit. new plain land). Another lithic record, dated May 22, 1633,⁸² refers to the grant of the village of Śāntapura, to the Śivabhakta Basavalingadēva, by Rājaiya, an agent of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. Yet another, dated June 20, 1633,⁸³ records the setting up of the image of Panchalinga to the west of God Vaidyēśvara of Gajāraṇya-kshētra and the grant of lands at Talakāḍ and Pūrigāli to provide for the

76. *Ibid.*, Md. 17 (revised): *Ibid.* See also and compare *E. C.*, III (1) Md. 17 (original impression).

79. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 62: s. 1544, *Dundubha*, *Phālguna śu.* 16.

80. *Ibid.*, Md. 4.

81. Ms. No. 18-15-20, p. 30: s. 1553, *Prajōtpatti*, *Phālguna śu.* 11.

82. *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 15: s. 1740, *Śrīmukha*, *Vaiśākha ba.* 10. The Śaka date, mentioned in this record, does not tally with the cyclic year *Śrīmukha* which corresponds to 1633; it is apparently a scribal error for s. 1555.

83. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 13: s. 1555, *Śrīmukha*, *Jyēṣṭha ba.* 10, Thursday.

offerings of the God—by Basavalingappa, another agent of Chāmarāja. Two records (lithic and copper-plate), dated June 28, 1634,⁸⁴ speak of Chāmarāja Wodeyar as having instituted an inquiry into the management of the endowments at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa and of his having caused grants to be made in the presence of God Gomma-ṭeśvara and Guru Chārukirti-Paṇḍita-Dēva, releasing the temple lands (of Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa) from nineteen mortgagees by discharging the long-standing mortgage debts and conferring on the *Sthānikas* perpetual use of the property for carrying on the worship of the God. The *Mākuballi copper-plate grant*, dated February 21, 1635,⁸⁵ records the gift by Chāmarāja—free of all taxes, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse—of the village of Mākuballi surnamed *Chāma-sāgara* (or *Chāma-samudra*), to Rāmachandra-Yajva, for the merit of his (Chāmarāja's) parents.

The court of Chāmarāja Wodeyar was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the tastes and culture of the times.

Court life
Chāmarāja's avocations

Chāmarāja appears himself to have been an accomplished person, being referred to⁸⁶ as an expert in the arts (*chauṣaṣṭi-kalā-pravīṇa*). He is depicted⁸⁷ to have been systematically devoting himself to the practice of elephant-riding and horse-riding (*āne-kuduregaḷanēri raiyāliya rilāsa*), athletics (*garuḍi-geytada-kaima*), marksmanship (*bilgaṇe-gonḍu guriyisuva kauśala*) and music—particularly the lute (*vīṇe-daḷedu baṇṇa-vāḍugaḷam bājipōje*); to the appreciation of literature—including poetry, drama and rhetoric (*kāvya-nāṭakālunkāra-sāra-sarvasva-rasāsvādāna*); and the listening to the sacred lore (*Purāṇē-tihāsādi-puṇya-kathā-śravaṇānurāga*).

84. *Ibid.*, II SB. 250 and 352. s. 1556, *Bhava, Āśadhā su.* 13, Saturday

85. *M. A. R.*, 1924, pp. 22-23, No. 6. s. 1555 expired, *Bhava, Phalguṇa su.* 15. This record also bears the king's signature as, 'Śrī-Chāmarāja.'

86. *Vide* colophon to the *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*.

87. *C. Vam.*, 34.

His court formed also the meeting-ground for Brāhmanical, Vīraśaiva and Jaina religions, between whose adherents there were frequent disputations, in which Chāmarāja Woḍeyar appears to have taken a keen personal interest.⁸⁸ In particular, we learn,⁸⁹ Chennārya, son of Vīraṇārādhyā, was able to defeat Rāma-Dīkshita in the course of one such debate in the *durbār* of Chāmarāja. Another disputation (*mantravāda-prasanga*), it would seem,⁹⁰ was conducted by the Jains in Chāmarāja's court shortly after his visit to Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa (1631) and, it is added,⁹¹ Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgīndra of the Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa-maṭh, himself a celebrated disputant (*bandhura mantravāda-prasiddha-purusha*), was invited to participate in it. If Dēvachandra is to be relied upon, it was probably on this occasion that Chāmarāja Woḍeyar had the Jain works, *Bharatēśvara-Charite* (of Ratnākara-Varṇi), *Hari-Vamśa*, *Sanat-kumāra-Shatpadi* (of Bommarasa) and *Chandraprabha-Charite* (of Doḍḍaya of Piriṇvāpatṇa), recited in his court, eulogising Jainism, it is said, as a great religion (*Jaina matam doḍḍadendu praśamsegaidaru*).⁹²

88. See *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharanīramanābhyaḍaya* (c. 1700) (noticed in Ch. XIV), III, 16

. . . antar-bahurmata-vvāda-vidām mukhēna
tatvam param kimapi chētasi niśchitāya . . .

(referring to Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V.).

89. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 377), quoting from Śānta-Vīra-Dēśika's (c. 1650) *Śivagana-Chārītra* :

Chāmarājēndrana sabheyoḷu tarkisuva |
Rāma-Dīkshitana bhaṇṇisuva |
Śrīmad-Vīraṇārādhyā tanuja guṇa |
Dhāma Chennārya.

The poet, Śānta-Vīra-Dēśika, was the grandson of Vīraṇārādhyā and son of Chennārya (*Ibid.* 377, 379).

90. *Muniyam.*, II, 48.

91. *Ibid.*, II, 49-50.

92. See *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 373, 375. Dēvachandra also speaks of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar as having got rendered from Sanskrit into Kannada, the following five Jaina works: *Hari-Vamśa*, *Prabhanjana-Kathe*, *Śrīpūta-Charite*, *Jayakumāra-Parivardhini-Shatpadi* and *Samyaktva-Kaumudī-Shatpadi* (*Ibid.* 375).

Chāmarāja Wodeyar was a liberal patron of letters.

The *Honnalagere copper-plate grant*
Literary activity. (1623) speaks of his treasury as having

been intended for the relief of poets and scholars (*kavi-budhārtim yasya kōśasya pūrtih*).⁹³ He is said to have also afforded shelter in his court to learned men from various quarters and reared up the tree of learning.⁹⁴ Himself a person of taste, he was, we note,⁹⁵ a connoisseur of literary merit, skilled in the appreciation of poetry

Kannāḍa literature flourished under Chāmarāja's patronage. Rāmachandra, a protégé of his (*Chāmarāja-bhūvara-prōtsāhita-nāḍa*), wrote the *Īśva-Śāstra*⁹⁶ (c. 1625), a rendering, in colloquial Kannāḍa, of Śālihōtra's treatise on horses. The work begins with invocation to Gaṇēśa, Krishṇa and Nārāyaṇa. It is written in 18 chapters dealing with the physical constitution and the age of horses, method of worshipping them during the Mahānavami festival and the treatment of their diseases. Another protégé of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, Padmanṇa Paṇḍita, son of Dēparasa, a Jam Āyurvēdic scholar (*Āyurvēda-budha*), wrote the *Hayasāra-Samuchchaya*⁹⁷ (1627), a compendium of the science of horses. It is a

93. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Md. 155, ll 1-2

94. *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharanīramanābhyaḍayaḥ*, III, 15.

Digbhyō budhānupagatānadhigatya sudya

Rājā cha samsadī nṛjāsana-māsasāda |

Vidyālati natu vīrddhimuparitu . . .

95. *Ibid*, III, 17

Śabdārtha bhāvarachanāguṇa vṛtti riti

Vyāgyādi varbhava bhinnā rasāpi karṇi |

Sārasvatāmṛtārasam rasikāḥ kauṇām

Saṅgrahya samsadī rarāja sa rājahamsaḥ ;

also *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya* (c. 1680), I, 97 *Sarasakulānupunat vettu.*

96. *Mss. Nos. B 227 and 997—P*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 367-368

97. *Mss. No. K. 424—P L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; in *Grantha characters*. See also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II 368-369.

poetical work, in 20 chapters, written in the Kannaḍa *kanda* metre (*Karṇāṭa kanda padyagaḷindam*). It begins with invocation to Jina and treats, among others, of the shape and sex of horses and the treatment of their diseases. Ascribed to Chāmarāja Woḍeyar himself, are two works extant, namely, *Brahmōttara-Khaṇḍa*⁹⁸ (c. 1630) and *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*⁹⁹ (c. 1635). The *Brahmōttara-Khaṇḍa*—also known as *Maṇiprakāśa-Vachana*¹⁰⁰—is a prose work, in colloquial Kannaḍa, in 22 chapters. It commences with invocation to Śaṁbhu and deals with the philosophy and ritualism of Śaivism—as expounded in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*—in the form of illustrative stories of a didactic character. The other work, *Chāmarājōkti-Vilāsa*—after Chāmarāja Woḍeyar—is a popular Hosagannaḍa prose version, in 7 parts, of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇam*, and begins with invocation to Viśhvakṣēna and Gaṇēśa. From a manuscript of this work, it would appear, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar got it written in his name by a scholar, named Virūpākṣha, for the enduring benefit of mankind.¹⁰¹

Among other contemporaries of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar we find mention made of Bommanna-kavi of Śravaṇa-, Beḷagoḷa, in a lithic record,¹⁰² although no works of his have so far come down to us. Nanjanātha was a scholar of Chāmarāja's court, under whose direction Nṛsimha, a pupil of his and son of Gajāraṇya-Nṛsimha-Paurāṇika,

98. Pub. V. B. Subbaya & Sons, Bangalore, 1897, see also Ms. No. 291—*P. L. Mys. Or. Lib.*; and *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 361

99. Pub. Rudrapa & Sons, Bangalore, 1894, 1895. See also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 360-361. A Ms. of this work (No. 65—*P. L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), dealing with the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, is dated October 12, 1643 (*Svabhānu*, *Kārtika* *śu.* 10—see ff. 31), from which it would seem, either the writing of the work was extended over a number of years after Chāmarāja's death or a copy of a portion of it was made in 1643.

100. Ms. No. 18. 3-10—*P. L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

101. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 360, f.n. 1

Vālmiki-munina-prōkta Śrīmad-Rāmāyanasya cha |
Karṇāṭa-bhāṣayā tīkām kīrayiṣhyan nṛpōttamah ||
Lōkānamupakārāya Virūpākṣhēna dhimatā |
Vīlūshā kṛtavan samyak pratijñām Chāmbhūpatih ||

102. *E. C.*, II SB. 260 (1634).

composed the *Honnalagere copper-plate grant* (January 1623),¹⁰³ in Kannada and Sanskrit. What other works he wrote is not known.

Chāmarāja Wodeyar had five queens, Muddājamma of Yeḷandūr, Dēviramma of Biḷugali, Domestic life. Siddājamma of Mūgūr. Channājamma of Mūḍana-kōṭe and Doddājamma of Sindhuvaḷḷi.¹⁰⁴ He is said¹⁰⁵ to have had issues which, however, seem to have died in their infancy. At the instance of his principal queen, Muddājamma, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, in 1633, is stated¹⁰⁶ to have got constructed in her name a bathing-ghāt in the pond at Mēlkōṭe, for the convenience of pilgrims during the Vaira-muḍi and Brahmōtsavam festivals.

Among other members of the Royal Family, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the two surviving younger brothers of Rāja Wodeyar, seem to have been living in peace and quiet, with their sons, in Guṇḍlu Terakaṇāmbi and Yeleyūr, respectively, during the greater part of Chāmarāja's reign, especially after their pilgrimage to sacred places.¹⁰⁷ A lithic record, dated July 31, 1625,¹⁰⁸ refers to the erection

103. *Mys Dist Suppl Vol*, Md 155 (*M A R.*, 1906, p. 23, para 75), ll. 64-69.

Gajātraya-Nṛsiṃhākhyā-Paurāṇika-sūta [lkhit]
Nanjinātha-budhachchātrō
Nṛsiṃha-stāmraśāsanaṃ.

Nanjinātha (Nanjanāthaiya), mentioned in the record, seems to have belonged to the Royal Family.

104. *Annals*, I. 50; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 61.

105. See *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 469) which speaks of Chāmarāja as having had sons, one of whom was named Dēvarāja (*Dēvarājam modalāda kumāraram padaidu*). The *Annals* and the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* are silent on this point.

106. *Annals*, I. 60.

107. *Aste Ch V*; vide also *Annals*, I. 50, 55-56 and 65. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 288.

108. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr 117 s. 1547, *Kṛódhana, Śravaṇa* &c. 7. Dēvarāja is referred to in this record as the son of Chāmarāja Wodeyar of Mysore, the latter being, of course, identical with Bōja-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (1572-1576).

of a maṇṭapa in Arakere by [Muppina] Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.

Chāmarāj Woḍeyar died on May 2, 1637,¹⁰⁰ in his thirty-fifth year, his queens, it is said,¹¹⁰ committing *sati*.
 Death, May 2, 1637.

It is, indeed, to the credit of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar that he appears more prominently in the records of his own period of rule than does his predecessor, Rāja Woḍeyar.

Chāmarāja Woḍeyar in history and tradition.

Cut off in the middle of a most promising career, his influence on the generation of writers immediately following his death, while not considerable, was not altogether negligible. Although unfortunately there is no reference to Chāmarāja in the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* (1648), the memories of his court and rule are preserved in all their freshness in the other literary works of the seventeenth century. In particular, to Tirumalārya, in the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vaṃśāvaḷi* and the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, Chāmarāja appears essentially as an epic hero with a record of uninterrupted course of military campaigns to his credit. So impressed were Tirumalārya and his contemporaries (like Chikkupādhyāya, Chidānanda, etc.) with Chāmarāja's achievements and the dazzling splendour and culture of his court, that we find a strong contemporary flavour in their works while depicting them. Chāmarāja Woḍeyar's rule is further echoed in some of the inscriptional records

109. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 44 and 55. *Īvara, Vaiśākha* ba. 3. See also *Annals*, I. 62. Bhāskara (c. 1650), in his *Bēhāra-gaṇita*, mentions the death of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar in s. 1559 (1637) (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 375). Cf. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (22) which places Chāmarāja's death in *Īvara, Vaiśākha* su. 15 (April 28, 1637). Wilks (I 55) also dates the death in 1637. Cf. Dēvachandra (*Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 467-470), fixing Chāmarāja's death in December 1633 and the period of his rule between 1616-1633, which it is hard to accept; nor is there any evidence for his statement (*Ibid* 375) that there were hostile incursions, famines and other public calamities during the reign.

110. *Annals*, l.c.

of the eighteenth century,¹¹¹ while the chroniclers (of the 18th and 19th centuries) corroborate and supplement the earlier sources in regard to various aspects of his reign.

A study of these materials enables us to form some estimate of Chāmarāja Wodeyar as an historical character. Young and energetic, with a fairly well developed constitution, Chāmarāja Wodeyar thoroughly impressed his contemporaries as a warrior and as a ruler. Though he generally conducted his campaigns with the assistance of his Daḷavāi, there were also occasions when he appears to have personally led the army on the field. His conquests were, as a rule, guided by the policy of aggression—a policy which was a sheer necessity in the case of a kingdom like Mysore, in view of the unsettled political conditions of the times and the existence of hostile neighbours by whom Mysore was then surrounded. His loyalty to the Vijayanagar Empire was unshaken, although his local contemporaries seemed to regard the assumption of independence by him as eminently justified from a purely local point of view. Already, by the close of his reign, the kingdom of Mysore, so strenuously extended by him, was on the point of becoming a bulwark in the south against the powers hostile to the Vijayanagar Empire. Slowly and steadily, the political centre of gravity in the Karnāṭak was being shifted from Penukoṇḍa to Seringapatam. So that Seringapatam, though seemingly lost to the Empire in 1610, was fast becoming, though indirectly, a gain to the latter in her crisis. The conquests and annexations of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, as Wilks observes,¹¹² naturally meant distress

111 *E. C.*, III (1) TN 63 (1748) ll. 36-37; IV (2) yd. 17 (1761), ll. 22-23. Most of the inscriptions of the latter part of the 17th century and the earlier part of the 18th [like *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 of 1686 and 64 of 1722] pay a good deal of attention to the tracing of the descent of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar from the line of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Hence they are conspicuous by the absence of any reference to the rulers who followed in the wake of Rāja Wodeyar. We have noted the exceptions here.

112. I. 55.

and loss of independence to the neighbouring Pālegārs, but at the same time they appear to have heralded a change for the better to the subjects who, freed from their vexatious regime, were brought under the more settled and orderly government of the Viceroy-king of Seringapatam and his agents.

The drastic punishment inflicted by Chāmarāja Woḍeyar on Beṭṭada-Arasu, his first Daḷavāi, despite the latter's services to the cause of the kingdom during his (Chāmarāja's) minority, may not, perhaps, be viewed with favour by posterity. But it is to be remembered that Chāmarāja Woḍeyar was not oblivious of the Daḷavāi's services and that in awarding the punishment he seems to have been guided more by the larger political interests of the hour than personal spite or hatred.

The pious and tolerant ruler he was, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar adhered strictly to the standards of Rāja Woḍeyar. The different religions (Brāhmanical, Jaina and Vīraśaiva) flourished under him. As an accomplished scholar of his age, he liberally encouraged learning and the arts. Particularly Kannada literature received a remarkable impetus from the keen personal interest he seems to have evinced in its development. - Regarded alike from the political and cultural points of view, Chāmarāja Woḍeyar is entitled to a unique place in history as a "Maker of Mysore."



Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, 1637-1638.

CHAPTER VII.

IMMAḌI RĀJA WOḌEYAR, 1637-1638.

Birth, accession and identity— Siege of Arkatēud, c. 1638 —
Immaḍi Rāja Woḍeyar's Rule— Religion and domestic life—
Death, October 8, 1638 Political position of Mysore,
1638.

ON MAY 14, 1637, the thirteenth day after the death
of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar
(Rāja Woḍeyar II), the youngest and
last son of Rāja Woḍeyar, succeeded to
the throne of Mysore¹ He was born
on May 26, 1612, and was in his twenty-fifth year at the
time of his accession.² He is referred to in literary

Birth, accession
and identity

1 See *Mys Dho Pūr* (I 44, II 55), referring to *Isvara, Vaisākha ba* 30 as the date of Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar's accession. Cf. *Mys Rāj. Cha* (22), placing the accession on the very day of Chāmarāja's death, *Rāj. Kath* (XII 470), fixing it in December 1633, *Annals* (I 62-63), according to which Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar had been installed on the throne, by Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, on *Isvara, Vaisākha ba* 15 (April 28, 1637, i.e. three days before Chāmarāja's death). Wilks (I 56) merely dates the accession of "Immaḍee Rāj." in 1637. The authority of the earliest Ms. (i.e. *Mys Dho Pūr*) is to be preferred here as the more specific in regard to the date of accession, although it seems not impossible that Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar had been formally deputed, a few days before Chāmarāja's death, to succeed the latter.

2 *Ibid.*, I 33, 44 (compare) *Paridhāvi, Jyēṣṭha ba* 7, Tuesday. See also *C Vam.* (81-92), according to which Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, the fourth and last son (*karigunagar*) of Rāja Woḍeyar, was in his boyhood at the time of the latter's death (1617). The *Mys Dho Vam* (II 29) merely refers to Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar as the son of Rāja Woḍeyar and uncle of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar; the *Mys. Rāj. Cha* (22) mentions him as the son of Rāja Woḍeyar by his youngest wife; and the *Rāj. Kath* (XII 470), as the son of Rāja Woḍeyar. Cf. Wilks (I 56), referring to Immaḍi Rāja Woḍeyar as "the posthumous son of Rāja Woḍeyar," who "ascended the Musnud in his 20th year on the death of his nephew Cham Rāj." The *Annals* (I 49-50, 68) also speaks of Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar as the posthumous son of Rāja Woḍeyar, fixing his birth on December 7, 1617 (*Paingala, Mārgaśīra ba* 5), i.e., about six months after Rāja Woḍeyar's death. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, the authority of the earliest available sources (i.e. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* and *C Vam.*) is preferred here.

works and inscriptions (17th-18th centuries) as 'Immaḍi-Rājarasa,' 'Immaḍi-Rājodeyar,' 'Immaḍi-Rāja' and 'Immaḍi-Rājarāt'.³

Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya continued in office under Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar. Perhaps the only political event of importance during the reign was the siege of Arkalgūd in or about 1638. The siege, it is said, was successfully conducted by Vikrama-Rāya who exacted tribute from Krishṇappa Nāyaka, the chief of the place, and returned to Seringapatam with the spoils of war.⁴

Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar appears to have been a promising ruler. His prowess is echoed in literary works and inscriptions.⁵ The short period of his rule was remarkable for its popularity and vigour, and for the continued maintenance of the traditions of his predecessors.⁶ As a centre of culture, his court was reputed for its magnificence.⁷

Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar, as we find him depicted,⁸ was an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu, ever engaged in listening to and enjoying the devotional literature of the Vaishṇava faith. He had two queens, Venkaṭājjamma of Heggaddēvankōṭe (Kōṭe) and Nanjamma of Maddūr, by whom he is said to have had no issue.⁹

3. See *C. Vam.*, 32, 35, *C. V.*, II, 95-96, referring to Immaḍi-Rāja as 'Immaḍi-Rāja'; *Kamālā Māhāt.*, I, 98, *Munivam*, II, 68 *Rājodeyara kriyanugārādimmadi-Rājodeyar*, *F.C.*, III (1) TN 63 (1749), I 98; IV (2) Yd. 17 (1761), I. 24, etc. See also Tables II and III.

4. *Annals*, I. 63; *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 470, *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 22, cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 28.

5. *Vide* fn. 3 *supra*.

6. *C. Vam.*, 35; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 28; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 22-23; *Annals*, I. 63-64.

7. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* and *Annals*, 1c.

8. *C. Vam.*, l.c. *Paramapurushana charaṇāravinda-drandva-sandarsana-śravaṇa-kirtanādv-bhaktirasa-paripāka-bhēdamam nichchanigegeyādu.*

9. *Annals*, I. 63; see also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 62.

Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar died on October 8, 1638,¹⁰ in his twenty-seventh year, after a reign of nearly an year and a half, his queens, it is said,¹¹ observing *sati*. His death is said¹² to have been brought about by a poisonous mixture (*viṣa-chūrṇa*) administered to him—during his indisposition—by the court physician, under the influence of Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya. There seems little doubt that the Daḷavāi was led into the perpetration of this treacherous deed, perhaps by motives of usurpation or assertion of independence against his young, and probably too energetic, master.¹³

Though Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar was thus victimised by the Daḷavāi's intrigue in the very prime of his life, it is to his credit that he was able to leave behind him a powerful and compact kingdom— a rich political heritage to the next generation of rulers of Mysore.

Political position
of Mysore, 1638

10. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I 44, 56 *Bahudhānya, Āsvīja śu* 11. See also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 29, cf. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 23 *Bahudhānya, Āsvīja śu* 16 (October 12, 1638); *Annals*, I. 64: *Ibuḷ, Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 470), placing the death in May 1635.

11. *Annals*, I c

12. *Annals*, I. 68; *Rāj. Kath.*, I.c.; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I 46-47; see also *Wilks*, I. 56. The *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 28) merely refers to Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar's death as due to Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya's treachery (*Daḷavāyi Vikrama-Rāyana kuṭīlōpayadinda*).

13. See also and compare *Wilks*, I. 57.

CHAPTER VIII.

KANTHIRAVA-NARASARAJA WODEYAR I, 1638-1659.

Lineal descent—Birth and early life—Accession—Political situation—General course of affairs—Political Development: *First Phase*: 1639-1641—Relations between Mysore and Bijapur, 1639: the siege of Seringapatam, January 1639; general causes—The demand for tribute and after—Composition of the Bijapur and Mysore armies—Position of the besieging army—The siege, January 18-20, 1639—The truce, January 21, 1639—Ranadulla Khan's return, February 1639—Importance of the event—Retrospect of affairs, 1640—Acquisition of Ramagiri-durga, etc., c. July-August 1640—Renewed attempts of Bijapur on Seringapatam, December 1640-March 1641—*Second Phase*: 1641-1647—Mysore and the south the siege of Maratahalli, March 1641—The retaliation, 1642—Acquisition of Samballi, etc., 1641-1642—Relations with Vijayanagar, down to 1643—Relations with local powers general political position, down to 1644—Annexation of Hampapura, April 1644—Siege of Palupare, January 1645—Siege of Piriyaapatna, c. January-October 1645—Annexation of Piriyaapatna, etc., 1645-1646—Renewed relations between Mysore and Bijapur, 1646—Action at Turuvekere c. December 1646-January 1647: death of Dalavai Nanjarajaiya, January 1647—Acquisition of Basavapatna, May 1647—Ikkeri and Mysore Sivappa Nayaka I's embassy to Mysore, September 1647—*Third Phase*: 1647-1650—General course of political affairs, a retrospect—Relations with Vijayanagar, down to 1650—Acquisition of Hebbur, April 1650—*Fourth Phase*: 1650-1654—Further relations with Vijayanagar: Emperor Sri-Ranga in Mysore, c. 1650-1653—Kanthirava's local position, minor acquisitions, etc., 1650-1652—Further relations between Mysore and Bijapur, 1652-1653—Bijapur and Madura vs. Mysore, 1654—*Fifth Phase*: 1654-1659—



Kanthirava-Nara-araja Wodeyar I, 1638-1659.

General course of affairs—Relations with Madura, 1655-1659: Mysorean invasion of Madura, c. 1655-1657—Counter-invasion by Madura, c. 1657-1659—Criticism of Proenza—Relations with Ikkeri, 1657-1659—Political position of Mysore, 1659.

ON THE death of Inmaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar without issue, direct descent in the line of Rāja Wodeyar came to an end. Reference has been made, in the preceding chapters, to Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, two of the surviving sons of Bōḷa-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (1572-1576). Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar was, as we have seen,¹ a younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar; and Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar was a half-brother (*bhinnōdara sahōdara*) of his. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja is said to have had two sons, Timmarāja Wodeyar, by Lingājamma of Bāgaḷi, and Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, by Guruvājamma (Guruvāmbā) of Hura²; Muppina-Dēvarāja had five, Yeleyūr Dēparāja Wodeyar, by his first wife Dēvājamma, and Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, Chikkadēvarāja-Wodeyar, Kempadēvarāja Wodeyar and Maridēvarāja Wodeyar, by the second, Kempamma (Kempamāmbā).³ Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja and Muppina-Dēvarāja being in their old age, as already indicated,⁴ it was but in the natural order of things that the heirs of the former should first succeed to the throne of Mysore. Timmarāja Wodeyar, the first son of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, had, however, it would seem, predeceased his father, so that the next immediate claimant in the line of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja was his second son, Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar.

1. *Ante*, Chs. IV and V; *Vide* also Tables II-IV.

2. *Annals*, I. 17-18.

3. *Vide* Appendix IV—(1) and Tables II-IV (compare).

4. *Ante*, Chs. V and VI.

Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar was born on May 2, 1615, on the Nṛsimha-Jayanti day, under the constellation *Svāti*.⁵ In his birth and early life. boyhood he was, we learn,⁶ brought up along with Nanjarājaiya (Nanjendra) and Lingarājaiya (Lingendra), sons of his maternal uncle, Kemparājaiya (Kempa-Bhūpa) of Hura, and was trained with them in horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery (*turagadērāṭa, gajārōhaṇa . . . dhanurvēda*) and the use of various kinds of weapons, such as the spear, lance, dagger, club, sword and discus (*sāṅga bhalleya bāku hūṅgaḍe kaṭhāri . . . chakrāyudha*). Kaṇṭhīrava is said to have passed his youth in Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇāmbi with his father, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar.⁷ During this period, he is reputed to have had a thrilling adventure. A pious Brāhman, while on his return journey from a pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram, it is said,⁸ casually mentioned to him that there was a champion at the court of the chief of Trichinopoly, who, over-confident of his strength, had proclaimed a general challenge against all his antagonists. Kaṇṭhīrava, with all the ardour of a young man, at once secretly proceeded thither, accompanied by the Brāhman. Disguised as a professional wrestler, he effected his entrance into the fort of Trichinopoly, whose chief welcomed him to an open combat with his champion. In the feat which followed, Kaṇṭhīrava so adroitly conducted his movements that he was soon, without the knowledge of his spectators, able to out-manceuvre his opponent and pierce his neck through with

5. *Mys. Dh. Pūr.*, I. 45: *Rakshasa, Vaidakha* su. 14; *Annals*, I. 65, 90; *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 198 (1639) l. 41. *Mahāyāntyaṃ*; Sr. 103 (1647), II. 35-37 *Nṛsimha-punarapi-divasē*; V (2) Ag. 64 (1647), p. 768 (Text): *Maṣe Mādhavanāmakē tsubhatarē Svātyām nīṭe pakshakē*; *K. N. V.*, (1648), IV, 62, 65-67. The inscriptional and literary references point to the strong influence of Vaishṇava tradition on the Mysore Royal Family during the seventeenth century.

6. *K. N. V.*, IV, 76-79, 84-86.

7. See *Annals*, I, 66.

8. *Ibid.*, I. 66-67; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 57-58.

his broad-sword (named *Vijaya-Nāraṅga*) which he had secreted in his waist. Meantime the entire court was watching with bated breath the issue of the contest, but were taken aback when they saw the head of the local champion roll down on its being merely touched by Kanṭhīrava at the point of his staff. The chief of Trichinopoly was about to reward the victor of the day but Kanṭhīrava, disdaining all honours, quietly left the place for Terakaṇāmbi the very same night, leaving a placard on the fort-wall to the effect that the feat of arms had been performed by some one from Mysore. On his return journey, Kanṭhīrava is said to have come across a pillar of slate-stone and so dexterously cut it asunder that the sharpness of the blade of his broad-sword was by no means lost in the attempt.⁹ These exploits, apart from their traditional glamour, are quite in keeping with the early training of Kanṭhīrava, and serve to give us some insight into his character and attainments on the eve of his accession.

Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore on November 22, 1638, in his twenty-fourth year, a month and a half after the death of Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar.¹⁰ During the intervening period Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāja is said to have actually usurped the State.¹¹ There is a tradition that Kanṭhīrava assumed the reins of office after the assassination of Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāja.¹²

9. *Ibid.*, I. 67; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 29.

10. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 51 *Bahudhānya*, *Kārtika* ba. 12, Thursday (November 22, 1638); see also Appendix IV—(2). Cf. *Rāj. Kath.* (XII 470), fixing Kanṭhīrava's accession in May 1635!, *Annals*, I. 65 *Bahudhānya*, *Kārtika* śu. 2 (October 28, 1638). The *Annals* (l.c.) speaks also of the adoption of Kanṭhīrava by Timmāmma, the junior dowager queen of Rāja Wodeyar, and his installation at Seringapatam, on one and the same day. Cf. also S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (p. 289), adopting this view. The authority of the earlier Ms. is, as usual, preferred here.

11. *Ibid.*, I. 45-51; see also Appendix *Ibid.*, for details.

12. *Ibid.*; see also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 30; *Rāj. Kath.*, l.c. The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to this tradition. Wilks closely follows the *Mys. Dho. Pār.* and he is accepted in the main by S. K. Aiyangar (see Appendix *Ibid.*).

According to another tradition, Kanṭhīrava, shortly after his accession, deprived Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya of his office (for having brought about the death by poison, of Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar) and inflicted capital punishment on him and his accomplices.¹³ Neither of these traditions has, however, so far been corroborated. On the other hand, from a lithic record on a pedestal in front of the monolithic bull (*Doḍḍa-Basava*) in the Nanjunḍēśvara temple at Nanjangūḍ, we find that on January 11, 1644, Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya, a son of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, set up the pedestal thereto as a devotional offering.¹⁴ It seems obvious from this record, that Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya was actually alive as late as 1644. If, according to the traditionary accounts, he was slain or capital punishment had been inflicted on him in 1638, it becomes inconceivable how he could live on till 1644 to perform the service in the temple at Nanjangūḍ according to the indubitable evidence of the lithic inscription. It appears, therefore, probable that Vikrama-Rāya was dismissed from service on the accession of

13. *Annals*, I. 67-68.

14. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 9: Text in the original, p. 315:

1. *Śubhamastu svasti śrī-vijayābhya*
2. *daya-Śalivāhana-śaka-varuṣa 1665 san*
3. *da vartamānavāda Svabhānu sam*
4. *vatsarada Māga-sūda 12 Guruvārādalu Mai*
5. *sūra-Chāmarāja-Woḍeyaravara kumdra Da*
6. *ḷavāyi-Vikrama-Rāyana sēve ||*

Ś. 1665, *Svabhānu*, *Māga sū.* 12 corresponds to January 11, 1644. Perhaps by a slip, Rice, in transliterating and translating this inscription, refers to Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya as the son of 'Māsur-Rāja-Woḍeyar' [*Ibid.*, p. 184 (transliteration); p. 96 (translation)], and this seems tacitly accepted by S. K. Aiyangar in *Ancient India*, p. 266, f.n. 1. From the original text of the inscription, however, it is clear that Daḷavāi Vikrama-Rāya was the son of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, identical with Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother of Rāja Woḍeyar. This would corroborate the *Annals* that Vikrama-Rāya was a natural son (*gāndharva-putra*) of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (see Appendix III). The *Annals* (I. 61) also speaks of the setting up of the bull with an inscription on its pedestal by Vikrama-Rāya, in January 1636, during the reign of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V (1617-1637). But from the above document we note that the pedestal was actually put up by him in January 1644.

Kaṇṭhīrava in November 1638 and allowed to reside in some part of Mysore during the rest of his life, although it is not impossible that he continued to call himself by his former designation of Daḷavāi. In succession to Vikrama-Rāya, Timmarājaiya was appointed Daḷavai on November 26, 1638,¹⁵ and Kaṇṭhīrava began his rule in Seringapatam, the earliest record referring to him as king being the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant* (April 1639).¹⁶

Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar was a contemporary of Venkaṭa II (1633?-1642) and Śrī-Ranga VI (1642-1664?-1681) of Vijayanagar, Muḥammad Adil Shah of Bijāpur (1627-1656), Virabhadra Nāyaka (1629-1645) and Sivappa Nāyaka I (1645-1660) of Ikkēri, Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (1569-1655) and Trumala Nāyaka of Madura (c. 1623-1659), among others. It was a critical period in the history of India in general and of Karnāṭaka in particular, when Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar succeeded to the throne of Mysore. The Mughal Empire, gradually encroaching upon the south ever since the reign of Akbar, had already secured a foothold in that region by the consolidation of the conquered provinces into a viceroyalty under the designation of "Deccan." Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa, the two Shāhi kingdoms of the south,

15. *Annals*, I. 68; *Mys. Dho Pūr.*, I. 66. The former mentions the name of the Daḷavāi as Timmappa Nāyaka while the latter as Timmapparājaiya. The *Mys. Dho Vam.* (ff. 38), however, refers to the name as Timmarājaiya, which reading is preferably followed here. Cf. *K. N. V.*, IV, 100-106. In the poetical language of this contemporary work (1640), Nanjarājaiya of Hura is made to appear as having been appointed Daḷavāi by Kaṇṭhīrava soon after his (Kaṇṭhīrava's) installation. The poem itself being, as we shall see, written at the instance of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya (1640-1647), the poet, Gōvinda-Vaidya, is to be understood to convey here Nanjarājaiya's succession to office in 1640 and not the appointment of the first Daḷavāi of Kaṇṭhīrava. The poet also describes and eulogises Nanjarājaiya's exploits early in the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava, i.e., 1639-1640, when he was not actually the Daḷavāi. Obviously, while Timmarājaiya was the first Daḷavāi of Kaṇṭhīrava in succession to Vikrama-Rāya, Nanjarājaiya of Hura also seems to have played an active part in the events of the period, as the king's relation and right-hand man, till his own appointment as Daḷavāi in 1640.

16. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 198.

remained, however, unconquered. Between the Mughal Empire and these powers the Deccan formed, as it were, a debatable ground. In May-June 1636, Shāh Jahān had concluded a partition treaty with Adil Shah and Qutb Shah, defining the boundaries of the respective powers. As a result of this, the advance of the Shāhi kingdoms further northwards was arrested, leaving them, however, unrestricted scope for expansion in the south and the east for a period extending nearly to two decades (1637-1656). Almost simultaneously, the European nations in India were progressing slowly but steadily in their commercial enterprise while the Empire of Vijayanagar, under Venkaṭa II, was already in the throes of dissolution due to the slackening of central control and the domestic and other difficulties of the ruling dynasty. Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura was asserting his independence; Virabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri was encroaching on the territories of the neighbouring Pālegārs of Sōde, Bīḷigi and Tarikere; and Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi, steadfast as ever in his loyalty to the Empire, was administering his principality, keeping at bay the insurgent chiefs in his neighbourhood. The situation was eminently suited for the ambitious schemes of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa, the central and southern Karnāṭak being the most promising field to the former and the eastern and south-eastern portions to the latter.¹⁷

Between December 1637-January 1638, encouraged by the petty differences between Virabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri and Pūvala-Hanumappa Nāyaka (Kenge Nāyak) of Basavāpaṭṇa and incited by the latter's intrigues, the Bijāpur army, under Raṇadullā Khān (Rustam-i-Zamān), laid siege to and destroyed Ikkēri. Virabhadra Nāyaka sought refuge in Kaule-durga (Bhuvanagiri-durga) and

General course of affairs.

17. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2369-2370; J. Sarkar's article, *Shāhji Bhōnsle in Mysore*, in the *M.H.*, July 1929, pp. 7-12; *Ke. N. V.*, VI. 96, 96, etc.

ultimately concluded a truce with Raṇadullā Khān. Having Hanumappa Nāyaka in the forefront, and reinforced by the levies of local chieftains in the country, Raṇadullā Khān next proceeded with his army on a regular and well-organised campaign in the Karnāṭak. Sira was taken by Afzal Khān and its chief, Kastūri-Ranga, put to death during an interview. Turuvēkere and Tumkūr were ravaged, the chief of the latter place taking to flight panic-stricken. The advancing army next entered the Morasa-nāḍu, encamping near Śivaganga. The fort of Bangalore was taken from Inmaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa who retreated to Māgaḍi leaving his son a hostage in the hands of Raṇadullā Khān. Placing Shāhji—father of Śivāji—a second in command, in charge of Bangalore, Raṇadullā Khān proceeded further south. Reinforced by the levies of the Morasa chieftains, he next took Rāmagiridurga where he held a review of his forces. About the end of 1638, he advanced towards Channapaṭṇa with eventual designs on Seringapatam.¹⁸

The first event of importance early in the reign of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, hardly two months after his accession, was an invasion of Mysore and the siege of Seringapatam by the Bijāpur forces under Raṇadullā Khān. About the middle of January 1639, Raṇadullā Khān encamped near Seringapatam¹⁹ Although exaction of tribute from Mysore or annexation of Seringapatam to Bijāpur was, according to the general programme, the

Political Develop-
ment:

First Phase 1639-
1641.

Relations between
Mysore and Bijāpur,
1639 the siege of
Seringapatam, Janu-
ary 1639; general
causes.

18. For the general references on this section, see *K. N. V.*, XI, 1-80; *C. Vam.*, 35; *C. V.*, II, 90-100; *Ke. N. V.*, VI 96-98; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 33-35; *Annals*, I. 72; cf *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 470. See also and compare *Muhammad-Nāmāh* used by Sarkar in *Ibid.*, p. 9.

19. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 52) places the event in January-February 1639: *Bahudhānya, Pushya Māgha ba.* The *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, (ff. 35-36) seems specifically to date the siege itself between *Bahudhānya, Pushya ba.* 8 (Friday) and *Pushya ba.* 11 (Monday). The *tithis* actually correspond to January 16-19, 1639 (Wednesday to Saturday). (*Ind. Eph.*, VI. 80.) The

objective of the Khān's advance thither,²⁰ the attention of Bijāpur towards Mysore had been, in the main, directed by the intrigues of Channaiya of Nāgamangala, a turbulent feudatory, who had, it is said, taken up service under Muḥammad Adil Shah as a Mansabdār of 200 horse and accompanied Raṇadullā Khān to the south.²¹

Before commencing operations, however, Raṇadullā Khān sent word to Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa-rāja Woḍeyar, demanding payment of tribute to Bijāpur.²² Kaṇṭhīrava stoutly refused to accede to the demand, sent back the Khān's messengers and hastened the preparations for the defence of the capital. On this, Raṇadullā Khān resolved upon the siege of Seringapatam.²³ In vain did Kenge-Hanumappa Nāyaka remonstrate with him to give up his project and make peace.²⁴ Heedless of the advice, Raṇadullā Khān persisted, and directed the commencement of the assault,²⁵ while Kaṇṭhīrava ordered a general mobilisation of his forces and endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the enemy.²⁶

The investing army consisted of a miscellaneous rabble ranging from 40 to 50 thousand horse, 3 to 4 lakhs foot and between 500 to 1,000 elephants.²⁷ It was made up of

Composition of the
Bijāpur and Mysore
armies.

week-days mentioned, however, correspond to January 18-21, 1639 (*Ibid*), which is preferred here as the more probable date. As is well known, local chronicles and memoirs hardly err in regard to week-days, though they are sometimes not exact in respect of *tithis*. The *Annals* (I. 73-75) follows the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* The *Muhammad-Nāmāh* places the event, roughly, in 1639 [*vide* Appendix IV—(8)]. *Wilks* (I. 59) merely dates it in the first year of Kaṇṭhīrava's accession. Although the siege itself took place between the 18th and 21st of January 1639, it was, as we shall see, preceded by certain preliminaries, for which an interval of 8-4 days has to be allowed and the arrival itself of Raṇadullā Khān at Seringapatam fixed about the middle of January.

20. See K. N. V., XI, 67-70; XII, 92-93.

21. *Annals*, I. 73; also *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 35.

22. K. N. V., XII, 89-99; see also XI, 111-130, referring to the preliminary arrangements for the defence of Seringapatam.

23. *Ibid*, XIII, 12-14.

24. *Ibid*, 44; *O. Vam.*, 35; *C. Vi.*, II, 101.

25. *Ibid*, 45-47; *O. Vam.*, l.c.; *C. Vi.*, II, 101-102.

26. *Ibid*, 48-50.

27. See K. N. V., XI, 11, 107; XII, 12, 69; XVI, 5; *C. Vam.*, l.c.; *O. Vi.*, II, 93 (compare); see also and compare *Annals*, I. 73; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 30.

two divisions : the original Bijāpur army, under the direct command of Raṇadullā Khān himself, and the levies of Karnāṭak chieftains led by Kenge-Hanumappa Nāyaka (of Basavāpaṭṇa).²⁸ The Mysore army was mostly composed of the levies of the tributary chiefs of Hura, Channapaṭṇa, Maddūr, Satyāgāla, Heggaddevankōṭe, Channarāyapaṭṇa, Kikkēri, Būkankere, Piriyaṭṇa, Talakāḍ, Maḷavaḷli and Nāgamangala, besides the forces raised by the officers in charge of Seringapatam and Mysore.²⁹

The major portion of the Karnāṭak forces halted on the southern bank of the Cauvery, with Hanumappa Nāyaka at their head ; the Morasas and the chief of Bēlūr, in particular, took up a convenient position on the northern

28. *Ibid.*, Chs. XI and XII Among the generals, said to have commanded the different divisions of the main army under the Muslim generalissimo, were, Parāt Khān, Kairitā Khān, Balavant Khān, Mustafa Khān, Abdullā (Afzal) Khān, Akalās Khān, Ambar Khān, Siddurahiṃa, Vedōji, Rāghava-Paṇḍita, Anukūśa Khān, Siddi-Mallick Khān of Sholāpur, Ādam Khān, Jilahar Khān, Muhammad Khān and Futteh Khān (XI, 83-97 ; XII, 43-66 (compare)) Among the Karnāṭak chiefs—under Hanumappa Nāyaka—who are said to have contributed their quota, were those of Harapanahaḷli, Soḍḍūr, Guḍigōṭe, Rāyadurga, Haṭṭi (under Yellappa Nāyaka), Kundurupe, Doḍḍēri, Hiriyūr (under Baira Nāyaka), Turuvākere, Bēlūr, Pālupare, Narasimhapura (Hole-Narasapur), Chikhalāpur, Bujavara, Kōlāla, Hoḷavanahaḷli, Bāvalūr, Hosūr, Hosakōṭe, Sūrābāle, Kaggondi (Kangondi), Māsti, Dēvanahaḷli and Siḍlaghatta (XI, 63-65, 99-106 ; XII, 67-68)—these levies alone, it is said, computed at a lakh (XII, 18). There were also, we are told, Mullukas, Gujarātis, Kanaujis, Khorassānis, Pāthāns, etc., (XI, 97-98 ; XII, 66)—the entire army of Bijāpur, with its equipment of civil and military stores and all the paraphernalia, presenting the spectacle of a moving camp as it were. The contemporary poet, Gōvinda-Vaidya, in dealing with the siege of Seringapatam and other events, writes partly from direct knowledge and partly from the information he had gathered from those who took part in those events. As a poet, however, he delineates the heroic and other sentiments and his accounts are not altogether free from exaggeration. The *K. N. V.* (1648) is made use of in this section, subject to these limitations. For a detailed account and estimate of the work, see under *Literary activity* in Ch. IX.

29. *Ibid.*, XII, 77-88 ; XIII, 56-61. In one place (XI, 82) the chief of Turuvākere (Turugere) is also mentioned as having taken up the side of Kanthirava, but in another place (XI, 102) the poet speaks of the camp of Turuvākere in the army of Raṇadullā Khān. This seems obviously a contradiction. It appears probable that Turuvākere was represented in the Khān's army, having joined him during the latter's march towards Bangalore (XI, 16).

bank of the river; while the main army of Raṇadullā Khān encamped in the other directions.³⁰

On January 18, 1639, Raṇadullā Khān laid siege to Seringapatam.³¹ The siege lasted only three days,³² during which period Raṇadullā Khān pushed on the blockade with vigour, although his deputies (Khāns and Viziers) had, in the very beginning, complained to him of the reverses they had sustained.³³ At the same time, Kaṇṭhīrava, personally leading his troops, directed the defence operations and the commencement of hostilities. A section of his (Kaṇṭhīrava's) army delivered a surprise night-attack on the Bijāpuris encamped at Arakere; another fell upon those who had halted at Hosahoḷalu; a third obstructed the passage of the enemy near Mēlkōṭe (Yādavādri); and a fourth one surprised the vast array of the investing forces in the neighbourhood of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, Mysore—putting them to rout amidst great slaughter and cutting off the noses of several of their opponents. Despite the calamity which had thus attended his army, and the steady opposition his men met with from the besieged, Raṇadullā Khān persisted in his resolve to take the fort. By successive attacks he had effected a breach and almost scaled the walls, when Kaṇṭhīrava brought together all the scattered elements of his army and offered stout resistance. A severe

30. *Ibid.* XII, 9-14. 31. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 35-36; see also f n. 19 *supra*.

32. *Ibid.*; see also *infra*.

33. *K. N. V.*, XIII, 18-20; XIV and XV, XVI, 11-20; also *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 198 (April 1639), ll. 41-43; *Sr.* 103 (1647), ll. 38-39; 48-49—echoing Kaṇṭhīrava's victory over the Muhammadans of Bijāpur; *C. Vam.*, 35-36; *C. V.*, II, 102-127—depicting the siege of Seringapatam by Raṇadullā Khān and his repulse and retreat; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 23; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 86; *Annals*, I. 72-76, speaking of the siege of Seringapatam and the defeat and repulse, etc., of Raṇadullā Khān. The *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 470-472), in detailing the siege and Kaṇṭhīrava's conquests, etc., closely follows the *C. Vam.* Wilks (I. 59) refers to the siege of Seringapatam by "Rend Dhoola Khan" (Raṇadullā Khān) and his repulse "with great slaughter," etc. Cf. also S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 292-293.

struggle followed, in which the besiegers were thoroughly beaten and repulsed with considerable loss (in killed and wounded) in their ranks. Raṇadullā Khān was obliged to beat a hasty retreat from Seringapatam and Kanṭhīrava's troops returned to the capital with immense spoils.

On the fourth day (January 21), Raṇadullā Khān found it expedient to sue for peace.⁸⁴ He had already received an express message from Bijāpur urging his return, and any attempt at prolonging the siege of Seringapatam seemed futile. Following the advice of Kenge-Hanuniappa Nāyaka, he arranged for a truce with Kanṭhīrava through two of the latter's agents (named Kāvēri-Hebbāruva and Minchu-Hebbāruva), stipulating that the territory to the south of the Cauvery was to remain in the undisturbed possession of the king of Mysore while the right to the revenues of the territory north of the river was to belong exclusively to the Adil Shah of Bijāpur, the same being made available to the latter after deducting the necessary expenses incidental to its management. The truce was agreed to by Kanṭhīrava in view of its ensuring him the territorial integrity of Mysore and of its relieving him from the necessity of withstanding another possible siege and keeping his army engaged in the open field.

Accordingly, about the middle of February, Raṇadullā Khān raised the siege of Seringapatam and retraced his steps to Bijāpur,⁸⁵ placing some of his forces under Hanumappa Nāyaka for the protection of his interests under the truce.⁸⁶

Raṇadullā Khān's
return, February
1639.

84. *Annals*, I. 75-76; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.

85. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 52; and *l.n.* 19 *supra*, also see and compare *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in Appendix IV—(3)

86. *Annals*, I. 76; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.; also compare *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in Appendix *Ibid.*

The siege of Seringapatam by Bijāpur was a memorable event in the history of Mysore. There is little doubt that Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar was able to win a complete victory over the invaders. Two causes appear to have accounted for his success : firstly, the efficiency of his army, though small in numbers, and its knowledge of local conditions—which stood it in good stead against the overwhelming odds of Bijāpur ; secondly, the special features of the Mysorean warfare of the time, namely, surprise night-attacks and the “cutting off noses.” At the news of this victory, Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, father of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, is said to have sent him from Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇāmbi his (Kanṭhīrava’s) broad-sword, *Vijaya-Nārasimha*, as a mark of appreciation of his prowess.³⁷ The prestige of Kanṭhīrava was enhanced locally.³⁸ And the net result of the event of 1639 was that, while it left the kingdom of Mysore practically unsubdued by Bijāpur, it exposed her to the latter’s recurring invasions from the north and prepared the way for the further advance of Mysore in that direction.

Early in 1640 affairs in the Karnāṭak demanded the immediate attention of Bijāpur. Virabhadra Nāyaka, on the siege and destruction of Ikkēri by the latter (1637-1638), had established his capital at Bednūr (Bidarūr or Vēṇupura) about 1639 and, with a view to revenging himself against Hanumappa Nāyaka of

37. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 30-31.

38. See *C. Vam.*, 36. *Itanum ā yavana paḍeyam juyisi, Kannāḍa-nḍol negaḷṭe vetṭu* ; *C. V.*, II, 127 ; also *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 198 (April 1639), l.c. :

*Ātmōdbhavo Naraharir-Narasu-kṣhitindrah-
Sakṣhādya śpa yavanānvaya daitya bhēdī* || ;

and Sr. 108 (April 1647), l.c. :

*Mēnchānam hananādbhuya-prabalati . . .
Mēlchāṇṭe parimārchtasamabhavan yasyāji-rangāṅkanē* ||.

Basavāpaṭṇa, was negotiating with the Adil Shah.³⁹ By the approach of the rainy season of 1639, Raṇadullā Khān had returned from his Karnāṭak campaign.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the revenues of Bijāpur territories in Mysore for the year 1639-1640 (*Pramāṭha*), under the truce with Kanṭhīrava, fell into arrears.⁴¹ Muhammad Adil Shah, agreeably with the representatives (*Niyōgis*) from the court of Ikkēri, it is said,⁴² sent four of his officers to Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, renewing his demand for dues. Kanṭhīrava having refused to comply, Raṇadullā Khān was desired to collect the amount and re-attempt the acquisition of Seringapatam. Before proceeding further, Raṇadullā Khān sent Channaiya of Nāgamangala to Hanumappa Nāyaka of Basavāpaṭṇa demanding of him satisfaction of the terms of the truce of 1639. Hanumappa Nāyaka not only refused to accede but also, foreseeing his own future, fell upon Channaiya and slew him in a skirinish. By about the middle of 1640, Hanumappa Nāyaka had thus rebelled and there was a general rising of the chieftains in the Karnāṭak against Bijāpur.⁴³ Whereupon Raṇadullā Khān, at the head of a well-equipped army, proceeded on a campaign against Hanumappa Nāyaka, accompanied by Vīrabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri.⁴⁴ Crossing the river (Bhadrā) at

39. *Ke. N. V.*, VI. 98. According to this work, Niyōgi Rāmakrishṇaiya was entrusted with the diplomatic mission. The *Mys. Dh. Vam.* (ff. 94, 96) and the *Annals* (I. 83) mention two representatives, Hūvaiya and Purushōttamaiya. See also f.n. 33 to Ch. VI, for a note on the transition of the capitals of Ikkēri.

40. *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in the *M. R.*, July 1929, p. 9.

41. *Annals*, I. 83-84.

42. *Ibid*; also *Mys. Dh. Vam.*, ff. 96-97. These works speak of the dismissal of Raṇadullā Khān and of the appointment of his successor, Khān Khān, who is referred to as having taken part in the events of 1640. This is apparently an error for Raṇadullā Khān who, according to the *K. N. V.*, *Ke. N. V.* and *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, actually played a conspicuous part in those events. We accordingly follow the authority of the chronicles subject to slight correction.

43. *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in the *M. R.*, July 1929, l.c.; see also *Ibid.*, November 1929, p. 502.

44. *Ibid*; *K. N. V.*, XVI, 22-23; *Ke. N. V.*, VI. 98-99.

Hebbe, he stood before the walls of Basavāpaṭṇa⁴⁵ and laid siege to it assisted by Afzal Khān, Shāhji, Mādāji and other generals.⁴⁶ Hanumappa Nāyaka, having in the meanwhile collected his forces (70,000 foot musketeers), gallantly defended the place. Raṇadullā Khān, however, eventually carried the siege to success, slaying "37,000 of the enemy;" Hanumappa Nāyaka submitted, "giving up the fort and 40 lakhs of *hun*" (*hana*).⁴⁷ Hanumappa himself, according to some accounts,⁴⁸ was slain at Dudda and, according to others,⁴⁹ he and his brothers were captured, Raṇadullā Khān finally posting guards over Basavāpaṭṇa. Raṇadullā Khān, accompanied by the levies of Ikkēri under Śivappa Nāyaka (uncle of Virabhadra Nāyaka) and Niyōgi Rāmakrishṇaiya, proceeded in the direction of Mysore,⁵⁰ while a contingent of the Bijāpur army, sent in advance under Afzal Khān, succeeded in taking Chiknāyakanahalli, Bēlūr (from Venkaṭādri Nāyaka), Tumkūr, Doḍballāpur and Kuṇigal.⁵¹

About July-August 1640 (during Raṇadullā Khān's stay in Bangalore) Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, alarmed by the activities of Bijāpur arms in the Karnāṭak, despatched his forces to Rāmāgiri-durga, then in the possession of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi, a place commanding the route of the Bijāpur army to Mysore. The fort was taken after hard fighting. At Huli-yūr-durga, Afzal Khān opposed the Mysore army but was obliged to retreat. Bāgūr was next taken by Kaṇṭhīrava from Vēdōji-Pant, another

45. K. N. V., XVI, 24.

46. *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, l.c.; see also *Annals*, I. 85; and *Mys. Dho. Yam.*, II. 87. These works speak of the siege of Tenje (Kenge?) which, in the light of other sources, is identical with Basavāpaṭṇa itself.

47. *Ibid*; *Ibid*.

48. *Mys. Dho. Yam.*, l.c.; also see and compare *Annals*, l.c.

49. *Ko. N. V.*, VI. 99; *K. N. V.*, XVI, 25-29.

50. *Ibid*.

51. *K. N. V.*, XVI, 52-53; also *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, l.c.

Bijāpur general, after a strenuous fight; and this was followed by the acquisition of Turuvēkere (Turugere), the Bijāpur troops being ultimately beaten off at Nonavinkere where they had encamped.⁵² These acquisitions practically meant the repudiation by Mysore of the truce of 1639. Bijāpur was prevented from having a permanent foothold in the immediate northern limits of the Cauvery. Outside this fringe of debatable area lay her sphere of influence, comprising Bangalore, Doddballāpur, Tumkūr, Kuṇigal, Chiknāyakanahalli and other places, directly included in the *subāh* of Bijāpur under the management of Shāhji.

In December 1640, Mustafā Khān, who succeeded Raṇadullā Khān in the Bijāpur generalship, marched at the head of his forces, with fresh instructions to re-attempt the acquisition of Seringapatam from Kaṇṭhīrava. Daḷavāi Timmarājaiya was sent by the latter to arrest his advance on the capital. Mustafā Khān halted near Chandanahalli in the neighbourhood of Bellūr. He sent word to Timmarājaiya through Niyōgi Hūvaiya demanding payment of the dues under the truce of 1639 and, in default, threatened Seringapatam with a siege. Timmarājaiya proved intractable, merely communicating to Kaṇṭhīrava, it is said, Mustafā Khān's ultimatum. On the 24th, he (Timmarājaiya) was removed from office and Nanjarājaiya (of Hura) appointed Daḷavāi.⁵³ Accompanied by the latter, Kaṇṭhīrava marched forthwith and gave battle to the Bijāpur army, inflicting a crushing defeat on it and acquiring rich spoils.

52. *Ibid.*, XVI, 92-91. According to this work, Kaṇṭhīrava, in the acquisition of these places, was assisted by Nanjarājaiya and Lingarājaiya of Hura, afterwards Daḷavāis of his. See also *Mys. Dho. Fam.* (ff. 36), referring to the acquisition of Rāmagiri-durga.

53. *Annals*, I. 85-86; *Mys. Dho. Par.*, I. 66, *Mys. Dho. Fam.*, ff. 37-38. The *Annals* refers to the name of the village as Chandammanahalli; the *Mys. Dho. Fam.*, an earlier Ms., mentions it as Chandanahalli, which reading is preferred here. Moreover Chandanahalli is an extant village in the Nāgamangala taluk (see *List of Villages*, 102).

Mustafā Khān returned to Bijāpur, having practically effected nothing.⁵⁴ In Bijāpur, the reduction of Seringapatam became a problem of problems to Muhammad Adil Shah. Vēdōji-Pant was next sent thither with a contingent under Afzal Khān. Early in March 1641, Vēdōji, having first paid a visit to the shrines at Tirumakūḍlu and Nanjangūḍ, raided Tippūr, Hampāpura, Kannambāḍi, Akkihebbālu, Ganni, Nallūr, Mādāpura, Kattarighaṭṭa, Hosaholalu and other places in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. He soon found himself opposed by Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya who, in a skirmish, completely put him to rout and returned to the capital with considerable spoils, losing, however, one elephant which died on the way (at Sindhughatṭa) from a bullet-shot. Vēdōji returned to Bijāpur by way of Turuvēkere, putting to death the chief of the latter place and placing Afzal Khān in charge of it.⁵⁵ Excepting this re-occupation of Turuvēkere by Bijāpur, her campaigns (of 1640-1641) against Seringapatam thus ended in failure.

Meantime, affairs in the south of Mysore were moving in a different manner. Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe, as we have seen, had been the southern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, already by the close of the reign of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. In its neighbourhood lay the principality (*Pāḷayam*) of Sāmbaḷḷi bordering on the kingdom of Madura in the south. Any aggression from the southern chiefs in the direction of Ḍaṇāyakankōṭe would, naturally, be deemed a blow aimed at Mysore. While the safeguarding of this frontier commanding the passes was thus an important problem to Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, Tirumala Nāyaka of

Second Phase
1641-1647.

Mysore and the
south the siege of
Māraṭṭaḷḷi, March
1641.

54. *Ibid.*, I. 86; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 87.

55. *Ibid.*, I. 86-87; *Ibid.*, ff. 38-39 (compare). Vēdōji-Pant's name is spelt in these sources as 'Vēmāji-Pant,' 'Vemōji-Pant' and 'Vēdhōji-Pant' Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (p. 294), referring to the name as "Hēmāji Paṇḍit."

Madura, apparently taking advantage of Kanthirava's difficulties with the Muhammadans of Bijāpur, began the offensive by inciting Paṭṭadaiva, the eldest son of Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār, the Kongu chief of Sāmbaḷli, to encroach on the boundaries of Mysore.⁵⁶ That chief, it is also said,⁵⁷ had become inordinately proud by putting down the neighbouring *pālegārs* and acquiring the title *Vanangā-muḍi* (the unbendable chief or the unconquerable hero). About the middle of March 1641, Kanthirava directed a campaign against him.⁵⁸ Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya began operations by laying siege to Māratahaḷli, a dependency of Sāmbaḷli.⁵⁹ The chief held himself out at the head of his vast army (consisting, it is said, of a lakh of forces, including those of Madura). Nanjarājaiya, however, was able to put him to flight and take possession of Māratahaḷli and Sāmbaḷli, returning to Seringapatam with elephants and horses captured during the siege.

Early in 1642, the chief of Sāmbaḷli retaliated. Assembling his scattered forces, he seized Ālambādi, belonging to Mysore, and encamped there.⁶⁰ Nanjarājaiya marched against him and, in a swift and decisive action,

The retaliation,
1642.

56. *K. N. V.*, XVII, 2, 8. *Madhuvayavana baluhinda nammoluge kailanava gaṇṭhiki konda Modālariya sutā* *Paṭṭadayya piridu garvira yelle-gaṭṭige Maruṣṭra doreyolu dhuravanesagula* ; *Modālariya hiriya tanuja Paṭṭadayya*.

57. *C. Vi.*, II, 182. *Ghaṭṭa Madanāri nere doregalam tulada garbadu nurbi Kongarol Vanangamudi yemba birudum paṭṭeda kaduppidirche*. The reference to Ghaṭṭa-Madanāri in this passage is, obviously, to the eldest son of Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār in the light of the *K. N. V.* Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 294.

58. *K. N. V.*, XVII, 8-10; see also f n 61 *infra*.

59. *Ibid.*, 11-21; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 38-40; also f n 61 *infra*.

60. *Ibid.*, 22-82; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 23; see also *O. Vam.*, (36-37) and *C. Vi.* (II, 181-183), referring to Kanthirava's victory over Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura and Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār, the acquisition of Sāmbaḷli, etc. Tirumalārya, in these works (*C. Vam.*, l.c., *O. Vi.* II, 127-139), depicts the campaigns of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar in all the eight directions (*desegalam gelalujjugaṇ; desegella velasi*). As indicated in the preceding chapters, the poetical order followed by him is to be understood in its chronological setting, with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another.

forced him to retreat with considerable loss, capturing, among others, Ponnumalai-Gauḍa, Puli-Gauḍa, Chinna-Venkaṭaraviṇṇa and Śrīnivāsa—chieftains who had espoused his cause. This success was followed up by the acquisition by Nanjarājaiya of Singānallūr and Daṇṭahaḷli (March 1642). He finally halted at Tōleya. Meanwhile, the chief of Sāmbaḷli, having sought the aid of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, proceeded to the defence of Sāmbaḷli, with a large army (consisting, it is said, of 4 to 5 thousand horse, a lakh of foot and hundreds of elephants). In the engagement which followed, Nanjarājaiya was able to cause confusion and panic in the ranks of the enemy, repulsing them with considerable loss (in killed and wounded). Sāmbaḷli was retaken by Nanjarājaiya, who returned to Seringapatam after posting guards over the place. Stunned was Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, at the news of this victory for Mysore. Forthwith he proceeded himself, at the head of his main forces, for the recovery of Sāmbaḷli. Whereupon Nanjarājaiya, making rapid marches, set out for its relief. Nanjarājaiya put up a stout opposition against Tirumala Nāyaka and fought so dexterously that he was soon able to overcome and repulse his opponents, capturing the insignias of the Nāyaka and plundering his camp. The siege was raised and Nanjarājaiya returned to Seringapatam after carrying his victorious arms up to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tiruchangūḍ and Trichinopoly (Tiruchanāpuri) in the far south.

The *Rāj. Kath.* (XII, 471-472), as already noted, closely follows the *C. Vam*. On the Madura side, there is, so far, no reference to these affairs.

Ālambāḍi. — In the present Kollegāl taluk, Coimbatore district, 42 miles east of Kollegāl, on the right bank of the Cauvery; an important place in the 17th century, garrisoned by British troops in 1768, but relinquished on advance of Haider's army; contains a ruined Śiva temple, well-sculptured but wrecked by Muhammadans. There is an old fort here. In the bed of the Cauvery here is the smoking rock. The place gives its name to a well-known breed of cattle. *Ālambāḍi* seems to have been absorbed in the kingdom of Mysore after the fall of Nanjarāja of Hadināḍ (1614). Its chief was originally a feudatory of Hadināḍ. *Vide* text of f.n. 117 to Ch. V.

These activities practically resulted in the acquisition for the kingdom of Mysore of Sāmbaḷli, Dantahalli, Singānallur, Kāvēripuram, Tōleya, Changappāḍi and Māratahalli in the south and the south-east between March 1641 and July 1642,⁶¹ while there were already indications of Mysore having an eye on Trichinopoly as the farthest limit of any projected scheme of her expansion southwards.

Though the political development of Mysore thus far had been rendered possible by the aggressions of Bijāpur in the north and Madura in the south, Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, we find, remained loyal to the Vijayanagar Empire under Venkaṭa II. In the *Gajjiganahalli copper-plate grant*, dated in April 1639, he acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkaṭa "seated on the throne of Ḡhanasāula" (Penukoṇḍa).⁶² Further, it is interesting to note, he calls himself, in this record, a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (Viceroy), in keeping with the old position of Tirumala II; and makes the grant, "having informed his lord, Venkaṭa, of the same."⁶³ In a lithic record, dated in December 1640, he styles himself as "the great ruler of Mysore" (*Śrīman-mahā-Maisūra-adhipa*), indicating his prominent position in Mysore, and refers to Terakaṇāmbi as a grant made to him in perpetuity by Venkaṭa II (*namma doretanakke Rāyarinda namage pālisida Terakaṇāmbi*), whose overlordship he thus clearly acknowledges.⁶⁴ In another record, also lithic, dated in March 1642, Kanṭhīrava merely refers to himself as "Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar of

61. *Mys Dho Pūr.*, II 11-18; *Annals*, I 68-69; also *C Vam.*, and *C Vi.*, cited in fn 60 *supra*. Cf Wilks's *List of conquests* (I 64-67), based on the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*

62. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 196, ll. 25-29.

63. *Ibid.*, ll. 85-87:

Śrīman-mahā-maṇḍalēśv Narasa-khṛīti-chandramah |
Vijñāpya svāmīnē Vira-Venkaṭakṣmahhuyē tatah ||

64. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Gu. 10, ll. 2-5, 8.

Mayisūr" (Mysore).⁶⁵ In 1642, Venkata II died and was succeeded on the throne of Penukonḍa by Śrī-Ranga VI, of whom Kanṭhīrava, it would appear, continued to be a loyal feudatory. The earliest record pointing to Kanṭhīrava's loyalty to Śrī-Ranga is a lithic one, dated in March 1643, in which he acknowledges the latter's suzerainty.⁶⁶ This document is of particular importance from the point of view of Kanṭhīrava's own political position in relation to the Vijayanagar Empire. For, in it he refers to himself as *taddakshana-bhujadaṇḍa-nāda*,⁶⁷ which literally means that he was the prop or support of Śrī-Ranga in the south and conveys that he was "the right-hand man of Śrī-Ranga." These expressions are not, however, mere literary flourishes. Considered with reference to Kanṭhīrava's achievements, they must be termed significant. During 1639-1642, Kanṭhīrava, as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, had, as we have seen, actually saved the south of Vijayanagar by successfully stemming the tide of Muhammadan advance in that direction and stood as an effective barrier to the aggressions of Madura and other powers in the south. By 1643, Kanṭhīrava had not only succeeded in maintaining the integrity of Mysore as a kingdom but also, in a wider sense, rendered a signal service to the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire. Indeed he had "enjoyed the implicit confidence of the Emperor and reciprocated wholeheartedly the trust laid in him."⁶⁸ Hence the expressions.

Yet the general political position in the country—particularly in the north and the north-west of Mysore—during 1642-1644, was insecure. In May 1642, shortly after his return from the southern campaign, Dalavāi Nanjarājaiya had marched against

Relations with
local powers general
political position,
down to 1644

65. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 163.

66. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 5, l. 5.

67. *Ibid.*, l. 6. Here read *dakshina* for *dakshana*.

68. See *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2384, noticing this document.

Turuvēkere and retaken it with Āṇḍ-Bāgūr from Afzal Khān, among the spoils acquired being 40 horses and an elephant by name *Bokkalika*.⁶⁹ This success tended to restrict the sphere of influence of Bijāpur to the east, west and north of Turuvēkere which, however, remained a bone of contention between Mysore and Bijāpur. On the other side, in Ikkēri, Vīrabhadra Nāyaka, though well disposed towards Mysore about the close of the reign of Chamarāja Wodeyar, was by no means friendly during the reign of Kanthirava, allied as he was with Bijāpur. Ever since the siege of Seringapatam (1639), Ikkēri, it would appear, had been so thoroughly impressed with the methods of Mysorean warfare and the development of the kingdom of Mysore, that she had begun to call the latter's army by the epithet *Māyāris*, *Māyārādis*⁷⁰ (i.e., deluders, diplomatists), political jealousy probably accounting, in a large measure, for such a description. Reference has also been made in the earlier pages to Vīrabhadra Nāyaka sending a contingent of his army in the direction of Mysore during Raṇadullā Khān's march on Bangalore in 1640. On this occasion, it is said,⁷¹ Vīrabhadra Nāyaka conducted the entire course of Bijāpur affairs in Mysore through Śivappa Nāyaka and Niyogi Rāmakrishṇaiya, although the actual details of the diplomacy have not come down to us. It seems, however, possible that Ikkēri, after the subjugation and death of Hanumappa Nāyaka of Basavāpaṭṇa, attempted without success to press the Bijāpur demands on Mysore. There was thus evidently a combination between Bijāpur and Ikkēri. The town of Ikkēri itself, since 1638, was, it would seem, in the possession of Bijāpur, being guarded by a contingent of the latter.⁷² Any disturbance in the political equilibrium in the country, in such a state of affairs,

69. *Annals*, I, 69, 88; *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 38-40; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 23; *C. Vam.*, 37; *C. Vi.*, II, 138. The places referred to were in the possession of Bijāpur since 1641.

70. See *Ke. N. V.*, VI-IX, 99, 109, 118, 119, 125, 135, etc.

71. *Ibid.*, VI, 99.

72. *Muhammad-Namah*, I, c.

would have meant a threat to the safety of the kingdom of Mysore.

In 1644, Narasimha Nāyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur, who had been subdued towards the close of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar's reign, failed to pay the tribute to Mysore, being backed up by the local Bijāpur forces. He insulted the messengers of Kaṇṭhīrava, sent to demand the dues. Kaṇṭhīrava despatched a force against him under Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya, with instructions to reduce the place. In April (1644), Nanjarājaiya stormed Hoḷe-Narasipur and opened a tremendous fire against it, blowing up the bastions of the fort. The Bijāpur contingent—consisting of 4 to 8 thousand horse—proceeded to the relief of the town, only to retreat panic-stricken. Narasimha Nāyaka submitted, and paid up the tribute. Nanjarājaiya returned to Seringapatam after annexing Hampāpura belonging to him.⁷³

No sooner was one trouble overcome than another presented itself. Nanjunḍa-Rāja (Nanjunḍa-Arasu), the Changāḷva chief of Piriyaṭṭa, who had agreed during the reign of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar to pay an annual tribute of 3,000 *varahas* to Mysore, was in arrears for some years past. Early in January 1645 Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar sent Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya demanding payment of the dues. Nanjunḍa-Rāja not only refused to comply but also, in alliance with Bijāpur, proved refractory. Whereupon Kaṇṭhīrava directed Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya to proceed against him. Nanjarājaiya began operations by laying siege to Pālupare, a fort commanding the Changāḷva kingdom. The place was reduced without much effort and guards stationed over it.⁷⁴

73. K. N. V. XVIII, 1-18; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 13-14; *Annals*, I. 69; cf. *Wilks*, I. 64. 74. *Ibid.*, 20-52; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 14; *Annals*, I. 69, 71; also *Mys. Dho.*

Vam., ff. 40-42. Nanjunḍa-Rāja of Piriyaṭṭa appears to have been otherwise known as Mallarāja, by which name he is mentioned in the *C. Vam.* (87). Cf. Rice [*E. C.*, IV (2) *Introduction*, pp 17-18], making Virarājaiya of Piriyaṭṭa (1619-1638) a contemporary of Kaṇṭhīrava, for which there is no evidence.

Proceeding further, Nanjarājaiya stood before the walls of Piriyaṣaṭṭṇa itself, the capital of Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja. It was an unpregnable fort, well-equipped in every particular. Nanjarājaiya made elaborate preparations for its siege and assault. In the north and north-east of the fort, he and his brother, Lingarājaiya, raised huge piles from which to commence the attack; in the other directions rose the structures put up by the chiefs of Channarāyaṣaṭṭṇa, Turuvēkere, Haradanahalli and other places, who had accompanied Nanjarājaiya. The fort was bombarded from all sides, while the garrison within opened fire putting up a stout defence. Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja was actively supported by a Bijāpur contingent from Ikkēri (consisting, it is said, of 8,000 horse and 15,000 foot). Among the generals who took part in the relief of Piriyaṣaṭṭṇa were Vēdōji, Ambar Khān, Malik Rahīm (Muluka Rahima) and Ankuś Khān (Ankuśa Khān). These encamped at Beṭṭadapura. The siege was tough and trying to a degree. A fierce fight followed between the Bijāpur and Mysore forces, the former, divided into five to six detachments, having been posted in all the directions. Nanjarājaiya closed in upon them, splitting up his own ranks into six or seven convenient divisions, and fought dexterously against his opponents, the *halēpaika* Nāyaks under him, in particular, playing a very prominent part. There was heavy slaughter on both sides and utter confusion prevailed among the enemy, several of whom lost their noses at the hands of the warriors of Mysore. The Bijāpur forces were ultimately forced to give way and retreat with great loss, hotly pursued by the Mysore army to a distance of nearly five miles. Meanwhile, Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja's army in the town of Piriyaṣaṭṭṇa held itself out against the besieging forces; his sons and relatives lost their lives during the defence, and, overwhelmed with grief and anxiety, he was almost at his

Siege of Piriyaṣaṭṭṇa.
 p. 117 a, c. January-
 October, 1645.

wit's end. In vain did his consort counsel him to yield up the fort and submit to Kanṭhīrava. Deaf to all talk of peace, Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja stubbornly prolonged the defence, while Nanjarājaiya pressed on the siege with vigour. At length the latter encircled the fort and began to batter the walls, blowing down the bastions and effecting a breach amidst considerable slaughter. Forthwith was the outer fort taken and this was followed by the onrush of elephants (decked with weapons) and the forcible entrance of the invading forces into the interior of the fort. Vīra-Rāja, one of the sons of Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja, brandishing his sword, desperately opposed the advancing arms, piercing through their ranks to the right and the left and repulsing them; and, eventually, being himself wounded, fell dead on the scene. Nanjarājaiya took possession of the fort, capturing Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja and the members of his family. At the news of this victory, Kanṭhīrava himself paid a visit to Piriyaṭṭa and returned to Seringapatam, after arranging for the safeguarding of the place.⁷⁵

On October 7, 1645, Piriyaṭṭa, after a long siege of nearly nine months, was annexed to Mysore.⁷⁶ In the meanwhile, however, Annexation of Piriyaṭṭa, etc., 1645-1646.

Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja having made good his escape to Beṭṭadapura, Kanṭhīrava proceeded in person against him and took that place on the 24th. Hotly pursued by Kanṭhīrava, Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja passed through

75. *K. N. V.*, XVIII, 52-182; *C. Vam.*, 37; *C. Vi.* II, 135-136; also see and compare *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 23; *Wilks*, l.c.; *Annals*, I. 71. Among those who took part in the siege on the Mysore side were, Doḍḍaiya (Doḍḍendra), chief of Channarāyapaṭṭa, Doḍḍaiya (also named Doḍḍendra) of Haradanahalli (Haradapura), Hampaiya (Hampendra) of Turuvēkere, Linge-Gauḍa and Timmarājaiya (Timmarājendra) (*K. N. V.*, XVIII, 71-72). The chief of Turuvēkere, referred to, seems obviously, to be the successor of the one who was slain in 1641.

76. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 14; *Pārthiva, Āsvija* ba. 18 (October 7, 1645); cf. *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, l.c.; *Wilks*, l.c.; *Annals*, I. 69, 71; cf. also Rice [*E.C.*, IV (2) *Ibid.*, p. 18], placing the event in 1641, for which there is no evidence.

Rudrapaṭṇa, Kannāgāla and Kittūr which were successively annexed to Mysore during November-December. At length Nanjunḍa-Rāja retired to Nanjarāyapaṭṇa (in Coorg) seeking refuge of the Kodagas. Early in December, Kanṭhīrava marched on Nanjarāyapaṭṇa and fought strenuously for seven days. Nanjunḍa-Rāja was eventually slain on the field and Nanjarāyapaṭṇa was taken possession of (December 13). Having accomplished this, Kanṭhīrava returned to Seringapatam with the spoils of war.⁷⁷ The fall of Nanjunḍa-Rāja thus marks an important stage in the expansion of the kingdom of Mysore in the west, in the direction of Coorg. These activities were followed up by the annexation by Kanṭhīrava of Kallūr (in April 1646) and Kaḍaba and Māyasamudra (in April and June 1646), places belonging to Pratāpa Nāyaka and Bhairappa Nāyaka, from whom they had been taken by the Muhammadans of Bijāpur.⁷⁸

Meanwhile Śivappa Nāyaka I (uncle of Virabhadra Nāyaka of Ikkēri) had wrested the fort of Ikkēri "from its careless, indolent, pleasure-loving Adil-Shahī commandant."⁷⁹ In 1644, Khān Muḥammad, the Bijāpur general, recovered it from him together with Sāgar, and by October-November 1645 he had won a series of victories in the uplands of the Karnāṭak.⁸⁰ In November 1645, Śivappa Nāyaka I, having treacherously removed Virabhadra Nāyaka, had succeeded to the kingdom of Ikkēri, with his capital at Bednūr.⁸¹ At the same time,

Renewed relations
between Mysore and
Bijāpur, 1646.

77. *Annals*, I. 71-72; *Mys. Dho Vam*, ff. 41-42, *Mys. Dho Pūr*, II. 15; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 294-295.

78. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 15-17; *Annals*, I. 69; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 23-24; also *K. N. V.*, XXV, 33-34; *C. Vam.*, 37; *C. Vi.*, II, 138, cf. *Wilks*, I. 64.

79. *Muḥammad-Nāmāh*, in the *M. R.*, July 1929, p. 9. 80. *Ibid.*

81. *K. N. V.*, VII. 106 *Parthiva, Mārgasira* su. 12; *C. Vam.*, 190: Śivappa Nāyakam tannūḷḷanappa Virabhadra Nāyakanoḷ drōhamanēṇisi, avanam kavadinol maḍupī. Of this alleged treachery there is not even a whisper, either in the *K. N. V.* (c. 1800) or in the *Śivatatva-ratnākara* (1709). There seems, however, no doubt about its actual

Muhammad Adil Shah had been closely watching the trend of affairs in the Karnāṭak ever since the reverses successively sustained by the Bijāpur arms in Mysore and her neighbourhood (1639-1642). In particular, Kaṇṭhīrava's occupation of Piriyaṭaṇa in 1645 is said to have roused his attention towards the growing kingdom of Mysore and made the Adil Shah resolve to bring her down,⁸² Mustafā Khān having once again offered his services to achieve this end.⁸³ In June 1646, Mustafā Khān was despatched from Bijāpur, with instructions to subdue the Karnāṭaka country.⁸⁴ He proceeded by way of Gadag and Lakshmēśvar to Honnāli and thence to Sakrepaṭṇa, his army being reinforced by the contingent of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri, Doḍḍa Nāyaka of Harapanahalli and Bālāji Haibat Rao, among others (October).⁸⁵ Before directing his marches to the rich plains of the east—which were the common objective of both Bijāpur and Gōlkonda—Mustafā Khān seems to have turned his attention to the recovery of Turuvēkere, the northern limit of the kingdom of Mysore, which had been lost to Bijāpur in May 1642. Towards the close of 1646, he encamped with his forces in the enclosure of a tank about five to six miles from Turuvēkere.⁸⁶

perpetration, since the *C. Vam.*, a still earlier work (c. 1678-1680), records what was after all a fact fresh in the memories of Śivappa Nāyaka's contemporaries. Of course, from the chronological point of view, the author of the *C. Vam.*, while alluding to this topic, is to be understood to be referring to the times of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I, whose reign was contemporaneous with the reigns of Virabhadra Nāyaka (1629-1645) and Śivappa Nāyaka I (1645-1660) of Ikkēri. Moreover, a close reading of the text would show that the poet implies a fairly long interval of time between the rejection of Śivappa Nāyaka's offer of alliance with Mysore and his expedition to Seringapatam. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 346, f.n.; *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 134, f.n. 60 and p. 172—where the text of the *C. Vam.* is thoroughly misunderstood and the contemporaneity of the rulers of Mysore and Ikkēri quite confused.

82. K. N. V., XIX, 1-9.

83. *Ibid.*, 10-15.

84. *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in *Ibid.*, p. 10, K. N. V., XIX, 14.

85. *Ibid.*, l.c.

86. K. N. V., XIX, 16-18.

On receipt of this news, Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar sent Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya to grapple with the situation, while Mustafā Khān prepared to meet the Mysoreans, posting his cavalry in all the four directions (the numbers varying from two to eight thousand) and splitting up the infantry into four to five divisions. On the other side, Nanjarājaiya, dividing his forces into nine convenient squadrons, proceeded against his opponents. The onslaught began: the Mysoreans opened up fire and, in the tumult that ensued, rushed against the enemy, making dexterous use of spears and arrows and causing great havoc in their camp. A swift and decisive action followed. Nanjarājaiya so manœuvred as to bring together the entire Mysore cavalry (numbering 10,000) in one spot and completely surprise and encircle the Bijāpuris. At this, Mustafā Khān performed a *volte face*. But, before he could effectively direct the counter-attack, he was so thoroughly overpowered by Nanjarājaiya's men that he was soon repulsed with considerable slaughter in his ranks and obliged to retrace his steps from Turuvēkere. It was a complete victory for Mysore but her loss was equally great, for, in the confusion which followed the attack, Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya, fighting desperately against heavy odds, was himself slain on the field of battle (early in January 1647).⁸⁷

In January 1647, Lingarājaiya of Hura, younger brother of Nanjarājaiya, was appointed Daḷavāi in succession to the latter.⁸⁸

Acquisition of
Basavāpatna, May
1647.

In May 1647, Kanṭhīrava acquired

87 *Ibid.*, 18-94. The *Muhammad-Nāmāh* (l.c.) maintains a discreet silence on this affair. Since, however, it speaks of the successive marches of Mustafā Khān in the Karnāṭak between October 1646 and January 1647, we may approximately fix the action at Turuvēkere in c. December 1646-January 1647. Cf. *Annals* (I. 88), referring to the removal from service of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya by Kanṭhīrava in January 1647, on a charge of neglect of duty, etc. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 66) only assigns a period of six years of office to Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya.

88. See *Annals*, l.c.; also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 67; *K. N. V.*, XIX, 95-100.

from Krishṇappa Nāyaka (of Arkalgūd), Basavāpaṭṇa, a former dependency of Nanjuṇḍa-Rāja of Piriyaṭṇa.⁸⁹

By September 1647, Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar was at the height of his power, securely established on the throne of Mysore.⁹⁰ It was during the *Mahānavami* celebrations of this year that Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri—seeking probably a friendly alliance with Mysore—sent an embassy to the court of Kaṇṭhīrava, with presents of robes and cash. Kaṇṭhīrava, in view of the accession by treachery of Śivappa Nāyaka, it is said, rejected the offer, sending back the envoy.⁹¹

Meanwhile, political affairs in Southern India, ever since Śrī-Ranga VI's accession to the Vijayanagar Empire, had been tending towards a crisis. The dominions of Śrī-Ranga were hemmed in, as it were, by the invading forces of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa in the east and the west. Already in 1644, Śrī-Ranga had successfully beaten off an invasion from Gōlkoṇḍa and was ruling from Penukoṇḍa (his recognised capital till about 1649). In the far south, Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura had been asserting his independence, showing signs of disaffection towards the Empire; the Nāyakas of Gingee and Tanjore were likewise displaying the same tendency, while Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri was, by force of circumstances, in alliance with Bijāpur. Successively foiled in her attempts to maintain a foothold in the northern limits of Mysore, Bijāpur was obliged to restrict the sphere of her influence to parts of Bangalore

Third Phase
1647-1650

General course of
political affairs, a
retrospect.

89. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 17; *Annals*, I. 69; cf. *Wilks*, I. 64.

90. See *K. N. V.*, XX-XXV; see also under *Social life—Mahānavami festival*, in Ch. IX.

91. *C. Vam.*, 190: *tānum pāvudānam kāṇkegaḷam kaḷupuvinaṁ, avana tappuḡeymegalanēṇisi nīḷkarisi banda gurivānisanam bandante kaḷupalaḍam*. See also f.n. 81 *supra*. Ikkēri was among the distant powers represented at the court of Kaṇṭhīrava during the *Mahānavami* festivities of 1647 in Seringapatam—*vide* section on *Mahānavami festival* (1647), in *Ditto*.

and Tumkūr districts (including Śrī^{ra}) and further north and westwards. The attention of Bijāpur was, therefore, directed to the eastern dominions of Śrī-Ranga. After the action at Turuvēkere (December-January 1646-1647), Mustafā Khān resumed his march in this direction, passing through Śivaganga. At this stage, hard pressed by necessity, Śrī-Ranga began negotiations with Mustafā through his (Śrī-Ranga's) envoy, Venkaiya-Sōmayāji (*Somaḡi* of the Persian text), with a view to dissuade him (Mustafā) from invading "the Rayal's country." Almost simultaneously, Tirumala Nāvaka of Madura and the chiefs of Gingee and Tanjore had sent in their envoys to Mustafā Khān tendering their submission to the Bijāpur government, and Śrī-Ranga had set out with his army (consisting, it is said, of "12,000 cavalry and 3 lakhs of infantry") against these feudatories who persisted in their rebellious attitude. After a tortuous diplomacy (in which Venkaiya-Sōmayāji is said to have at first undertaken to induce Śrī-Ranga to withdraw from the field but subsequently advised him to prepare for war), Mustafā Khān entered Śrī-Ranga's territory, taking Krishnagiri, Virabhadraṇa-durga and Dēva-durga, finally reaching Vellore in February 1647. Meantime, the Gōlkoṇḍa forces under Mīr Jumla also proceeded thither. Between Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa it had been agreed that "Śrī Ranga Rayal's territory and treasures were to be conquered and divided in the proportion of two to one, two-thirds of them falling to Adil Shah and one-third to Qutb Shah." In February, Vellore was besieged and taken from Śrī-Ranga—after a decisive battle—by the combined forces of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa. In March, Mustafā Khān left Vellore, taking possession of Āmbūr, Tirupattūr, Kāvēripattāṇam, Hāssan, Rāya-durga, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri, Mēlgiri, Arjunktōṭe and Dhūlikōṭe—belonging to Śrī-Ranga. He returned to Bijāpur, leaving Asad Khān, Shāhji and other officers in charge of the conquered country. In November 1648,

Mustafā Khān died and in December 1649 Khān Muhammad (Khān-i-Khanan), his successor in office, captured the impregnable fort of Gingee from Śrī-Ranga. The siege was a protracted one and was accompanied by the mutual rivalries of Gōlkonḍa and Bijāpur (over the division of the spoils) and the intrigues of Shāhji, for which the latter was arrested and confined at Bijāpur but subsequently released. The capture of Gingee was followed by the submission of the Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore to the Muhammadans. During these systematic conquests of Bijāpur and Gōlkonḍa, Śrī-Ranga, depending on the shifting alliance of his southern feudatories (*i.e.*, the Nāyakas of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore), had taken refuge with them and spent more than a year "in the midst of festivities, feasts and pleasures." Rejected again by the Nāyakas and abandoned by his courtiers, Śrī-Ranga "established his court in the forests of Thieves (*Kaḷḷans*), lying to the north of Tanjore, where he spent four months, a prey to all discomforts," till about 1650⁹²

We have seen how Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, as early as 1643, had been a loyal feudatory of Śrī-Ranga. His records, during subsequent years, are, however, conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain.⁹³ They generally point to Kanṭhīrava as a prominent local ruler. Kanṭhīrava seems evidently to have continued to be loyal to Śrī-Ranga, although he

Relations with
Vijayanagar, down to
1650.

92. For the general references on this section, see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2851; *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in the *M. R.*, for July 1929, pp. 10-12; *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 264-266: *La Mission Du Maduré*—Proenza to Nikel Trichinopoly, 1659. Though this letter is dated in 1659, it reflects the general course of events in Southern India during c. 1647-1659 and, used with caution, is an invaluable authority, particularly for the latter part (c. 1650-1659) of the reign of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar.

93. See *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 158, 160, 165; *Ag.* 64; III (1) Sr. 103; IV (2) Ch. 42; IX Cp. 23; *M. A. R.*, 1914-1916, p. 63, para 107, etc., (1647-1650). There are, so far, no epigraphical records of Kanṭhīrava, for the years 1644-1646.

was aiming at independence from a local point of view. He remained aloof from the general coalition of the southern feudatories against Śrī-Ranga (1647), while the tendency towards independence on his part had manifested itself in the issue of coins, named after himself, in April 1645.⁹⁴ Kanthirava's local prestige was, as we have seen, enhanced by the events of 1645-1646, and in and after 1647 (down to 1650) he was at the zenith of his power. In the imperial crisis of 1647-1650, he appears to have remained neutral, having much to do in maintaining the political integrity of Mysore and safeguarding her frontiers against further attacks by Bijāpur. In particular, certain lithic records refer incidentally to the building of a stone fort (*kallu kōṭe*) and bastion for cannons (*pirangi-maṭa*) at Channarāyapaṭṇa by Dodḍaiya, a feudatory of Kanthirava, in 1647-1648,⁹⁵ probably in preparation for a war with Bijāpur,⁹⁶ whose arms were active in this tract during the period (1647-1650).

The only event of some importance for Mysore during c 1648-1650 was the siege of Māgaḍi and the acquisition by Kanthirava, in April 1650, of Hebbūr from Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa, after inflicting a severe defeat on his son, Chikka-Kempe-Gauḍa (Mummaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa).

Acquisition of
Hebbūr, April 1650

94. *Vide* section on *Coinage and Currency*, in Ch. IX

95. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 158, 159, 160 and 165 (1647-1648)

96. The expressions, *Turuka-rājakāryadalli*, *Viṣayapurada Pādshahavara rājakāryadalli*, in Cn. 160 and 165 *supra*, would merely mean "Politics of Bijāpur" and, with reference to the context, imply defensive measures by way of arresting the advance of Bijāpur arms on Mysore. (Cf. Rice who literally renders these expressions as, "in the service of the Turukarāja," "in the royal business of the Pādshah of Bijāpur." He also writes, "the building of this fort at Channarāyapaṭṇa in 1648 must have been in accordance with some agreement or treaty with Bijāpur, though I am not aware that *rāja-kārya* has this meaning. It more properly signifies that the fort was built for the Bijāpur Pādshah, but the Mysore Rāja was evidently in possession of the place. Hence some mutual understanding must be assumed, (to have been) entered into for the greater security of both dominions." [*E.C.*, V (1) *Introduction* p. XXXV]. There is, however, no evidence in support of this position, since, as we shall see, hostilities between Mysore and Bijāpur continued unabated till 1654. Cf. also *H.I.S.I.*, p. 279.

in an action in the Yelahanka-nāḍu, and exacting his submission.⁹⁷ This further marked the tendency on the part of Mysore to advance northwards in the direction of the Bijāpur-belt of territory in the Karnāṭak. All through the period (1647-1650) Kanṭhīrava was being successively served by Lingarājaiya of Hura (1647-1648), Kempaiya (1648-1649) and Linge-Gauḍa (1649-1650), Daḷavāis in succession to Nanjarājaiya.⁹⁸

About the middle of 1650, the Emperor Śrī-Ranga, foiled in his attempts to regain his possessions, left the territory of the Kaḷḷans and "was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore."⁹⁹ Śrī-Ranga, according to Proenza,¹⁰⁰ received from Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar "invitation to choose for his stay, a province more

Fourth Phase:
1650-1654.

Further relations
with Vijayanagar:
Emperor Śrī-Ranga
in Mysore, c 1650-
1653.

97. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 18; *Annals*, I. 69; *C. Vam.*, 87; see also and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 23; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 471; *Wilks*, I. 64, 66-67. Kempe-Gauḍa of Kunigal, referred to in the *Mys. Dho. Pār.* and *Annals* (l.c.), is to be identified with Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa II of Māgaḍi (1569-1568). The hostile relations between Mysore and Māgaḍi, about 1648-1650, are perhaps best reflected in the *Virabhadra-Vijaya-Champūḥ* (c. 1720) by Ēkāmbra-Dikshita, son of Muktiśvara-Dikshita, a protégé and court-poet of Mummaḍi-Kempa-Virappa-Gauḍa (Kempe-Gauḍa IV, 1705-1728) (*Ms. No. A 610-P*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*)

Yāsau Maṣūri Kanṭhīrava-Narasa-mahīpala durvāra nānā |
śēṇa jīmāta, janṇhānla kulīṇagatirvīśrutō bhōddharuṇyāṁ |
(IV, 41).

With reference to the context, this passage is to be understood to echo an action between Kanṭhīrava and Mummaḍi-Kempa (or Chikka-Kempe-Gauḍa), son of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa, during the reign of the latter (i.e., Immaḍi-Kempa). For the identities, etc., of the Māgaḍi chiefs and the relations between Kanṭhīrava and Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa in 1647, vide f.n. 178 *infra* and text thereto. For the genealogy of the Kempe-Gauḍa family, see Table XVII.

98. *Annals*, I. 88-89; *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 66-67; see also under *Ministers*, Daḷavāis, etc. Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya of Hura, who, according to the *K. N. V.* (IV, 76), was the second son of Kempa-Bhūpa of Hura and who, according to the *Annals* (I. 88), died in July 1648, appears to have been quite distinct from Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya, son of Mādhava Nāyaka of Hura, referred to in a lithic record dated in March 1655 [*E.C.*, IV (2) Hg. 49]. Could the latter be identical with Linge-Gauḍa who, according to the *K. N. V.* (XXV, 56), was at first Mayor of Seringapatam and who, according to the *Annals* (I. 88-89), twice held the office of Daḷavāi (1649-1650, 1653-1655) under Kanṭhīrava?

99. Proenza's letter, in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 265.

100. *Ibid.*

agreeable to him and assurance of a brilliant treatment worthy of his rank; eagerly accepted the offer so obliging and found a hospitality which even surpassed the promises made to his ambassadors." The *Hague Transcripts*¹⁰¹ speak of Śrī-Ranga having "taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore" (Kaṇṭhīrava), while the *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre*,¹⁰² on the Mysore side, tells us that Kaṇṭhīrava promised assurance of safety to Śrī-Ranga who had appeared before him (*Śrī-Ranga-Rāyanu kāṇisikkolḷalāgi ātanige abhayavittu*). It is not, however, known in what part of the kingdom of Mysore Śrī-Ranga stayed. The probabilities are in favour of his having taken up his residence either in Seringapatam or in its neighbourhood, most of the other tracts, including Bēlūr in the north-west, having been, as we have seen, in the possession of Bijāpur since 1639-1640.¹⁰³ In any case, between 1650-1652, Śrī-Ranga, "encouraged by the good reception of the king of Mysore," took advantage of the absence of Khān Muhammad in the Karnāṭak, "to recover his kingdom."¹⁰⁴ "Accordingly," says Proenza,¹⁰⁵ "with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces and repulsed the army of Golkonda, which advanced to attack him." In 1652, however, Bijāpur and Golkonda continued the war in the Karnāṭak as strenuously as before.¹⁰⁶ Khān Muhammad laid siege to Penukonda mastering it finally in March 1653. He also sought the permission

101. Referred to by William Foster in *The English Factories in India (1651-1654)*, Introduction, p. XXV.

102. P. 24; see also *Rāj. Kath*, l.c.; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 133, f.n. 60.

103. Cf. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2372-2374, 2386.

104. Proenza's letter, in *Ibid*, p. 267.

105. *Ibid*

106. See *The Hague Transcripts*, cited in f.n. 101 *supra*, pp. XXV, XXXIII. Robert Orme places the war between 1652-1656 (*Historical Fragments*, p. 62). J. Sarkar, using the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, writes of the Bijāpur campaigns about 1650 (see *M. R.*, July 1929, p. 12; November 1929, p. 502). In the light of other sources cited below, however, we are in a position to assign the events narrated in the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, to the period 1652-1654.

of Gōlkoṇḍa to pass through the districts held by the latter's troops, on his way to Gingee. Mīr Jumla, the Gōlkoṇḍa general, however, alarmed at the success of the Bijāpur troops, was making overtures to Śrī-Ranga. Towards the close of 1653, Khān Muhammad marched on Vellore. And Śrī-Ranga, relying on Mīr Jumla's promises—having finally left Mysore—"returned to Vellore and raised a large army hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country." About April 1654, Khān Muhammad, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with Śrī-Ranga, by which "Chandragiri was left to the latter with the revenues of certain districts."¹⁰⁷

During 1650-1652, Kanṭhīrava's loyalty to Śrī-Ranga as a prominent feudatory of his was undoubted. The available inscriptions¹⁰⁸ of his reign, for these years, would also indicate the same position, although they are not in conflict with the assumption of independence by him from a local point of view, as already noticed. In August 1650, Linge-Gauḍa, Daḷavāi of Kanṭhīrava, was succeeded by Hamparājaiya of Kārugahalli.¹⁰⁹ Hamparājaiya continued in office till September 1651, in which year Kanṭhīrava is said to have acquired from the Muhammadans, Sūlekere-durga, Nāyakavaḍi State, Yelahanka-nāḍu, Channagiri and Basavāpaṭṇa, and from the Changāḷva chief, Tunga, Ganni, Mādāpura and Kattarighaṭṭa.¹¹⁰ Daḷavāi

Kanṭhīrava's local position, minor acquisitions, etc., 1650-1652.

107. *Ibid.*, p. XXXIII. See also *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, in the *M. R.*, November 1929, p. 502, referring to the siege of Penukoṇḍa, etc. The *C. Yam.* (190) also speaks of the siege of Vellore, Chandragiri, etc., by the Muhammadans.

108. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 171, 185 and 202; III (1) Nj. 106 (1650-1652). These records merely refer to Kanṭhīrava as a local ruler. The absence in them of the name of his suzerain (Śrī-Ranga VI) does not mean that he had thrown off his allegiance to him.

109. *Annals*, I. 88; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 67.

110. *Ibid.*, I. 70. These acquisitions are, however, not enumerated in the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, nor does Wilks allude to them.

Hamparājaiya was succeeded by Dāsārājaiya of Kaḷale (father-in-law of Kanṭhīrava),¹¹¹ who held the office till October 1653.¹¹²

During 1652-1653, Kanṭhīrava was "at war with Bijapur."¹¹³ According to the *Muham-mad-Nāmāh*,¹¹⁴ while Khān Muhammad was proceeding with the operations of the siege of Penukoṇḍa, "Siddi Raihan's sons in Sera (Sīra) rebelled against Adil Shah and won over to their side the Rajahs of the neighbourhood," and were instigating "the Rajah of Mysore (Kanṭhīrava), who was the master of four lakhs of infantry and forty thousand good elephants," to encroach upon the Bijāpur possessions in the Karnāṭak. Kanṭhīrava, accordingly, says the memoir,¹¹⁵ "wrested all the forts in the Jagdev country, which Mustafa Khan had conquered with so much effort." In particular, between November 1652 and January 1653, Kanṭhīrava acquired in rapid succession Ratnagiri, Vīrabhadra-na-durga, Kengere-kōṭe, Pennāgara, Deṇkaṇīkōṭe and Dharmapuri¹¹⁶—forts said to have been in the possession of one "Yatibala Rao,"¹¹⁷ a Bijāpur general, perhaps identical with Bālāji Haihat Rao of the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*. Almost simultaneously Mīr Jumla of Gōlkonda was animating Kanṭhīrava against Bijapur.¹¹⁸ These activities of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar attracted the attention of Khān Muhammad. The sons of Siddi Raihan having submitted to Bijapur by March 1653, "Khan Muhammad marched into the Jagdev country to chastise the Rajah of Mysore,"

111. *Ibid.*, I. 89; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 67.

112. *Ibid.*

113. See *The Hague Transcripts*, cited in f.n. 106 *supra*; see also f.n. 116 *infra*.

114. See *M.H.*, cited in f.n. 107 *supra*.

115. *Ibid.*

116. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 18-21; *Annals*, I. 70; see also *Mys. Raj. Oha.*, 24; *C. Fam.*, 86; *C. V.*, II, 128-129; cf. *Wilks*, I. 64-65.

117. *Ibid.*, II. 18. Wilks (l.c.) spells the name as "Eitebal Row." The *Annals* (l.c.) mentions it as "Tirumala Rāya," apparently a scribal error.

118. See *The Hague Transcripts*, cited in f.n. 107 *supra*.

and succeeded in recovering, after a severe fight, Krishnagiri and four other forts in his territory.¹¹⁶ About October 1653, Khān Muhammad, on his way to Vellore, was obliged to abandon the forts recently conquered by him in Mysore. Meanwhile, he received news that Kanṭhīrava had sent Daḷavāi Dāsarājaiya (*Das-raj* of the Persian text) "with a numberless force to the frontier of fort Kaveripatan" (Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam).¹²⁰ A detachment under Siddi Masaud was despatched by Khān Muhammad against Dāsarājaiya. A battle took place near Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam, in which, says the memoir,¹²¹ Dāsarājaiya was slain (October 1653). Linge-Gauḍa was re-appointed Daḷavāi of Mysore in succession to Dāsarājaiya.¹²² In March 1654, Kanṭhīrava, alarmed by the progress of Bijāpur arms as far as Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam, marched towards the south acquiring from Venkaṭādri Nāyaka, Satyamangalam and Daṇāyakankōṭe, places guarding the passes in the south of Mysore.¹²³ In April (1654), he took from Chandrasēkhara Nāyaka, Hosūr in the south-east of Mysore.¹²⁴

Meanwhile Khān Muhammad, victorious at Vellore, demanded tribute from Tirumala
Bijāpur and
Madura vs Mysore,
1654
Nāyaka of Madura.¹²⁵
 Indeed, this was an opportune moment for Tirumala Nāyaka to strike, for, by making common cause with the Nāyakas of Gingee and Tanjore and with Kanṭhīrava of

119 *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, cited in *Ibid.*

120. *Ibid.* Sarkar's identification of "*Das-raj*" with "*Des-raj*" is incorrect in the light of other sources.

121 *Ibid.*; cf. *Annals* (I. 89) referring to the removal from service of Daḷavāi Dāsarājaiya by Kanṭhīrava in November 1653, on the ground of old age. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (II. 67), an earlier Ms., refers, however, only to the two years' period of office of Daḷavāi Dāsarājaiya. In the absence of fuller details on the Mysore side, the authority of the *Muhammad-Nāmāh* is to be preferred here.

122. *Annals*, l.c.; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c.

123. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 21; *Annals*, I. 70; see also *C. Vam.*, 37; *C. Vt.*, II, 134; cf. *Wilks*, I, 65-66.

124. *Ibid.*, II. 22; *Annals*, l.c.; cf. *Wilks*, I. 66.

125. *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, l.c.

Mysore, he could have not only successfully chased the common enemy (*i.e.*, Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa) but also have settled the affairs of Śrī-Ranga and re-established the latter's suzerainty in the country. These larger interests, however, were, perhaps, overshadowed by Tirumala Nāyaka's long-standing prejudices and latterly by his misapprehension of an invasion of his dominions by Mysore, while, in fact, Kanṭhīrava was, as we have seen, only attempting to maintain the *status quo* in the south and the south-east against the Muhammadans. Accordingly, about the middle of 1654, Tirumala Nāyaka negotiated with Khān Muhammad, urging him "to declare war against the king of Mysore" (Kanṭhīrava)¹²⁶ and begging him "to expel the invading Mysore troops from his dominions."¹²⁷ By this ruinous and short-sighted policy, Tirumala only brought about an event which marked, though indirectly, the climax in the relations between Bijāpur and Mysore. What followed is thus stated in the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*:¹²⁸ "The Khan marched out of Vellore . . . pillaged and burnt Mysore territory down 'to a heap of ashes' . . . Balaji Haibat Rao, who had left Adil-Shahī service for that of Mysore, was now sent by Kanti Rai against Khan Muhammad. The Khan despatched Siddi Masaud with his vanguard to meet this army. In the battle that followed, Balaji was beheaded and his army routed. At this the Rajah of Mysore in mortal terror sent his envoy to the victorious Khan Muhammad, with an offer of submission, asking pardon for his offences and praying for safety. He promised to pay 'treasure beyond calculation' as an offering to Adil Shah and regularly deliver tribute (*baj-wa-kharaj*) every year. By order of Adil Shah, Khan Muhammad left the Mysore Rajah's devastated kingdom

126. *Proensa's letter*, in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 267.

127. *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, l.c.

128. *Ibid.* The sources on the Mysore side maintain a discreet silence in regard to this reverse.

to him. . . . The *Peshkash* was realized by Khan Muhammad." Nor was Tirumala Nāyaka himself immune from Bijāpur attack, for, as Proenza tells us,¹²⁹ Khān Muhammad "did not wish to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura; he raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur full of riches." About this time, Śrī-Ranga, "betrayed a second time by his vassals" (Nāyakas of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee) and probably realising also the serious predicament of Mysore caused by the ravages of the Bijāpur invasion, "was obliged to seek refuge on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life."¹³⁰

The wars of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa in the Karnāṭak
Fifth Phase : 1654-1659. were practically over about the monsoon season of 1654, the two

General course of
 affairs.

powers finally accomplishing the division of their conquests in 1656.¹³¹

The Bijāpur-belt of territory to the north of the kingdom of Mysore, comprising Bangalore, Hoskōṭe, Kōlār, Doḍballāpur and Sīra, went under the designation of Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥaṭ while the territory below the ghāṭs, almost coterminous with the south-eastern frontier of Mysore, under the designation of Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Pāyangḥaṭ, Shāhji being continued in charge of the entire tract. The Gōlkoṇḍa possessions lay further east of this area, in the rich eastern plains of Madras comprising Chittoor, Gooty, Gurramkoṇḍa, Chandragiri, Gandikōṭe, Conjeevaram and other places, with a governor (Hazrat Anār Sāhib) under the Qutb Shah. In the very year of the division of these conquests,

129. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, l.c.

130. *Ibid.* The exile of Śrī-Ranga would correspond to the period c. 1654-1656, for, from the *O. Vam.* and *Ke. N. V.*, as we shall see, he appears to have been in Bednūr between c. 1654-1659. Cf. Satyanatha Aiyar in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 132. His statement that Kanṭhīrava "entertained him (Śrī-Ranga) for some time and seeing that he was the source of further troubles, seems to have left him to his own fate about 1658," is not borne out by the materials on record for the years 1650-1654.

131. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 62.

Muhammad Adil Shah died. Almost simultaneously, Abdullā Qutb Shah was recalled to his capital by a Mughal invasion. Bijāpur and Gōlkonḍa during the succeeding years were so much engrossed in their death-struggle with Aurangzib (Mughal Viceroy in the Deccan) that they had little time to effectively look after their conquered tracts in the south, except depending on the local governors thereof.¹³² This, no doubt, proved to be an advantage to other powers in the Karnāṭak. In particular, Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri (1645-1660) had already succeeded in acquiring Vasudhāre, Sakrepaṭṇa and other places from Bijāpur between 1647-1652.¹³³ Shortly after the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, however, he systematically carried on his aggressions, taking the forts of Ikkēri, Soraba, Uḍugaṇi, Mahadēvapura, etc., then in the possession of the European trading powers (*Tāmramukhar*); and successfully opposed the chief of Sōde, acquiring from him Sirase (Sirsi), Herūr, Bōlūr and other places.¹³⁴ About the same time (1656), it would appear, Śivappa Nāyaka, according to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*,¹³⁵ inquired after the whereabouts of, and traced out, the fugitive Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI, paid his homage to him and afforded him an asylum. Between c. 1656-1659, Śrī-Ranga appears to have stayed in Bednūr (capital of Śivappa Nāyaka) after his long sojourn in Drāviḍa and Mysore.¹³⁶

132. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2428; II. iii. 2852 (see also inscriptions cited)

133. *Ke N. V.*, VII. 108.

134. *Ibid.*, 110.

135. Pp. 190-191: *Śrī-Ranga-Rāya-nenisuvam . . . ettalum neleganādvre yavananaravi kaṇṭu kālgeragi-yodagondū bandu . . .*

136. *C. Vam*, 191; also *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 114. From these texts, Śrī-Ranga, it seems obvious, was under the shelter of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri before his (Śrī-Ranga's) own establishment at Hāssan and Bēlūr by the latter in 1659. In the light of these sources, we have to allow a fair interval of at least three years (c. 1656-1659) for Śrī-Ranga's asylum in Bednūr, and push back the period of his exile itself by another two years (c. 1654-1656), in the light of the *Hague Transcripts* and Proenza, cited above. Cf. Wilks (I. 79), placing Śrī-Ranga's flight to Bednūr in 1646; Rice (*Mys. Gaz.*, I. 356), in 1644 (or 1646); S. K. Aiyangar (in *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 139-134, f.n. 60), after 1665; Satyanatha Aiyar (*Ibid.*, p. 132), after 1653; and *Mys. Gaz.* (New Edn. II. iii. 2870-2874, 2881-2883), in 1646 and 1656—all which require revision.

Meanwhile, in Mysore, Hamparājaiya (Hampaiya) of Kārugahalli had been reappointed Daḷavāi by Kanṭhīrava, in May 1655, in succession to Linge-Gauḍa.¹³⁷

Relations with Madura, 1655-1659: Mysorean invasion of Madura, c. 1655-1657. Kanṭhīrava's first act after Khān Muhammad's pillaging expedition of 1654 was, according to Proenza,¹³⁸ the despatch of an army to the Satyamangalam province of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, with a view to "punish him for his disloyal conduct, wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war." Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya was entrusted with the operations of the campaign which seems to have begun about the latter part of 1655.¹³⁹ Without encountering much opposition Hamparājaiya advanced on Madura "where he found considerable booty." He was soon before the walls of Madura itself, causing consternation to Tirumala Nāyaka who would have taken to his heels but for the unexpected help of the Maravas. Raghunātha-Sētupati, the Marava chief, proceeded thither with 25,000 men. With these and his own army of 35,000 men, Tirumala Nāyaka prepared himself for the onslaught. In the meanwhile Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya, in the words of Proenza, "too weak to hazard a general action and informed of the approaching arrival of reinforcements which his king (Kanṭhīrava) had sent him, temporised and, by his presents, won the Brahman commander of the Madura forces. The traitor sought to repress the ardour of his soldiers and put off, from day to day, the time of attack. But the

137. *Annals*, I. 89; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 67.

138. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 267 (*Proenza's letter*).

139. See *M. E. R.*, No. 170 of 1910-11, dated in 1655 (*Manmatha*)—a damaged Kannaḍa lithic record from Erōḍe, mentioning Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya (*Hampaiya*) and Madura (*Madhura*). Evidently the record seems to reflect a campaign of Mysore in the Madura country. Since only the cyclic year is mentioned in the record and since we know Hamparājaiya succeeded to the office of Daḷavāi in May 1655, we may fix the beginning of the campaign about the latter part of 1655.

Maravas, impatient at the delay, conceived suspicions, cried treason, threw the Brahman into a dungeon, pounced on the enemies, and cut them to pieces. The remains of the defeated army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, where, after some days, the expected reinforcements of twenty thousand men joined them. The combat again began with such fury that each army left nearly twelve thousand dead on the battlefield."¹⁴⁰

Nor was this all. "The advantage," continues Proenza,¹⁴¹ "remained with the Nayak who utilised his superiority to return to the Mysoreans the evils which they had inflicted on his kingdom, and transport the theatre of this bloody war to their provinces. A special circumstance characterised its ferocity. The king of Mysore had ordered to cut off the nose of all the prisoners; his soldiers, to distinguish themselves, executed this barbarous order on all those who fell into their hands, men, women and children, and sent to Mysore sacks full of noses, as so many glorious trophies. The Nāyak, resenting this procedure, which, in the opinion of the Indians, added the most humiliating outrage to cruelty, ordered reprisals; and his troops burst out into the provinces of Mysore, seeking not enemies to fight, but noses to cut. It is this which has given to this inhuman war the name of 'hunt for noses.' The king of Mysore, the first contriver of this barbarity, himself lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved." This counter-invasion of Madura is referred to in certain *Mackenzie Manuscripts*,¹⁴² according to which the Madura forces hotly pursued the retiring Mysore army into its own territories, as far as Nanjangūd (*Nanjankuḍi*).

140. *Nayaks of Madura*, pp 267-268 (*Ibid*).

141. *Ibid*, pp. 268-269 (*Ibid*).

142. Taylor, *Or Hyst. Mas*, II. 182-183; see also and compare *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 186-187.

From the letter of Proenza, it would seem that the invasion and counter-invasion narrated above were completed by the close of 1658 and the beginning of 1659.¹⁴³

There is, however, no information on the Mysore side regarding these events. Proenza's account, on the other hand, however trustworthy in regard to the main trend of transactions, does seem to exaggerate the "cutting off noses in war." Indeed to a foreign observer like Proenza such a mode of fighting could not but appear as novel and grotesque. In fact, as we have seen in the preceding pages, "nose cutting" was a habitual feature of Mysorean warfare and this was not the only occasion when the Mysore army resorted to it, as Proenza seems to imagine. Nor is it likely that Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar himself ever took part in the war and sustained loss of his own nose, as Proenza makes us believe. Hence this part of the account cannot be literally accepted as a correct statement of facts. It seems, however, possible that the general or his deputy in charge of the Mysore army was one of those who lost their noses during the retaliatory game adopted by the Madura forces. No doubt Kanṭhīrava had desired to mark his displeasure of Tirumala's rebellion against his sovereign (Śrī-Ranga) by ordering the infliction of this punishment on certain of his leading officials, a direction which was either carried to excess in its execution or grossly misrepresented as a regular "hunt for noses." The whole life and character of Kanṭhīrava seem to be against the ascription of such a barbarity to him by way of a general measure.¹⁴⁴ The obvious effect of these

143. Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura died in February 1659 (*Nāyaks of Madura* pp. 148-149). Since Proenza speaks of the Nāyaka's death shortly after his victory in the counter-invasion (*Ibid.*, p. 269), the wars between Mysore and Madura appear to have practically come to a close in December 1658 or January 1659, although hostilities in the south continued during subsequent years.

144. *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2389-2390; see also and compare S. K. Aiyangar in *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 136-137, f.n. 73. For details about the "nose-cutting," vide Appendix IX.

invasions during the last years of the reign of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar was that the relations between Mysore and Madura became embittered to a degree.

Almost simultaneously Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri, smarting under the rejection of the offer of his alliance by Kanthirava (in September 1647), had begun to show signs of an aggressive attitude towards Mysore, on the plea of restoring to his suzerainty Śrī-Ranga VI who was under his (Śivappa Nāyaka's) protection since c. 1656.¹⁴⁵ In 1657 (*Hēvilambī*) he marched southwards and laid siege to Hāssan and Bēlūr,¹⁴⁶ then in the possession of the Muhammadans of Bijāpur. He began a regular blockade of the latter place and soon reduced it to submission slaying large numbers of the enemy.¹⁴⁷ It was also on this occasion that, according to the *Keḷadi-*

145. *C. Vam.*, 190-191; *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 106-109, 114. Although, according to the *Ke. N. V.* and *Śivatattvaratnākara* (cited *infra*), it was sheer loyalty to the Empire which induced Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri to espouse the cause of Śrī-Ranga VI, his real motive, according to the earlier work, *C. Vam.*, was nothing but self-interest. Indeed, by courting on his side the support of Emperor Śrī-Ranga and by attempting to give to the ruined fortunes of the latter the advantage of his power and influence, Śivappa Nāyaka evidently hoped not only to establish Śrī-Ranga in his suzerainty of the Karnāṭaka country but also to retaliate, and carry on his aggression, against Mysore, at whose rejection of his embassy (in September 1647) he had been offended. Śivappa Nāyaka's offer of an asylum to Śrī-Ranga VI between c. 1656-1659 cannot, therefore, be better understood except on this footing. See Ch. X, for further details.

146. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 109; see also *Śivatattvaratnākara* in S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources*, pp. 356-357. Both these texts are, obviously, to be understood as referring to the siege of Bēlūr in the Hāssan district, "*Vēlāpura*" of the latter text being only the Sanskritised form of Bēlūr and not "Vellore" in the Madras Presidency as identified in the *Sources* (p. 347), *Nāyaks of Madura* (p. 133, f.n. 60) and the *Mys. Gaz.* (II. iii. 2372-2373). See also *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) B1 3, 14, 56, 58, etc., mentioning *Vēlāpura* as the old name for Bēlūr. "Vellore" had been, as we have seen above, twice lost by Śrī-Ranga in 1647 and 1654, while "Bēlūr" was also in the possession of Bijāpur (since 1640), so that it was but in the fitness of things for Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri to recover both Bēlūr and Hāssan for Śrī-Ranga in 1657, as an ostensibly loyal feudatory of his.

147. *Śivatattvaratnākara*, l.c.

Nripa-Vijayam,¹⁴⁸ Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Bēlūr and Arkalgūḍ opposed Śivappa Nāyaka at the head of vast forces (*bahusainya sahitidirchida*). Alarmed, probably, by the latter's activities, Kaṇṭhīrava himself, it would appear,¹⁴⁹ substantially assisted his feudatory, Krishṇappa Nāyaka, against the latter (*māyāvādigaladhika sahāyade*); Śivappa Nāyaka, however, succeeded in thoroughly defeating Krishṇappa Nāyaka on the field of battle and took his son, Venkaṭādri Nāyaka, prisoner. Though these activities of Ikkēri tended to restrict the sphere of influence of Mysore up to Bēlūr in the north-west, they resulted in improving the position of Śrī-Ranga by 1659 (*Vikāri*), in which year Śivappa Nāyaka established the latter at Hāssan and Bēlūr and is said to have been duly honoured by him with titles like *Rāmabāṇa*, *Paravāraṇa-Vāraṇa* and presents, including a costly ear-ornament of sapphire, a very costly pearl, the emblems of the conch and the discus, an umbrella called the *Jagajhampa* and the head of the enemy slain.¹⁵⁰

In 1659, the last year of the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, the political position of Mysore was as follows: On the north it had been extended up to Channapaṭṇa and Turuvēkere, coterminous with the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāt, while Channarāyapaṭṇa, overlooking Hāssan and Bēlūr, had become its north-western limit; in the south it ran up to Daṇāyakankōṭe and Satyamangalam and in the south-east up to Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam, co-extensive with the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Pāyanghāt; in the east it practically covered the whole of the territory of Jagadēva-Rāya, while in the west it had been extended up to Coorg absorbing a major portion of the kingdom of the Changāḷvas (including Nanjarāyapaṭṇa). The tendency

148. VII l.c.

149. *Ibid*150. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 114; *C. Vam.*, 191, *Śivatattavaratnākara*, p. 367.

on the part of Mysore to advance further in the north and the north-west while maintaining her integrity in the south and the south-east as against Madura and other powers, had already begun to manifest itself towards the close of the reign

CHAPTER IX.

KANTHIRAVA-NARASARAJA WODEYAR I,

1638-1659—(contd.)

Kanthirava's Rule: Ministers, Officers and Dalavais—Administrative measures: 1. Defence—2. Coinage and Currency, 1645—3. Settlement of conquered tracts—Feudatories, c. 1647-1650—Religion—Gifts, etc.—A scheme of public utility, c. 1645-1648—Grants and other records, 1639-1657—Authentic statues of Kanthirava—Social life: c. 1638-1648—Cities and towns: 1. Seringapatam—2. Mysore—3. Melkote—General culture—Daily life, amusements, etc.—Court culture: costume and personal adornment—Kanthirava's personal servants—His daily Durbar and local titles—Festivals—The *Mahanavami* in Seringapatam—Its celebration in 1647 (September 19-28)—Beginnings: the eight days' Durbar—The detailed programme—The ninth day (*Mahanavami*)—The tenth day (*Vijayadasami*)—Gifts and presents—The social ideal: contemporary manners and morals, etc.—Kanthirava as a patron of learning—Literary activity: Sanskrit and Kannada writers—Govinda-Vaidya and his *Kanthirava-Narasaraja-Vijayam* (1648)—Domestic life: Queens—Other members of the Royal Family—Doddadevaraja Wodeyar: indications of his rule jointly with Kanthirava—Last days of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar—His death, July 31, 1659—An estimate of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar—As a warrior—As a political builder—As a ruler—As a "Maker of Mysore"—Kanthirava in tradition.

THE rule of Kanthirava-Narasaraja Wodeyar bore the impress of his personality to a greater extent, perhaps, than that of his predecessors, on the administration of the country he ruled over. Inscriptions and other sources speak of him as ruling in Seringapatam seated on the jewelled throne (*ratna-simhāsana*).

Kanthirava's Rule:
Ministers, Officers
and Dalavais.

His government was conducted along traditional lines and was in keeping with the general course of political development the kingdom underwent. Timmarasa was the minister-in-chief (*mantriśa*) of Kanthirava, well versed in political counsel, accounts and the arts:¹ Lappavarasa was his minister of finance (. . . *sakala rājyake . . . lekkarannu . . . baredōduva*);² Basavaiya was an officer in charge of the treasury (*bokkasa*);³ Narasimha-lipādhyaya—identical with Nṛsimhārya mentioned in the *Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant* (April 1639)—was the king's scribe (*rāyasadoļu jāṇa*);⁴ and Linge-Gauḍa was the Mayor of Seringapatam (*Paṭṭanada-adhikāri*),⁵ the capital city (till July 1649). Among other officers, Koṭṭuraiya was an agent of Kanthirava (*Narasarāja Wodeyaravara kāryakke kartarāda*) at Sāligrāma.⁶ Among the Daḷavāis of the reign, already referred to,⁷ were Timmarājaiya (November 1638-December 1640), Nanjarājaiya of Hura (December 1640-January 1647), Lingarājaiya of Hura (January 1647-June 1648), Kempaiya (June 1648-July 1649), Linge-Gauḍa (July 1649-August 1650), Hamparājaiya (Hampaiya) of Kārugahalli (August 1650-September 1651) and Dāsarājaiya (Dās-rāj) of Kaḷale, father-in-law of Kanthirava (September 1651-October 1653)—Linge-Gauḍa and Hamparājaiya holding the office a second time between October 1653-May 1655 and May 1655-1659, respectively. The short tenure of office usually allowed by Kanthirava to each of his Daḷavāis points to the active

1. K. N. V., XXV, 84: *Vara-mantrade sura-guru . . . lekhyāṅgade (lekkaṅgade) sarasṇa-bhava . . . suvidyadala nre gaṇḍu-Śaraḍe.*

2. *Ibid.*, 82.

3. *Ibid.*, 74.

4. *Ibid.*, 85.

5. *Ibid.*, 56.

6. E.C., V (1) and (2) Cn 185 (1650).

7. *Ante*, section on *Political history* in Ch. VIII; see also *Annals*, I. 68, 85-86, 88-89; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 66-67 and f.n. 8 *infra*.

personal influence exerted by him in military as in civil administration.⁸

Defence was perhaps the foremost problem that engaged the attention of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar in the early years of his reign. The fort of Seringapatam having sustained serious damages during the siege of 1639, Kanṭhīrava took a keen personal interest in the work of improving and extending it, with a view to make it more impregnable and self-sufficient. Huge flat stones were made use of in enlarging and strengthening the ramparts, bastions and ditches. And magazines and armouries were extensively laid out, together with large stores of fodder and provisions of every description. The fort of Mysore was likewise improved and strengthened, and arrangements made for storing in provisions, arms and ammunition.⁹

1. Defence.

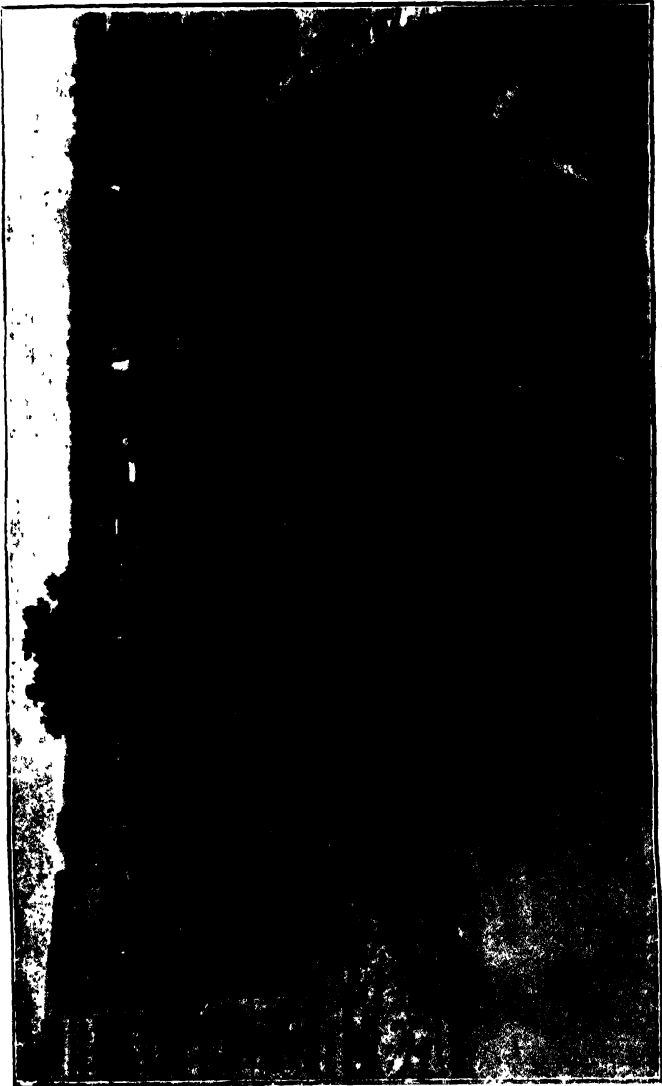
The next measure of importance was the establishment by Kanṭhīrava, for the first time, of a mint (*ṭenkasāle*) in Seringapatam and the reorganization of currency and coinage. The tendencies underlying this measure were of a political, administrative and religious character: firstly, by 1645, Kanṭhīrava was, as we have seen, sufficiently well established on the throne of Mysore (having successfully beaten off the Bijāpur invasion and counteracted the aggressions of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura)

2. Coinage and Currency, 1645.

The tendencies underlying this measure were of a political, administrative and religious character: firstly, by 1645, Kanṭhīrava was, as we have seen, sufficiently well established on the throne of Mysore (having successfully beaten off the Bijāpur invasion and counteracted the aggressions of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura)

8. The *Annals* (I. 88-89) refers to inefficiency, corruption, neglect of duty, assertiveness, etc., on the part of the Daḷavāi as the cause of his dismissal and the appointment of his successor. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 66-67) merely mentions the period of office of each Daḷavāi. Whatever might have been the real cause for the removal from office of a Daḷavāi, Kanṭhīrava seems to have been the first ruler to realise the evils of excessive concentration of power in the Daḷavāi. He appears to have kept his Daḷavāis thoroughly under control generally by allowing them only a short tenure of office, unless any of them proved himself a man of exceptional capacity like Nanjarājaiya of Hura. See also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 290-292.

9. *Annals*, I. 79-80, 82. For details about arms and ammunition, vide Appendix IX.



The Serungapatam Fort with its postern gate--A view.

and was aiming at independence from a local point of view; secondly, the innumerable estampages on the gold coins in the country—belonging to the Pālegār régime—had led to confusion and it was found absolutely necessary to have a uniform seal for all gold coins;¹⁰ thirdly, Kanthirava's predilection for Vaishnavism, perhaps most significantly echoed in a lithic record of his,¹¹ was also prominently at work. The first coins were, accordingly, struck in Kanthirava's name, on the 26th of April 1645.¹² These are gold ones, variously known as *Kanṭhīrāya-haṇa*,¹³ *Kanṭhīrava-Rāya*¹⁴ and *Kanṭhīrava-Rāya-ravi*;¹⁵ and are impressed with the figure of God Lakshmī-Narasimha on the obverse and some dots on the reverse.¹⁶ Another species of gold coins, issued probably about the same time or slightly later, was the *Kanṭhīrāya-varaha*.¹⁷ Not only were these coins issued but their circulation all over the country was also provided for, 10 *haṇams* being equivalent to one *Kanṭhīrāya-varaha* and the weight of nine *haṇams* being equivalent to the weight of one *varaha* (*Kanṭhīrāyi*), the two denominations being ordered to be used in connection with the account and cash transactions, respectively, of the State,¹⁸ Kanthirava appears to have

10. *Ibid.*, I. 90.

11. *E.C.*, V (2) Ag. 64 (April 1647), p. 768 (Text); see also under *Religion*.

12. *I. M. C.*, No 18-15-20, pp. 36-37.

Sālvāhana-saka-varṣa 1567 sanda vartamānavāda |
Pārthiva nāma samvatsarada |
Vaiśākha-tu. 11 [Text gone] nakshatradallu |
Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wāḍeyaravayyanavaru tamma penarinnalli |
Lakshmī-Narasimha-mudre-nānyavannu hakisi |
i nānyakke Kanṭhīrava-Rāyanendu penaru hoṭṭu |
grāma-kṣhētraḡalannu samarpisida vivara ||

Cf. *Annals* (I 91), placing this event in April 1643; *Wilks* (I. 61), merely referring to the establishment of the mint and the issue of "Cantyrat hoons and fanams" by Kanthirava; also *M. A. R.*, 1929, p. 31, referring to the issue of the coins "some time after 1646."

13. *Annals*, l.c.; see also Appendix IV—(4).

14. *Vide* f.n. 12 *supra*—Text.

15. *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 25.

16. See Appendix *Ibid.*, for details.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Annals*, I. 90-91; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.

issued a series of copper coins also, known as *Āne-kāsu*,¹⁹ to serve the purposes of a token currency.

In the localities annexed by him from the feudatories, Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, it is said,²⁰ settled the land revenue dues according to the status and condition of each tract. The refractory Pālegārs and turbulent ryots in the local parts were allowed just enough means to enable them to sustain themselves, a major portion of their income being confiscated to the State. To promote local peace and facilitate the transmission of revenue collections from the countryside to the central exchequer at Seringapatam, officials like *Subēdār*, *Thāṇādār*, *Karaṇikas* and *Gumāstas* were also appointed.

Among the local feudatories of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar—at the height of his power, Feudatories, i.e., during c. 1647-1650—were the following:²¹ Doḍḍaiya (Doḍḍendra) of Haradanahalli, Kempaiya (Kempendra) of Satyāgāla, Timmarāja (Timmendra) of Heggaddēvankōṭe, Doḍḍaiya of Channarāyapaṭṇa, Hampaiya of Turuvēkere, Chāmaiya of Channapaṭṇa, Hampaiya of Maddūr, Mūddaiya of Nāgamangala, Nanjanna of Maḷavalli, Rājaiya of Terakaṇāmbi, Gūruvaṇṇa of Kannambādi, Koṭṭūraiya of Kikkēri, Chinna-Gauḍa of Pālupare, Muddaiya of Kāṅkānhalli, Honnaṇṇa of Kaṭṭe-Maḷalavādi, Sangaiya of Ummattūr, Channaiya of Hosaholalu, Dāsaiya, chief of Balloḍeyar (?), Lingarājaiya (Lingarājendra) of Yeḷandūr (Yeḷavandūr), and the chiefs of Hullahalli (Hullanahalli), Nilusōge, Kulagāna, Kōṭe-kere (Kōṭeya-kere), Hemmara-

19 *I'ade Appendix Ibid.*

20. *Annals*, I 89; also *Wilks*, I. 60-61.

21. *K. N. I*, XXV, 47-55, 57-59, 61-71. Most of the feudatories, referred to, are stated to have been present in Seringapatam during the festivities of 1647, noticed under *Social life*. Koṭṭūraiya of Kikkēri, mentioned, is further to be indentified with the one referred to as an agent of Kanthirava at Sāḷagrāma (see f.n. 6 *supra* and text thereto).

gāla, Bilikere, Talakād, Sōsale and Rangasamudra. Some of these feudatories were, as we shall see, in the personal service of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar himself. Among the feudatories in friendly alliance with Kanthirava were:²² Rangappa Nāyaka of Hoḷe-Narasipur (Narasimhapura), Krishnappa Nāyaka of Bēlūr, Doḍḍa-Kempe-Gauḍa of Kuṇigal and Chikka-Gauḍa²³ of Māgaḍi, Virupanna Nāyaka of Ālambādi and the sons of the chief of Nanjarāyapaṭṇa and Pūvala-Hanumappa Nāyaka (of Basavāpaṭṇa and Tarikere). Tanjore, Madura and Gingee (*Chenje*)²⁴ were among the distant powers represented by their ministers at the court of Kanthirava during the period.

The period of Kanthirava's rule witnessed an important stage in the development of Religion Śrī-Vaishnavism in South India in general and Mysore in particular. Already Mēlkōṭe had become a prominent centre of Śrī-Vaishnavism²⁵ and no less important was Seringapatam, the capital city.²⁶ More significant still, perhaps, was the influence of Vaishnava tradition that was being continually exerted on the Mysore Royal House from the early years of the seventeenth century. We have seen how Rāja Wodeyar, Chāmarāja Wodeyar and Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar were staunch Vaishnavaites. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, father of Kanthirava-

22. *Ibid.*, 93-99.

23. Doḍḍa-Kempe-Gauḍa here is to be identified with Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa II of Māgaḍi (1569-1658) and Chikka-Gauḍa with Chikka-Kempe-Gauḍa (son of Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa), afterwards Mummāḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa III (1658-1678). Perhaps during the period, of which we are writing (c. 1647-1650), both father and son were governing the Yelahanka-nāḍu, the former from Kuṇigal, the latter from Māgaḍi, and both were present during the festivities of 1647 in Seringapatam. For the relations between Kanthirava and Immaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa about 1648-1650, see f.n. 97 in Ch. VIII and text thereat. For the genealogy of the Yelahanka (Māgaḍi) chiefs, *vide* Table XVII

24. K. N. V., XXV, 89-91.

25. See C. *Vam.*, 113; C. *V.*, III, 78; also f.n. 85 *infra*.

26. K. N. V., VII, 96; V, 112, etc.

Narasarāja Woḍeyar, was himself an earnest devotee of Vishṇu, adoring God Nṛsimha.²⁷ An inscription²⁸ records of him as having none to equal him alike in respect of bathing in holy rivers, making gifts, winning victory on the field and offering worship to Vishṇu. The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*, already referred to,²⁹ makes mention of his pilgrimage to Mēlkōṭe, Tirupati, Śrīrangam and other sacred places, accompanied by his half-brother, Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, during the early years of the reign of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. Under Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, the Vaishṇava predilections of the Mysore Royal Family became more and more marked. Kanṭhīrava was celebrated for his ardent devotion to Vishnu (*atiśaya Vishṇu-bhakti*)³⁰ and for his scrupulous observance of the characteristic features of the creed,³¹ namely, *Vaishṇava-Dīkshā* (leaving the head unshaved for long periods), *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa-Prasāṅga* (listening to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇam*), *Ēkādaśi-Vratam* and *Dvādaśi-Vratam* (fasting on the eleventh day of every fortnight and breaking the fast on the twelfth), *Hari-pūje*, *Hari-dhyāna* (worship and contemplation of Vishṇu), *Nitya-dāna* (daily gifts), *Kshīrāmbudhi* (distribution of milk) and *Brindāvanta-sēve* (offering devotional worship to *Brindāvanam*, the abode of the Lord). A lithic record³² speaks of him as having placed his burdens at the feet of God Nṛhari (Lakshmi-Nṛsimha). Indeed so profound was the impression produced by his faith in Vaishṇavism that he was deified

27. *Ibid.*, IV, 4-10

28. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 103 (April 1647), ll. 28-29.

*Snānēcha dānēcha jayēcha Vishṇōh
Pūjā-vudhau tatsādṛśō na-kāśhat ||*

29. *Ante*, Ch. VI.

30. *K. N. V.*, XXVI, 3.

31. *Ibid.*, 4-16; VII, 68; also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 25; *Annals*, I. 92-93.

32. *E. C.*, V (2) Ag. 64 (April 1647), p. 767 (Text): *Sri-Nṛhari padayugē nyasta nārvaṇa bhārō*; see also *C. Vam.* (37), depicting Kanṭhīrava as having been engaged in the contemplation and adoration of Vishṇu (*Nṛsimhana. divya-mūrtiyam nenadu jñāsi . . . aḍigeragi-yālgoydu . . .*)

by his subjects. Nor can there be any doubt that he aimed at perpetuating the cult of Vishnu among his people by the issue of coins bearing the figure of God Lakshmī-Narasimha and by inducing them to worship that God and observe the rite of fasting (*Ēkādaśi-Vratam*) on the eleventh day of every fortnight. Thus, the record,³³ mentioned above, says: "The king Kanthīrava was taken by the people for God Nṛsimha. Seeing that from love of money the people had forgotten Vishnu, the wise king Kanthīrava made from that money Nṛhari and preserved the people. . . . Inquiring into the sayings of the *Vēda* and *Smṛiti* and ascertaining the meaning of all *śāstras*, in accordance with the intentions of both, he caused all to worship Lakshmī Nṛhari's two feet on *Ēkādaśi* and also to perform that (*Ēkādaśi*) *Vrata* like Ambarīsha and other kings." It was, we are told,³⁴ his sincere conviction that salvation was only to be attained by absolute devotion to Vishnu; and this perhaps found its lasting expression in the construction by him (between 1645-1648) of a temple to God Lakshmī-Narasimha, to the right of his Palace at Seringapatam, for the spiritual benefit of his people (*tannanti-lōgarellarum bardunkugendu*).³⁵ Toleration

33. *Ibid.*, p. 768 (Text).

Kanṭhīrava-mahipālam Nṛsimham nu nirē janāh
Vittēchchā paripīditēna manasā Vishnum sadā rsmṛtan |
Lōkān vikshya dayaparōṭi-chaturah Kanṭhīrava-kshmapātish |
Tadvittē Nṛharim vādhāya sahasā kurvan nṛnām pālānam |

Vēda-Smṛtyādā vākyaṁ savachana-sādṛśam sarva-śāstram vichārya
Śrīmān Kanṭhīrava-śrī-narapatir-niśchaytvārtha-yugmam |
Ēkādaśyām su-Lakshmī-Nṛhari-pada-yugārādhānam tad-vratāncha
Vyātānvannambariṇādyakhilā-narapatnām-aśēpām-śchakāra ||

34. C. Vam., 1 c.: *uttya-sukhama-nelasi tattvama-nāraydu Puruṣhōttamāna bhakts-yoḷallade mukt-yugolḷadendu niśchayam*. See also C. Vi., II, 140. According to Tirumalārya, the reference to *tattva* in the above passage is to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava doctrines of trust in God's grace and self-surrender.

35. *Ibid.*; C. Vi., II, 141; also K. N. V. (1648), VII, 76-81, 114, referring to the temple (*Śrī-Narasimha-dēvana nilaya*); *Annals*, I. 69; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 24 (compare). For further references to this extant temple, see under *Gifts, Grants and Social life*.

was a prominent feature of Kaṇṭhīrava's religion. He was devoted as much to Viṣṇu as to Śiva (*Hari-Hara-bhaktiyoḷīruva*),³⁶ while he worshipped his family deities *Lakshmīkānta*, *Chāmunḍēśvari* and *Triṇēśvara*³⁷ with no less fervour. He is also said to have observed the Śaiva rites (*Śaiva-Vrata*) as well.³⁸ In his capital there not only flourished Vaishṇava and Śaiva institutions (temples and *maṭhs*)³⁹ but also adherents of different creeds and sects (such as the *Bhāgavatas*, *Vira-Vaishṇavas*, *Maṭhā-dhipatis*, *Śivabhaktas*, *Jōgis* and *Jangamas*), who lived side by side in friendly rivalry.⁴⁰

Numerous were the gifts of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja
 Woḍeyar to institutions and individuals,
 Gifts, etc. both in and outside his kingdom.

Services in the temple of God Lakshmī-Narasimha at Seringapatam engaged his constant attention. That temple, it is said,⁴¹ was provided by him with a lofty enclosure-wall of stone (*ēḷṭarada kalla pāgalu*), an extensive verandah (*bittarada kaisāle*), a seven-storeyed tower (*ēḷneleya gōpura*), *maṇṭapas*, *navaranga*, abodes for minor gods (*parivāra-dēvatālayaṅgaḷum*) and a *garbha-gr̥ha* (*gabbavane*), besides a sacrificial pavilion (*yāga-śāle*) and a spring festival pond (*Vasanta-kōḷa*). In the temple thus furnished, Kaṇṭhīrava, it is added,⁴² set up the image of Nṛsimha with Nāchyārs and the processional image of the God, together with minor deities and Āḷvārs, according to the *Pāncharātra* and other *āgamas*. He richly endowed this shrine with ornaments of precious stones—including a jewelled crown

36. *K. N. V.*, VII, 68.

37. *Ibid.*, IV, 96.

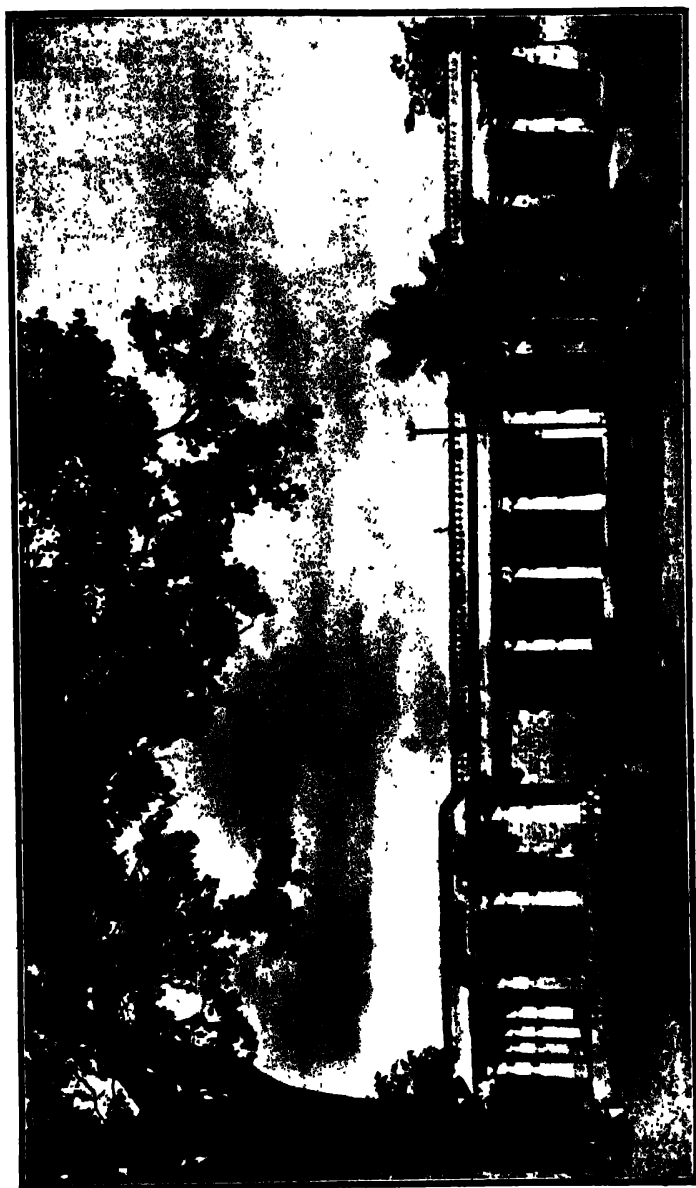
38. *Annals*, I, 98.

39. *K. N. V.*, VII, 73-111. For details, *vide* section on *Social life—Cities and towns*.

40. *Ibid.*, VI, 58, 62; XX, 45-47; XXI, 118, etc.

41. *O. Vam.*, 37; *C. Vl.*, II, 141-142; *Annals*, I, 89-90; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; see also under *Social life*, l.c.

42. *Annals*, I, 90; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c.; also *C. Vam.* and *C. Vl.*, l.c.; *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 58, para 130 [*E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), ll. 14-15].



Sri-Nata-sambasvami Temple, Singaperakudi

temple of Gangādhārēśvara in Seringapatam and the setting up of the Panchalinga in that temple; the execution of repairs to the temple of Venkaṭaramaṇa at Karighaṭṭa and the erection of steps to that hill; the renovation of the *Gautama-ratha* at the temple of Śrīkaṇṭhēśvara at Nanjangūḍ; the laying out a garden (named *Śringāra-tōṭa*), near the waste weir of the old tank in Mysore, on the spot where his grandfather, Bōla-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, had been cremated; the construction of a large pond (named *Śringāra-tōṭada-koḷa*) with bathing-ghāṭs, to the south of the Trinēśvara temple; the addition of a verandah to the latter temple, with the images of Chāmuṇḍēśvarī, Panchalinga, Dakṣhīnāmūrti and other gods set up therein, and the erection of a spacious *kalyāṇa-maṇṭapa* (marriage pavilion) behind the temple of Lakshmīramaṇasvāmi at Mysore; the provision of gifts and endowments to Goddesses Chāmuṇḍēśvarī of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills and Jvālāmukhi-Amma of Uttanaḥaḷḷi, and to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples at Nanjangūḍ, Tirupati, Mēlkōṭe and other sacred places, according to the status of each of these temples; the construction of a tank at Arikuṭhāra in the name of his father-in-law, Doḍḍē Urs, and the laying out of a new water-course—extant as *Bangāradoḍḍi-kālve*—near Seringapatam, and naming it after Doḍḍājamma, a favourite consort of his (*gāndharva-patni*).

This last-mentioned act was, we are told,⁴⁵ the outcome of a scheme to provide traffic facilities to the public over the Cauvery when it is in floods and, ordinarily, for the supply of water to the inhabitants of the capital city. The Cauvery, flowing to the south-west and the north-west of the fort of Seringapatam, was, it is said,⁴⁶ bridged at convenient points; then the river was dammed near Chandra-vana, to the south of Gautama-kṣhētra (where it

A scheme of public utility, c. 1645-1648.

45. *Annals*, I. 91.

46. *Ibid.*

divides itself into two branches), and the water thus stored in was led to the capital city by means of the canal running from the bridge in the south-west. Kanthirava is further said to have laid down that the crops raised under the new scheme were to be set apart for services in the temple of God Ranganātha of Seringapatam.⁴⁷ In keeping with this account of the scheme is the contemporary reference⁴⁸ to the bridge adjoining both branches of the Cauvery and the new canal surrounding the city of Seringapatam, from which it seems obvious that these monuments of Kanthirava's rule were conspicuous in Seringapatam already between c. 1645-1648.

Among the extant records of the reign of Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, the *Gajjiganahalli* copper-plate grant, dated April 7, 1639,⁴⁹ registers the gift by him of the village of Gajjiganahalli—under the name of *Narasarāṭṭ-pura* (divided into 24 shares)—to Vēdic Brāhmanas, for the eternal benefit of his father (Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar) and as an offering to God Nṛsiṃha. A lithic record, dated December 7, 1640,⁵⁰ refers to the grant by Kanthirava, as rent-free, of the village of Puṭṭanapura in the Hangaḷa-sthaḷa of the Terakanāmbi-sīme, for the offerings to God Hanumanta (newly set up, with a maṇṭapa in the central street of Terakanāmbi, by one Kempa-Narasimha Seṭṭi) and for the maintenance of a feeding-house for the daily distribution of food to Brāhmanas (*nitya-kattāḷeya* . . . *Brāhmaṇa-satra*). Another, dated March 15, 1642,⁵¹ speaks of the setting

47. *Ibid.*

48. K. N. V. (1648), V, 60-61 *Ubhaya-kavēriya biguloppuṭṭiḥa divya sētu* . . . *āra baḷasi nere pariva kālūve*; also VII, 49 *nūtana-gāḷve*.

49. E. C., III (1) Nj. 198. s. 1561, *Pramāthi, Chastra*, s. 15. This record is impressed with the Boar seal (*Varāhu-mudre*). *Vide*, on this point, f.n. 56 *infra*.

50. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Gu. 10: s. 1562, *Vikrama, Pushya* s. 5, Monday. This record also bears the emblem of sovereignty of the world (*Vāmana-mudre*, see l. 11).

51. E. C., V (1) and (2) Cu. 163. *Vishu, Phalguṇa* s. 10, Tuesday. Cf. H. I. S. I., p. 278.

up of God Basavēśvara and the erection of a maṇṭapa at Channarāyapaṭṇa by Channa Woḍeyar, son of Doḍḍaiya, Prabhu of Kāṅkanhalli, a feudatory of Kaṇṭhīrava. A third, dated March 10, 1643,⁵² records the grant by Kaṇṭhīrava, as an *agrahāra* (of 50 shares) to Purōhit Lingā-Bhaṭṭa and other Brāhmins, of the village of Mārachahalli—otherwise called *Narasarāja-pura*—with its eight hamlets, wet and dry lands, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated April 26, 1645,⁵³ registers the gift by Kaṇṭhīrava of lands in six tributary villages (*kaigāṇikeya grāmagalu*), on the occasion of the striking of the *Kaṇṭhīrāya-haṇams*. A lithic record, dated April 27, 1647,⁵⁴ mentions the formation by Kaṇṭhīrava of the *agrahāra* of Mattigōḍu (south-east of Rāmanāthapura) — named after himself—and the grant of the same to selected Brāhmins, divided into 13 shares, as an offering to God Narasimha (*Śrī-Narasimhāya namaḥ*). A copper-plate inscription from Tondanūr, of the same date,⁵⁵ refers to the grant by Kaṇṭhīrava of the village of Sukadore to the north of Mēlkōṭe (Yādavādri), together with its seven hamlets, to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins, as an *agrahāra* under the name of *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa-Nṛpāmbōdhi*. This record, it is interesting, bears the king's signature as *Śrī-Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāju* and is impressed with the Boar seal (*Varāhamudra*).⁵⁶ A lithic record, dated September 23,

52. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 5. s. 1564, *Chitrabhānu*, *Phalguna* ba 30, Friday

53. No. 18-15 20, pp. 36-37: s. 1567, *Parthiva*, *Vaiśākha* śu 11

54. E. C., V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. *Sarvajit*, *Vaiśākha* śu 3. This record, again, is impressed with the Boar seal [see p. 770 (Text) in V (2)]

*Rājēśa Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa-nṛpa-śāsanaṁ kārayatvā
Samaya-vārāha-mudrām tadupariccha param sthāpayitvā likhitvā*
See also f.n. 56 *infra*.

55. E. C., III (1) Sr. 103: *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, II 154-155.

. . . *Rājēśa Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa-nṛpa-śāsanaṁ kārayatvā
Samaya-vārāha-mudrām tadupariccha param sthāpayitvā likhitvā ||*

This record points, significantly enough, to Kaṇṭhīrava's local position when he was at the height of his power—particularly after the siege of

1647,⁵⁷ refers to the construction of a pond and a stone *maṭh* in Channarāyapaṭṇa by Kempanna-Gauḍa of Kasulagere, an agent of Doddaiya of Kāṅkāṇhalli, feudatory of Kaṇṭhīrava. Between c. September 1647 and April 1648, we have lithic records⁵⁸ referring, among other things, to the construction of a temple (of three *unkaṇams*) to Gadde-Rāmēśvara, a pond, a well and an evening *maṭh* (*sandhyā-maṭha*), at Channarāyapaṭṇa, by Doddaiya himself. Another record, a lithic one, dated December 8, 1647,⁵⁹ speaks of the grant by Kaṇṭhīrava of the village of Balakuli to Brāhmins of various gōtras and sūtras. A *nirūpa* of Kaṇṭhīrava, dated March 14, 1649 and addressed to Channaiya of the *Paṭṭana-hōbli-vichāra*,⁶⁰ refers to the setting up of a stone slab (*śilāpratiṣṭhebagye*) in Tirumalasāgara, and communicates an order to the effect that the boundaries of villages under *Tirumalasāgara-agrahāra* should be fixed up and that the supply of water thereto from the tank of Tonnūr (Tonḍanūr) should, as usual, be conducted in perfect security. The *nirūpa*, it was further ordered, was to be got copied in the *kaḍita* of the *Chāvaḍi-karaṇika* and returned. A lithic record, dated October 21, 1650,⁶¹ refers to the erection of a *navaranga-paṭṭasāle* and an enclosure-wall—for God Venugōpāla set up in Āne-Bāgūr—and the promotion of a work of merit by Koṭṭūraiya, Kaṇṭhīrava's agent at Sāhgrāma. This

Priyāpaṭṇa. In the present state of our epigraphical knowledge, the use of the Boar seal, in the public documents of the Rulers of Mysore, seems to have actually begun under Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, although his predecessor, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, had already claimed the title of *Dharanī-Varaha* (vide Ch. VI). See also fn 49 and 54 *supra*.

57. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 159: s. 1669, *Sarvajit, Āsvija śu.* 5.

58. *Ibid.*, Cn. 158, 160 and 165: *Sarvajit-Sarvadhāra, Varsākha śu.*

59. *E. C.*, IX Cp. 23 *Sarvajit, Mārgaśira ba.* 7.

60. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-55 (Extract No. 2). *Vīrōdhi, Chaitra śu.* 11. The actual expressions used are *Tirumalasāgarada agrahārakke salluvu grāmagalige yellegaiṭṭa nillai koḍuvuḍu; Tirumalasāgarada grāmagalige Tonṇūra kereyinda prāku mērege niraṇṇu koḍu, surakṣitadallai nūṭṭi-konḍu barōḍu*. This record points sufficiently to Kaṇṭhīrava's solicitude for the welfare of rural folk.

61. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 185: *Vikrānta, Kārtika śu.* 7.

document further records that the erection of the temple was begun by Lingaiya of Yeḷandūr (Yaḷavandūr), that the *navaranga*, enclosure-wall, *paṭṭasāle* and other items of work were actually carried out by Nanjaiya, son of Koṭṭūraiya, and that, in the entire undertaking, he was assisted by the local śānabhogs (*Sēnabhōga*), Nariyapaiya and Chikkarasaiya, as well as by the Palace śānabhogs, Mailāraiya and Gōvindaiya, while the temple itself was finished by one Basavaiya. A much worn out lithic record, in front of the Ānjanēya temple at Mādāpura, belonging to c. 1650,⁶² mentions the grant by Kaṇṭhīrava of thirteen villages for services to God Narasimha. Another, of about the same time,⁶³ is a stone charter of Kaṇṭhīrava granting in perpetuity the village of Honganūr—with the adjoining villages—in the Hadināḍ-sime, to provide for the continuance of his works of merit in Benares (Kāśī) through his Purōhit, Lingā-Bhaṭṭa, the items of works, enumerated in the record, being as follows : charities, anointment of Viśvēśvara and other Gods, illuminations with *Sahasra-nāma* (reciting of one thousand names of the deity), offerings and rites at all the *Parvas*, bathing-gifts during the three months of *Māgha*, *Vaiśākha* and *Kārtika* (January-February, April-May and October-November), feeding 100 Brāhmanas daily, annual allowance to God Kāśīnātha and bathing in *Māgha* at Prayāga. Another lithic record, dated February 10, 1651,⁶⁴ registers the setting up of God Sōmēśvara at Anati village, during the régime of Doḍḍaiya, feudatory of Kaṇṭhīrava, in Channarāyapaṭṇa. Another, dated May, 24, 1651,⁶⁵ refers to the setting up of Nāga-bhaktaiya and the building of a maṇṭapa at the temple of Īśvara, in the Dīṇḍagūru village, by Doḍḍaiya himself. We have also

62. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 63, para 107.

63. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 42; see also text of l.n. 43 *supra* and *M. A. R.*, 1931, No 53, p. 155, referring to 'Kāśī-āharmada grāma.'

64. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 202 s. 1672, *Vikrīti*, *Māgha* *ba* 14, Monday. Cf. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 275.

65. *Ibid.*, Cn. 171 : s. 1573, *Khara*, *Jyēṣṭha* *su.* 15, Saturday.



Statue of Kanthūnava-Narasarāja Vodevar I in the
Narasimhasvāmī Temple, Seringapatam.

a lithic record, dated March 19, 1655,⁶⁶ in which Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya (Linge-Gauḍa?) is said to have made a grant of lands belonging to Narasipura, attached to the Saragūr-sthala, for the decorations, festivals, offerings and illuminations of God Narasimha. Another, a damaged one, dated 1655,⁶⁷ seems to refer to a service of Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya (Hampaiya) in the Ārdra-Kapālēśvara temple at Ērūḍe. A third one, dated March 1657,⁶⁸ speaks of Kaṇṭhīrava as having caused to be made the image of God Arkēśvara for the Antarahallī *agrahāra*.

An authentic statue of Kaṇṭhīrava, a *Bhakta-vigraha*—with his name in Kannaḍa (*Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Waḍayaravarū*) inscribed on the pedestal—is to be seen in a room to the left of the *Ranga-maṇṭapa* of the temple of Narasimhasvāmi at Seringapatam.⁶⁹ It is a magnificent figure of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, about three and a half feet high, standing on a high pedestal with folded hands. Kaṇṭhīrava is represented as wearing a long robe, girt with a sword, shield and dagger on the left side, and with large ear-rings and *Vīra-peṇḍeya* (hero's insignia) on the right foot. Altogether a beautifully carved statue, presenting in life-like fashion the majestic bearing of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar as a warrior-devotee. A similar statue of his is to be seen in a pavilion of the temple of Trinayanēśvara in the Mysore fort.

During the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar—especially in the earlier part of it—the capital city of Seringapatam was an important centre of social life. It was a beautiful and flourishing city, with its well-furnished and well-guarded fort (*kōṭe*) adorned

Social life: c. 1638-1648. Cities and towns.

1. Seringapatam

66. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 49: s. 1676, *Jaya, Phālguna* bn 7, Monday; see also f.n. 98 in Ch. VIII.

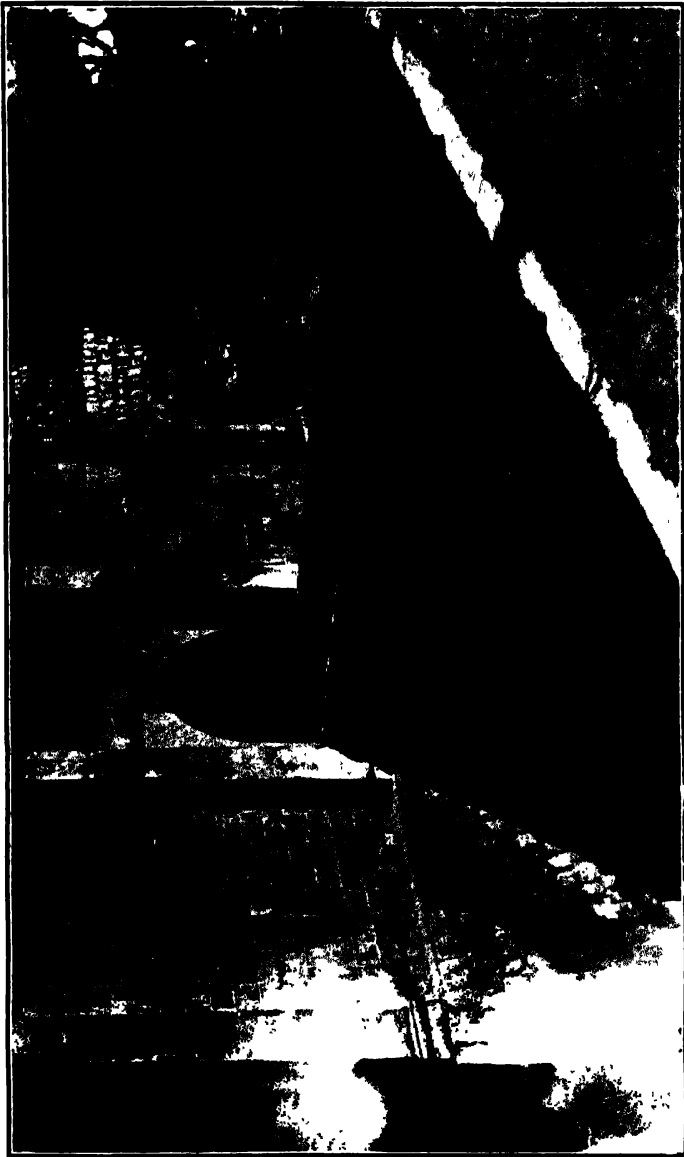
67. *M. E. R.*, 1910-1911, No. 170 (*I. M. P.*, I. 536, Cb. 150): *Manmatha*; see also f.n. 199 in Ditto.

68. *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 99 *Hēvaḷamba, Chaitra* śu.

69. *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 125; also p. 2, para 8 (*E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 176).

with lofty ramparts (*ālṽēri*), bastions (*kottaḷa*), spikes (*tene*), flag-staffs (*ḍenkaṇi*), trenches (*agaḷu*) and guard-rooms at the entrances (*bāgila sejje*); with its broad main streets (*viśāla vidhigaḷu*), named after the Sun and the Moon (*Ravi-Śaṣi vidhi*), lined with the storeyed mansions (*harmya, upparige*) of princes, nobles and chiefs; with its minor streets (*kēri*), wherein resided poets, scholars, ministers, courtiers, people following different trades and professions (including the courtezans), merchants and the military, among others; and with its principal gates (namely, the Eastern Gate, the Mysore Gate and the Bijāpur Gate) lined with horse-stables (*aśvagaḷa lāya*) and elephant-stables (*gaḷada śālegaḷu*), containing horses and elephants captured in war (with Bijāpur and Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura, etc.) and sent in as tribute by the Changāḷvas and by the chiefs of Koḍagu (Coorg), Konkaṇa, Kongu, Maleyāḷa and other places.⁷⁰ Conspicuous in

70. K. N. V. (1648), VI, 3-74, 91, 93, 198; VII, 1-9 Compare the general topography of Seringapatam, described here, with the topography of Vijayanagar as given by Domingo Paes (1520) (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 284-289). The two accounts are not identical but the similarity in respect of outlines of planning is rather striking from the point of view of influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore. See also fn 71 *infra*. Among the various classes of people depicted in the K. N. V. as residing in Seringapatam during the reign of Kaṇṭhirava were: the nobility (*dore manneyaru*), poets and scholars (*kavigaḷu, vidvānsaru*), connoisseurs of arts (*kala-kōvidaru*), ministers (*mantri-gaḷu*), accountants (*karanskaru*), physicians (*vaidyaru*), songsters (*gāyakaḷu*), actors, buffoons and confidants (*nata-nāyaka, parihasaka, nūḍigaḷu*), Brāhmins, Vokkaligas, Śivabhaktas, Vira-Vaishnavas, courtezans (*śālegēri, śāle-vāṭike, vēśya-vāṭa*), dancers (*naṭuviga*), perfumers (*gandiga*), metal workers (*bōḡaru*), oil-mongers (*tilagātaka*), copper-smiths (*tāmra-maṭṭakaru*), painters (*chitriga*), weavers (*śṛīgaru*), barbers (*nāyinda*), tailors (*chippiga*), cobblers (*mucchiga*), athletes (*malla*), conjurers (*jalagāraru*), merchants (*haradara gṛhagaḷu*), torch-bearers (*divaṭigaru*), cattle-keepers (*kottageyaru*), mahouts (*gaḷarō-hakaru*), royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*), foot-soldiers skilled in handling weapons (*battisadyudhagaḷa subhataru*), heads of the military (*vaṇṭēri-gāru nāyakaḷu*) and menials (*ūṭigadavaru*) (VI, 85-74, 91, 93, 198; VII, 1-9, etc.). For details of arms, ammunition, etc., stored in the Seringapatam fort, see Appendix IX. The K. N. V. is mainly drawn upon throughout this section, making due allowance for the prevailing erotic sentiment (*Śringāra*) and the literary devices employed by the contemporary poet, Gōvinda-Vaidya. For a detailed account and estimate of the work, see under *Literary activity*.



The Me-sot Gate of the Setungapatau Tent - A side view

the city was the king's Palace (*aramane*), with its superbly sculptured masonry walls (*bhitti*), exquisitely carved storeys (*nelevāḍa*, *upparige*) and the most artistically decorated pavilions and apartments, namely, *Hiriya-hajāra* (principal or Durbār Hall), *Lakshmī-vilāsa*, *Saundarya-vilāsa*, *Madana-vilāsa*, *Durgā-maṇṭapa*, *Śārādā-maṇṭapa*, *Bhuvanēśvari*, *Indirā-mandira*, *Baṅgāra-chauki*, *Vijaya-bhavana*, *Chitra-śāle* (picture-gallery), *Āyudha-śāle* (armoury), *Nāṭaka-śāle* (theatre), *Majjana-śāle* (bath-room), *Nāma-tīrtha-bhavana* (*Nāma-tīrtha* pavilion), *Bhōjana-śāle* (dining-hall), *Bo k k a s a* . . . *bhaṇḍāra* (treasury vaults), etc.⁷¹ Conspicuous also in the city were the temples of Lakshmī-Narasimha (newly constructed, with *prākāra*, pillars, capitals, richly ornamented canopy, tower with pinnacle, *brindāvanam*, *dīpa-mālā* pillar, *maṇṭapas*, *rāhanams*, *gurbha-grha*, etc.) and Ranganātha (with the *prākāra*, *dīpa-mālā* pillar, *maṇṭapas*, tapestried canopy, sculptured figures of elephants at the gates, *dvārapālakas*, the images of Varadarāju, Mannār-Narasimha, Vēṇugōpāla, shrines of Ranganātha and the goddesses, images of Eimberumannār

71. *Ibid.*, VII, 21-58; XXII, 56-60 The Palace at Seringapatam, above referred to, no longer exists. The extensive site where it was located (i.e., to the right of the temple of Ranganātha) is now marked by a commemorative *maṇṭap*—pointing to the birthplace of H. H. Śrī Krishnarāja Wodeyar III—put up by H. H. Śrī Krishnarāja Wodeyar IV on July 1, 1916 (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II iv. 8144). It is, however, interesting to note that the present Palace at Mysore corresponds, in respect of principal chambers and apartments, with the old Palace at Seringapatam. This is, perhaps, an indication of how the Vijayanagar idea has persisted through centuries. Seringapatam having been, for long, the seat of the southern (or Karnāṭaka) viceroyalty, there seems little doubt that the Palace there was closely modelled after the Vijayanagar one and improvements effected thereto from time to time by the rulers of Mysore. For a connected account of the influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore, *vide* Appendix IX.

Compare the description of the interior of the Palace at Vijayanagar as given by Paes (Sewell, *Ibid.*, l.c.). Although Paes, being a foreign observer, could not be expected to mention the exact names of all the apartments in that Palace, yet the description left by him would seem to correspond, in respect of the principal items, with the account of the Palace at Seringapatam. The similarity is thus significant.

and the Ālvārs, etc).⁷³ Among other temples in different parts of the city were those of Tiruvenkaṭeśvara (in the *Agarada-kēri*, i.e., *agrahāra*), Tirumalēśvara and Bēṭe-Rāya (in the *Akkiya-kēri*, i.e., street where rice was bought and sold), Gangādharaśvara, Virēśa, Moraḍiya-Tirumala-Rāya, Narasimha-Mūrti and Bāgila-Venkaṭeśvara (situated in the *Hora-kēri*, i.e., outskirts of the city).⁷³ Among the *maṭhs* in the city were *Doḍḍa-Hampaiyana-maṭha*, *Mūleya-maṭha*, *Viraktara-maṭha* and *Dāsōhada-maṭha*.⁷⁴

Another flourishing city during the reign was Mysore, with its well-equipped and equally well-guarded fort adorned with the newly constructed spirals (*nūtana tene*), ramparts, bastions, flag-staffs and the moat; with its main streets and minor streets—lined with storeyed mansions and houses inhabited by princes, courtiers, poets, scholars and professional people (including courtezans); with its elephant and horse stables and the armoury (*jīna-śāle*); with its Palace, containing the Durbār Hall (*ōlaga-śāle*, *hiriya-hajāra*, *h a j ā r a d a - t o ṭ ṭ i*), council-chamber (*mantana-grha*), picture-gallery (*chitrada-chāvaḍi*), theatre (*nāṭaka-śāle*), dining-hall (*bhōjana-śāle*), bed-chamber (*sejjeya sadana*), *chandra-śāle*, *nāmatīrtha* pavilion (*nāmatīrtha-chauki*), front verandah (*moga-sāleya totṭi*) and abode of worship (*aramaneya dēgula*); and with its temples of Trinayana (Triṇēśvara), Lakshmī-kānta, Bāgila-Hanuma and Bhōgi-Bhūshaṇa and Kāla-Bhairava (on the tank-bund. *taṭākadēriyali*).⁷⁵

72. *Ibid.*, VII, 73-111.

73. *Ibid.*, 112-113.

74. *Ibid.*, 114.

75. *Ibid.*, II, 25-82, 107, 109-111; see also *C. Vam.*, 45-46; *Annals*, I, 79-80. The planning of the town of Mysore and of the Palace there seems to have been distinctly after the Vijayanagar models at Seringapatam (see f.n. 70 and 71 *supra*). Among the various classes of people depicted in the *K. N. V.* as residing in Mysore during the reign of Kaṇṭhīraṇṇa were: members of the Royal Family (*Rājaputraru*), poets, scholars and disputants (*karavikaru*, *Vēda-śāstra-sampannaru*, *tārikaru*), musicians, including lutiets (*gāyakaru*, *nāḍavidaru*, *vainikaru*), dancers (*naṭuviga*), libertines, jesters and confidants (*vāṭa vidūṣaka nūgarika piṭṭhamardana*), courtezans (*sālegēri*, *vēṭyā-vāṭa*),

Among the towns, Mēlkōṭe was, as already referred to, a prominent centre of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, with its main gate (*perbāgilu*), principal street (*Śrī-vidhi*), *Śrī-gōpura-dvāra*, pond (*kalyāṇi*), temple of Tirunārāyaṇasvāmi (with the images of the God and the Goddess and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava saints, the *Ranga-maṇṭapa*, etc.) and the Palace (*aramane*), with the inner pavilion (*oḷa-chauki*) and the *nāmatīrtha* pavilion (*nāmatīrthada chauki*).⁷⁶

The general conditions of living during the period, particularly in the cities of Seringapatam and Mysore, are perhaps best reflected in the references⁷⁷ to the storeyed mansions (*harmya*, *upparige*, *karumāḍa*) of the richer classes; houses—with flat roofs (*māḷige*) and plastered pavements (*kuṭṭima*)—of the middle classes; and the ordinary dwellings (*mane*) of the humbler folk. The market-place (*angaḍi-kēri*)⁷⁸ in these cities was an index of the growing wealth of the times, which is further evidenced by the marked taste for luxuries that was being exhibited by the people of the higher strata of society—particularly in their use of silken and lace fabrics (*paṭṭe*, *paithaṇi*, *dukūla*, *chīnāmbara*, *pītāmbara*, *jaratāri*)⁷⁹ and ornaments of various descriptions as, for instance, ear, finger and nose rings (*chaukuli*, *ōle*, *ungura mūguti*), bangles, wristlets, bracelets and anklets (*baḷe*, *kaḍaga*, *kankaṇa*, *nēvura* or *nūpura*) and strings, necklaces, medallions and tassels (*sara*, *hāra*, *padaka*,

athletes (*mallaru*) and people of different castes and creeds (*nāna-varṇa janaru*) (II, 69-74, 82, 107). For details of arms, ammunition, etc., stored in the Mysore fort, vide Appendix IX. The *Annals* (I. 79) refers to *jīna-tāle* for *jāna-tāle*, a colloquial form. See also f.n. 70 *supra*.

76. *C. Vam.*, 117, 121, 125-135, 138, 147, 149, 152, 156, etc.; see also f.n. 85 *infra*.

77. *K. N. V.*, II, 69-70, 74-75, 86-89; VI, 36-40, 43-46, 51, 54-62, etc.

78. *Ibid.*, II, 82; VI, 63-74.

79. *Ibid.*, VI, 55, 70; VIII, 82; IX, 71; X, 21; XXI, 112; XXII, 19, 58, 72; XXIII, 80-86; XXIV, 44, XXV, 59, 73, 83, 100-101, 184, etc.

kaṇṭha-māle, kuchchu).⁸⁰ Sacred and secular lore alike flourished in their pristine purity and vigour. We have reference to Brāhmanical scholars, "experts in six *Śāstras*, four *Vēdas* and the *Purāṇas*," in Seringapatam and Mysore⁸¹; to Śrī-Vaishṇava Brāhmins, teaching, expounding and studying the *Vēdas*, the *Drāviḍa-Prabandha*, poetry (*kāvya*), logic (*tarka*), *Dharma-śāstras*, grammar (*śabda*), *Mīmāṃsa*, *Vēdānta* and the *Pāñcharātrāgama*, in Mēlkōṭe,⁸² and to oblations to fire (*agnihōtradāyāhuti*, *hōmadhūma*) in these places.⁸³ Gōvinda-Vaidya, author of the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*, was himself, as he says,⁸⁴ a devoted student of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* (*adhyayanādi sakala mantra-śāstrava vēdyavenisi*). Aḷasingarārya (Singaraiaṅgār II of Kauśika-gōtra, also known as Nṛsimha-Sūri), a typical Śrī-Vaishṇava scholar of the time, was, as he is depicted to us,⁸⁵ a master of two systems of philosophy (*Ubhaya-Vēdānta*), of the texts of *Śrī-Bhāṣhya* and *Śrūta-Prakāśike*, grammar and rhetoric (*Paḍa . . . Vākya*), *Smṛiti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇas* (including the *Gīta*), *Vēda* and *Vēdānta* (including the *Upanishads*) and the thirty-two *Brahma-Vidyas*. He is further depicted⁸⁶ as wearing a head-dress of red-coloured silken cloth (*muḍiyol dharisida raktapaṭṭōṣṇīṣamum*) with projecting and fluttering black and yellow borders (*kāla-karbaṭṭeya seranguḷalum*), having on his forehead the characteristic Śrī-Vaishṇava marks (*ūrdhva-puṇḍra* and *śrī-chūrṇa-tilaka*), with ear-rings (*chaukuḷi*), the sacred thread (*yajñōpavīta*), strings of pearls (*muttinekkasara*) and of *tuḷasi* and *tāvare* rosaries

80. *Ibid.*, II, 91-95, 98-99; VI, 66-68, 102-104; IX, 71-76; X, 20-21; XXI, 14-17; XXIII, 81; XXIV, 18-76; XXV, 73-86, 90-91, 101, etc.

81. *Ibid.*, VI, 41; II, 72. 82. *C. Vam.*, 115, 152-153; see also f.n. 85 *infra*.

83. *K. N. V.*, VI, 50; *C. Vam.*, 153. 84. *Ibid.*, I, 11.

85. *C. Vam.*, 45-48. References from this work are, chronologically, applicable to the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, of whom both Aḷasingarārya and his friend, Doḍḍadēvarāja, were contemporaries, *vide* Appendix V—(2); see also under *Domestic life*.

86. *Ibid.*, 47.

(*tolasidāvare-maṇigāḷa sarangāḷum*), and as having covered his entire body with a pair of white-coloured garments of silk (*meyyoḷ podeduṭṭa dhavaḷa-paṭṭāṃśuka-yugāḷum*). Vēdic students at Mēlkōṭe are described as holding in their hands⁸⁷ the *palāśa* staff (*piḍida palāśa-daṇḍamum*), wearing white garments (*uṭṭa belvaṭṭe*), the thread of *maunji* grass thrice surrounding their waists (*mūrum baḷasum suttida maunjiyum*) and the sacred thread (*yajñōpavīta*), and covering their bodies with the antelope's skin (*podeḍa krishṇājīnamum*) and the *ūrdhva-puṇḍra* marks. Scholars reciting the *Prabandha* are referred to⁸⁸ as having a serene countenance (*śānti-rasam tumbi*) and wearing the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks on their bodies and red-coloured garments and strings of *tulāsi* and *tāvare* beads (*podeduṭṭa taḷirgāviyuḍegaḷum dharisida tulāsi-tāvare-maṇigāḷa-maḷsarangāḷum*). The Epics and the Purāṇas were, we find,⁸⁹ popular with the folk. Among secular subjects, poetry, music and dancing occupied a prominent place in the fashionable society of the time.⁹⁰ Women generally appear depicted as cultured and accomplished.⁹¹

In contrast with the peace and studied quiet normally prevailing at Mēlkōṭe, daily life in the capital city, and to some extent in Mysore city also, appears to have been, ordinarily, full of bustle and excitement. This was due to the fact that these places were as much of military as of civil importance. We have references⁹² to scenes of horses

87. *Ibid.*, 152.88. *Ibid.*89. *K. N. V.*, V, 5-60; VIII, 36; XVIII, 142-148; XXI, 118, 122; *C. Vam.*, 160, etc.90. *Ibid.*, II, 72-73; VI, 42, 48, 56, 176-177; VIII, 19, 33-36, 55-59; XXI, 64-68, 108-116, 118-122, etc. References to Bharatāchārya and the technique of dancing as described in his *Nāṭya-Śāstra* are significant. Dancing, as an art, appears to have attained a high standard of technical perfection during the period.91. *Ibid.*, VII, 44; VIII, 70-75, 81; XXIV, 4-5, 15, etc.; see also *f.n.* 100 *infra*.92. *Ibid.*, II, 55-56; VI, 33, 58.

and elephants passing through the streets to and from the watering-places and to royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*) riding through the city. Of perhaps greater interest are scenes⁹³ of princes and sons of the nobles (*rājaputrarū, arasu-makkaḷu*), in the public streets of the city, engaged in prancing the horses (*tējigaḷanu kuṇisuvaru*), riding the young elephants at will (*kalabhavanu bīdivarisuva*) and taking an active interest in witnessing ram-fights (*ṭagara jagala*), bull-fights (*gūli-kālagagaḷa*), c o c k - f i g h t s (*kukkuṭagaḷa kādipa*) and fights of wagtails and other birds (*sipale, gaujala*, etc.) ; of the sons of chiefs (*doregaḷa kuvararu*) returning from the gymnasium (*guraḍi*) with weapons in their hands ; of princesses passing through, seated in palankeens (*pallakkiyēri*) ; of fashionable people (*sogasugāraru*) walking along the prominent parts of the city ; and of watersheds (*aravaṭṭige*) where water was being distributed to thirsty wayfarers. Dice (*pagade*) and chess (*chadurunga*) seem to have formed the common items of amusements in the polite society of the period.⁹⁴

More impressive still was the court culture of the period : the Palace at Seringapatam, no-
Court culture :
costume and per-
sonal adornment.
less at Mysore,⁹⁵ with the richly tapestried and ornamented halls and chambers, adorned by architraves (*bōdige*), pillars (*kamba*), roofings (*lōve*), canopies (*mēlkattugaḷu*) and fissures and lattices (*bhittigaḷu, jālāndra*), was itself a scene of great attraction. Indeed it was another index of the wealth of the capital city ; the tastes of the times found adequate expression here. Among the items of dress and personal adornment of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, generally, were⁹⁶ garments overlaid with high class pearls (*kattāni-muttu-tettisiduḍige-y o ḷ a ḷ a v a ṭ ṭ u-mereda-duppaṭade*),

93. *Ibid.*, II, 76-77 ; VII, 10-20 ; II, 54 ; VI, 75-80, 197.

94. *Ibid.*, II, 76, 96-97 ; VI, 117-120, 197.

95. *Ibid.*, VII, 30-43.

96. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 51-74 ; XXII, 60.

ornamented coat (navaratna-khachitadu . . . kallī), filigreed turban (*misuniya rummālu*) set with a crest of diamonds (*divya vajrada mirupa turāyi, sirpēsh turāyi*), *ṭikā* of musk on his forehead (*nosalige katturi-tilaka*), ear-rings of pearls and sapphires (*muttina chaukuḷi, nīlada bāvulī*), necklaces, medallions (*kaṇṭha-māle, padaka*) and rings of precious stones (*nava-ratna*), wristlets and bracelets (*kaḍaga, kankaṇa, tōḷa-bhāpuri*) set with pearls, waistbands (*kaṭi-sūtra*), badges for the feet (*charaṇa-peṇḍeyagalu*), set with, it is said, precious stones from the crowns of supplicant chiefs (*śuraṇāgata-rāda doregaḷa mukuṭa-ratnagaḷa*), and ornamented sandals (*ratnada hāvuge*). On ceremonial occasions Kanthirava is depicted⁹⁷ as wearing an outer silken garment (*paṭṭeya dhōtra*), upper cloth (*bahirvāsa*) and a coloured head-dress (*rangu māṇikada kulāyi*), with the usual *ṭikā* of musk (*katturi-nāma*) on the forehead. Prominent courtiers like the Daḷavāi, ministers (*mantri-śaru*) and chiefs (*maṇḍalikas*) are mentioned⁹⁸ as wearing silken garments (*pairaṇe duppaṭa, pairaṇeya dukūla*), lace turbans (*jaratāra rummālu, muṇḍāsu*) and ear-rings, necklaces and medallions. The royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*), military officers (*nāyakaru*), prominent warriors (*subhaṭaru*), officials of the king's body-guard (*maigāvalūḷigadavaru*) and the attendants in the king's personal service (*sammukhadūḷigadavaru*) are referred to⁹⁹ as wearing close-collared long coats (*dagale*), silken waistbands or sashes (*paṭṭeya daṭṭi*), red-coloured loin cloth (*kunkuma-gāṣe*), upper garment (*uttarige*), ear-rings, bracelets, wristlets, etc. The accomplished ladies of the court (*kōvidēyaru*), including the queens (*rāṇiyaru*), appear depicted as wearing silken and lace garments (*paṭṭe, pītāmbara, chīnāmbara*) of variegated colours and

97. *Ibid.*, XXII, 59, 61.

98. *Ibid.*, XXII, 82; XXIII, 79-81, 83; XXV, 79, 83, 86, 100, 102, etc.

99. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 84-89.

patterns (*chandragāvi*, *poppuli*, *bombeya-barahada-paṭṭe*, etc.), and ornaments of various kinds.¹⁰⁰

Among the personal servants of Kanṭhīrava, as already indicated, were some of the subjugated feudatories themselves. Thus, Muddaiya of Nāgamangala was the bearer of the king's pouch (*haḍapa*); Nanjaṇṇa of Maḷavalli was a menial (*sanchi*); Rājaiya of Terakaṇāmbi was the bearer of the spittoon (*kālānji*); Guruvanna of Kannambāḍi, of the goblet (*chambu*), and Koṭṭūraiya of Kikkēri, of the ceremonial garments (*pāvaḍe*).¹⁰¹ Other officials in the personal service of Kanṭhīrava were¹⁰²: Basavaiya, bearer of his sword (*Narasarājēndranu kattiya pididiha*); Vīraṇṇa, head of the *Avasarada-hōbḷi* (*avasaradadhika Vīraṇṇa*) department (a service attending to urgent calls in the Palace); Venkaṭapati-Jeṭṭi, personal attendant of the king (*bhūpana charaṇābja-vididiha*); Dhanvōjaiya, furnisher of ornaments (*ābharāṇava tandīva*); Kṛishṇaiya, lute-player (*viṇēya*); Bhārati-Nanja, poet (*kavi*); and Sangaiya, jester (*hāsyada*). He had also servants to hold mirrors (*kannaḍiyavanu*), chowries (*kuncha*) and fans (*bisaṇige*), besides the Huzūr minister (*rāyara sammukhada mantri*).¹⁰³

The daily Durbār (*nityōtsavadōlaga*) of Kanṭhīrava, during the period, was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the spirit of the times. Ordinarily

His daily Durbār
and local titles.

100. *Ibid*, XXIV, 5, 15, 18-48, etc.; see also f.n. 79 and 80 *supra* and text thereto. The ladies of the court are frequently referred to as having been well-versed in astrology, poetry, drama, music and *śāstras* (*jyōtiṣa kāvyā nāṭaka śāstra saṅgita-riti kōvīdeyaru*; *nāṇḍa bage vidyadabale-yaru*; *sarva śāstra kōvīdeyaru*—*Ibid*, VII, 44; VIII, 81 and XXIV, 5, etc.). See the accounts of Paes and Nuniz for similar contemporary references to the culture of court ladies (their costume, personal adornment, etc.), particularly at the court of Vijayanagar (Sewell, *Ibid*, pp. 273-274, 382, etc.; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1906-1907).

101. *Ibid*, XXV, 54-55, 57-59.

102. *Ibid*, 75-77, 80, 86-87, 92.

103. *Ibid*, 78, 88.

Kaṇṭhīrava used to hold the Durbār during night, in the *Lakshmī-vilāsa* chamber of his Palace at Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled and richly ornamented throne, "served by twice-eight fair ones holding chowries in their hands," and honoured with the emblems in gold of the fish, crocodile, conch and discus. Among those who used to attend his Durbār were musicians (*gāyakaṛu*), poets (*kaviḡaḷu*), Vēdic scholars (*Vēda-vidaru*), *Bhāratis* (reciters of the *Bhārata*), disputants (*tārkikaru*), intimate ministers (*āpta-mantriḡaḷu*), accountants (*kaṛaṇkairu*), the Commander-in-Chief (*daḷapati*), royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāvutaru*), feudatories and chiefs (*manneya-maṇḍalikaru*), and ambassadors from foreign courts (*dikku-dikkina doreḡaḷa rāyabhārīḡaḷu*). Dancing (*nāṭya*) and music of the guitar (*tumbura*) and the lute (*vīṇa*); learned disputations of scholars in *Bhārata*, *Purāṇas*, dramaturgy (*nāṭaka*), politics (*nīti-śāstra*), logic (*tarka*) and grammar (*śabda*), recitation and expounding of the Epics (*Bhārata-Rāmāyaṇa-puṇyakaṭheya sāratarade . . . ōḍi*); submission of reports by the ministers, Daḷavāi, feudatories and others; and the honouring of the Durbāris with betel and clothes (*vīḷeya, uḍuḡore*)—these were among the principal items of the programme of the Durbār, at the end of which Kaṇṭhīrava used to retire to his apartment in the Palace.¹⁰⁴ Among the local titles by which Kaṇṭhīrava

104. E. C., V (1) and (2) Ag 64. See text on p. 767 of V (2)

*Śrī-Raṅḡśapurī svakīya bhavanē Lakshmī-vilāśe sadu
Nāṇā chitra vichitrutē manūlasut smhāsandhaḡḡatuh |
Chārvaṇṭaduvuya-chāmarāṇchita-karaṣṭ kāṇṭajanaśvēśvataḡ
Sauvarṇaśr jhaḡa-śaṅkha-chakra-makaraṣṭ sat-kṛtubhiḡ pūjitaḡ ||*

K. N. V., VIII, 1-95, see also *Ibid.*, XI, 125; XV, 119; XXV, 11, etc., referring to Kaṇṭhīrava being served by chamber-maids. Cf. Paen's account referring to the king's daily routine, dancing, chamber-maids, etc., in the Palace at Vijayanagar (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 265-279; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1907). Wilks (I. 61) speaks of Kaṇṭhīrava as having been "noted as the author of a new and more respectful etiquette at his court" [*Italics ours*]—a position confirmed and supplemented by the account given above.

was addressed during the Durbārs of the period were :¹⁰⁵ *Karnāṭaka-Chakrēśvara* (Emperor of the Karnāṭaka country); *Āndhra-bala-sangha-karikula* (herd of elephants to the forces of the Āndhra chiefs), *Āryāndhra-nripa-garva-parvata-kulīśāyudha* (thunderbolt to the mountain, the proud Āndhra kings); *Tirumala-Nāyaka-chaturangabala-vallārī-lavitra* (sickle to the bunch, the four-fold army of Tirumala Nāyaka); *Parabala-mēghānila* (gale to the clouds in the form of armies of hostile kings); *Ripurāya-nikara-śarabha-bhēruṇḍa* (double-headed eagle to the assemblage of enemy kings); *Samastōrviśa-makūṭa-maṇigūṇa-ranjita-pāda-padma* (with the assemblage of precious stones from the crowns of various chiefs, shining at his feet); *Sangara-vijaya-vadhūtīśa* (lord of the goddess of victory on the field of battle); and *Kōṭe-kōlāhala* (occupier of forts amidst great uproar). These titles, literary flourishes apart, are indicative of the profound impression created by Kaṇṭhīrava's political position on his local contemporaries during c.1642-1648

By far the most characteristic expression of contemporary life is discernible in the public
 Festivals. festivals celebrated during the period.

These attracted not only the local populace but people from far and near. All classes of people appear freely participating in them. The birthday (*Tirunakshatram*) of Śrī-Rāmānujāchāryar, annually celebrated at Mēlkōṭe under the constellation of *Āridrā* in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), was, according to the¹⁰⁶ *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*, a great festival (*piriyukkevam*), attended by Śrī-Vaishṇava celebrities

105. K. N. V., I, 21-23, 26-27; XIII, 35, 39; XIV, 49, 111; XVIII, 174; XIX, 69; XXI, 125; XXV, 18, etc. Cf. inscriptions of Kaṇṭhīrava, only some of which mention his usual titles, namely, *Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa*, *Rājādhirāja-paramēśvara*, *Srī-Virapratāpa* [See E. G., III (1) Sr. 103; V (1) and (2) Cn. 160, 165; IV (2) Ch. 42; Hg. 49, for the years 1647-1655.]

106. p. 118.

from different countries (*palavum divya-dēśaṅgaḷindey-tarpa dēśika-sārtha*). Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and cousin brother of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar) from Mysore, it would appear,¹⁰⁷ also paid a visit to Mēlkōṭe on one such occasion (c. 1643-1644), accompanied by his friend and preceptor, Aḷasingarārya. At Seringapatam, the *Vasantōtsava*¹⁰⁸ (spring festival) and the *Diṇḍina-utsava*,¹⁰⁹ annually conducted for God Ranganātha during the bright half of *Chaitra*, were evidently very popular; and Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar himself is depicted¹¹⁰ to have once personally witnessed them, accompanied by his ministers, chiefs and courtiers. Next in importance and popularity were the *Gajēndra-Tirunāl*¹¹¹ (*Gajēndra-Mōksha*) and the car festival¹¹² (*rathōtsava*) of God Ranganātha at Seringapatam. We have an elaborate account¹¹³ of these as conducted about February 1647, when¹¹⁴ Lingarājaiya (Lingarājēndra) was the Daḷavāi of Kaṇṭhīrava in succession to Nanjarājaiya and when Lange-Gauḍa was the Mayor of the capital city. The *Gajēndra-Tirunāl* formed part of the programme of the car festival of Ranganātha and was preceded by the initiatory ceremony (*ankurārpaṇa*) and the flag-hoisting ceremony (*dhvaja-paṭārōhana*) and by such processions of the God as the *Pushpakōtsava*, *Śēshōtsava* and *Garuḍōtsava*.¹¹⁵ It was conducted on the sixth day at the Tirunāl-maṇṭapa¹¹⁶ (in the *Śuka-tīrtha* of the *Kaṇṭhīrava-sarōvara*, newly constructed during the early years of Kaṇṭhīrava's reign)

107. See *C. Vam.*, 113, 158-160; see also under *Domestic life* and *f.n.* 167 *infra*.

108. *K. N. V.*, VII, 110; IX, 56; also see *Mys Gaz.*, II. iii. 1906 (citing S. K. Aiyangar's *Sources*, pp. 142-143, and referring to the popularity of the *Chaitra* festival in Vijayanagar)

109. *Ibid.*, IX, 59.

110. *Ibid.*, 56, 64, 67, 98-100, etc.

111. *Ibid.*, VII, 110; XXIII, 22-23, 51-52.

112. *Ibid.*, VII, 109; see also Chs. XXIII-XXV.

113. *Ibid.*, Chs. XXIII-XXV.

114. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 21-23; XXV, 44, 56.

115. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 41-50.

116. *Ibid.*, 51-53.

and was followed by the car festival of Ranganātha and the *Āṣvārōhaṇōtsava*, *Jalakrīḍōtsava*, the *Pushpakōtsava* and other items of services.¹¹⁷ The capital city of Seringapatam was tastefully decorated on the occasion, it presenting a gay and festive appearance. And there was a huge concourse of people (including, it is said, the Telugas, Tigulas, Konkarnas, Maleyālas and the Karnāṭas) assembled to witness the festivities.¹¹⁸ We have not only a spectacle¹¹⁹ of Kaṇṭhīrava himself witnessing the *Gajendra-Tirunāl-Utsavam* but also a picturesque scene¹²⁰ in which he is depicted as proceeding to take part in the car festival of Ranganātha, seated on the state horse (*divyāśva*) and accompanied by his Daḷavāi, ministers, feudatories, courtiers and others and all the insignias, and as returning to the Palace after performing his devotion to the God.

Of greater popularity and significance in the social and public life of the capital city was the *Mahānavami* (*Navarātri*)¹²¹ festival. It used to be celebrated with considerable grandeur by Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar in the

117. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 64-74, XXV, 106-138, etc.

118. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 24-43, 75-77 119. *Ibid.*, 55, 58

120. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 49-87; XXIII, 78-107; XXV, 1-113.

121. The *Mahānavami* (or *Navarātri*), according to the *Kāṭhka-Purāṇa*, is a festival celebrated during the first nine days of the bright half of *Āṣvīja* (September-October) of every year in honour of the manifestations of Durgā or Chāṇḍikā (*Chāṇḍikā-Navarātri*), the consort of Śiva. Its actual conclusion with the functions of the tenth day (*Vijayadashami*), however, endows it with the character of a ten days' festival, whence it is now familiarly known as *Dasara* (from *Dasarā* in Mhr.). For an account of *Dasara* in its traditional and Paurāṇic aspects, see late Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao's article on the subject (in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 301-311). In respect of the main items of the programme, *Dasara*, as observed nowadays in Mysore, differs but little from the festival as conducted in Seringapatam during historical times. The similarity is striking to a degree. Compare also the *Mahānavami* festival in Vijayanagar as described by Paes (Sewell, *Ibid.*, pp. 265-279). The similarity becomes more striking still—another indication of the influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore. An important point in regard to *Dasara* as celebrated in Seringapatam is that, as we shall see, we have an accurate and exhaustive account of it by a local contemporary who adds considerably to our knowledge of the subject,

autumn (September-October) of every year, in keeping with the traditions set up by his predecessors and with his own local position and status. During the first eight days of the festival Kanthirava used to hold the public Durbār (*oḍḍōlaga*) in his Palace. On the ninth day, he would worship the weapons (in the armoury) and horses and elephants, and on the tenth, he would proceed in state to perform the *Samī-pūjā* outside the capital city. The *Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* of (Govinda-Vaidya contains¹²² an elaborate contemporary picture of the entire course of the Mahānavami festival as conducted by Kanṭhīrava in September 1647¹²³ when he had reached the summit of his power. The following is an account of it as gleaned from the poem.

At the approach of autumn, Kanṭhīrava, in consultation with the astrologers, fixed up the programme of the *Mahānavami*. Dalavāi Lingarājaiya was desired to look after the necessary preliminaries. Linge-Gauḍa, the Mayor of the capital city, under instructions from the Dalavāi, attended to the beautification of Seringapatam and the Palace, including the Durbār Hall (*Ōlaga-śāle*, *Āsthāna-manṭapa*), *Chandra-śāle*, armoury (*Āyudha-śāle*), stores

for which we had, hitherto, to rely solely on the account of Paes applicable only to Vijayanagar. Wilks (I 61) refers to Kanṭhīrava as noted for his "*having first celebrated with suitable splendour the feast of the Mahanoumi or Dessara*" (Italics ours). Although, as indicated in an earlier chapter, Rāja Wodeyar is reputed to have inaugurated the festival in Mysore, Wilks's position, so far as Kanṭhīrava is concerned, is more than confirmed and supplemented by the authentic account given here. Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 290.

122. Chs. XX-XXII.

123. Since the writing of the *K. N. V.* was completed on May 22, 1648 (see section on *Literary activity*) and since Lingarājaiya of Hura (Lingarājendra) is stated to have been the Dalavāi of Kanṭhīrava (XX, 51, 53), and Linge-Gauḍa is mentioned as the Mayor of Seringapatam (XX, 50), at the time of the *Mahānavami* festival described in the work, we cannot but place the event in September 1647, Lingarājaiya himself having succeeded to the office of Dalavāi in January 1647 (*vide* section on *Ministers, Officers and Dalavāis*) *Āśvīja* *su.* 1-10 (the period of the *Mahānavami* festival) in 1647 fell between 19-29th September (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 97).

(*Ulupeya-mane, Ugrāṇa*), cisterns of curds, ghee and oil (*Dadhi-ghrita-taila-vāpi*) and wardrobe (*Uḍugoregaḷa-bokkasada-gr̥ha*). Presently the stables of horses and elephants and the streets of Seringapatam kept up a gay appearance. Camps (*bīḍāra*) were laid out for the lodging of kings and chiefs from different places (*dese-deseyinda . . . baha vasumatīśara*) and of other visitors from outside (namely, scholars, reciters, athletes, acrobats, courtezans, musicians, actors, conjurers, etc.), while kitchens and feeding-houses (*pākada-gr̥ha, bhōjana-śāle, dāsōhada-gr̥ha*) were put up (for the learned, Vīra-Vaishṇavas, Śrī-Vaishṇavas, elderly *Mahantas*, *Mathādhipatis*, Jōgis, Jangamas, the indigent and the defectives).¹²⁴ Kanṭhīrava next got addressed palm-leaf letters (*utturagaḷanu, ōleya barisida*) to the ruling chiefs and feudatories, inviting them to the festival. The chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur), Bēlū, Kuṇigal, Māgaḍi, Nanjarāyapaṭṇa, the Bēḍa chief and the Koḍagu, Maleyāḷa, Konkana and Tuḷuva chiefs went over to Seringapatam with presents (*kāṇike*), while the local feudatories of Kanṭhīrava proceeded thither with tribute and large supplies in addition (*balu vulupe kāṇike kappa sahita*). Ikkēri, Tanjore (*Tanjārūru*), Madura (*Madhure*) and Gingee (*Tenje, Tenji, Chenje*) were among the distant powers represented. Among other invitees were scholars (*sūrigaḷu, vidvāmsaru*), functionaries (*viniyōgigaḷu*), celebrities (*prasiddha-purusharu*), experts in *śāstras* (*siddhāntigaḷu*), musicians (*gāyakaru*), reciters (*pāṭhakararu*) and the elite of the city (*nāgarika . . . śringāra-purusharu*). The capital city was soon overcrowded with people from various places (*nānā-dēśada jana-jāla-vaitandu Paṭṭaṇake . . . kikkiridīha*).¹²⁵

124. K. N. V., XX, 1-51

125. *Ibid*, XX, 52-75 ; XXI, 53-54. For the names of chiefs, feudatories, etc., see under *Feudatories*.

On the first day of the bright half of *Āśvija*, the Brāhmans performed the purificatory ceremonies (*Puṇyārchane*, *hōma*) over the Durbār Hall, the horse and elephant stables and the armoury. The nine days' festival in honour of Chaṇḍikā and her sister deities [*Chaṇḍikāmbike (yara) nanarātriya pūje*] was inaugurated by the solemn propitiation of Goddess Beṭṭada-Chāmuṇḍī, the tutelary deity (*maneya-dēvate*) of the Mysore Royal Family. This was followed by the sumptuous feeding of Brāhmans and all classes of people in the city. Large crowds from the city, the townships and villages and distant places (*purajana*, *parijana*, *nānā-dēśada-jana*), men, women and children dressed and adorned according to different tastes and fashions, witnessed the daily Durbār of Kaṇṭhīrava during the first eight days of the festival.¹²⁶ Every day Kaṇṭhīrava used to hold his Durbār (*Mahānarami oḍḍōlagōtsava*) during morning and night. At an auspicious moment (*śubha-muhūrtada vēleyali*), the images of Gods Ranganātha and Lakshmī-Narasimha used to be taken in procession to the Durbār Hall and placed on the jewelled seats (*ratna-piṭha*). Then Daḷavāi Lingarājaiya, dressed in state, would proceed to welcome the king to the Durbār Hall, accompanied by the courtiers, ministers, chiefs and *karaṇikas* and with all the insignias and military honours. Meanwhile, Kaṇṭhīrava, having adorned his person, would have left his apartment, Venkaṭapati-Jeṭṭi most respectfully leading him. Seated in the palankeen (*pallakkiyanēri*), he would proceed towards the Durbār Hall under the shade of the pearl umbrella (*muttina sattigeya neḷalinali*), accompanied by instrumental music, the recitations of the panegyrists and by the emblems (like the chowries and fans, the *makara* banner, *śankha*, *chakra*, etc.)—evidently a picturesque scene

witnessed with considerable interest by the spectators. At the Durbār Hall, Kanṭhīrava would alight the palankeen, the Daḷavāi most ceremoniously leading him. Performing obeisance to Gods Ranganātha and Narasimha, he would next occupy the jewelled throne (*navaratnada gaddugeyali maṇḍisi*). In the meantime, the Palace officials (of the *Avasarada-hōbḷi* department) would be actively engaged in assigning seats in the Durbār Hall to the ministers, chiefs, scholars and others according to their respective ranks and status (*irisidaru . . . antaravaritu*). There used to be regular rows (*sālu-sālu*) of chiefs and feudatories (*manneya-maṇḍalikara*), of royal cavaliers (*rāya-rāmutara*), of courtizans (*sūḷeyaruḡaḷa*) from different places, of reciters (*pāṭhakara*), of experts in wonderful arts from various countries (*chappanna-dēśada chōḍya-vidyādhikara*), and of spectators in general (*nōṭaka-jana*)—all systematically arranged in the interior of the Durbār Hall (*tappade sālariḍantarāntara doḷa-goppavittaru*).¹²⁷

The daily Durbār, during the festival, was regulated in the following manner: The chiefs, feudatories and representatives of the powers would first pay their homage to the king, tendering their presents (consisting of elephants, horses and gold). This would be followed by the respectful obeisance of the *mahouts*, cavaliers, warriors, military officers (*Nāyakas*) and others. Then there would be thrilling boxing feats of athletes (*mallara hōrāṭa, kāḷaga*), arranged in pairs (*jōḍu-jōḍali . . . jattigalu . . . panthade nindaru*), exciting acrobatic performances of various types (*dombaruḡaḷu . . . bage-bageyāṭava tōri*), ram-fights (*ṭagara kāḷaga*), fights of rutting elephants (*madakarigala hōrāṭa*) and fights of daring men with tigers and bears let loose (*puli-karaḍigala biginēṇa paridu kāḍuva vīrara motta*).¹²⁸ At night, the splendour of the

127. *Ibid.*, 25-50, 66-69, 71.

128. *Ibid.*, 51-63, 89-96.

Durbār of Kaṇṭhīrava used to be enhanced by the illuminations (*dīpa-kāntigaḷu*, *dīvaṭigegaḷu*), and the programme would consist of the following items: dancing (*nāṭya*), including *kōlāṭam* (a play of sticks in alternate motions); display of feats by conjurers (*indrajālava tōruva mandī*); mimicry and comic (*bairūpa-dāṭagaḷa* . . . *hāsya-rasagaḷinda*); enactment of *Daśavatāras* of Viṣṇu by the Bhāgavatas (*Hariya-Daśavatārada-nāṭakava tōri mereva Bāgavatara*), vocal music and music of the lute (*gānava pāḍuva vidvāmsarugaḷu*, *vīṇeya vādīpa vidvāmsarugaḷu* . . .); display of skill in poetical composition (*lakshya-lakṣhaṇa kāvyu nāṭaka* . . . *alankāra śōbhitade balu padya kṛti bandhuru naḍisuta jāṇa kavigaḷu*) and the musical recitation of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the *Bhāratis* (*Bhārata-Rāmāyaṇa saṅgita-sāradoḷage* . . . *ōḍi vaibhavadinda* . . . *Bhāratigaḷu ranjisidaru*). There would also be a display of crackers and fireworks (*birisu bāṇagaḷu*), such as the *chakrabāṇa*, *sūtragambha*, etc., adding to the beauty of the scene. Then the Durbārīs would be duly honoured with betel and clothes (*vīḷeya uḍugoregaḷa*) according to their status (*antaravaridittu*), after which Kaṇṭhīrava would bring the day's Durbār to a close. Adoring Viṣṇu and partaking of the holy water and offerings (*Harige vandisi tīrtha prasāḍava koṇḍu*), he would finally retire to his apartment.¹⁹⁹

On the ninth day (*Mahānavami*), the *Saundarya-vilāsa* chamber of the Palace was beautified and preparations made for the worship of the weapons (which included the sword, lance, bow, cutlass, dagger, knife and the collections from the armoury) and elephants and horses (*āyudha-gajāśva-pūje*). These, after being cleaned and washed, were taken in procession to the *Āyudha-maṇṭapa*, where

199. *Ibid.*, 99-100.

Kaṇṭhīrava performed their worship. This was followed by the observance by him of the *Durgā-japam* and by the elaborate propitiation by the Brāhmins of Goddess Chaṇḍī and all her manifestations, while in the quadrangle of the *maṇṭapa* (*āyudha-maṇṭapada divyāṅgaṇaḍoḷage*) various items of services (such as music, dance, etc.) were gone through in honour of the occasion.¹³⁰

On the morning of the tenth day (*Vijayadaśami*), Kaṇṭhīrava, having finished the daily rites (*i.e.*, washing, bathing, *nāma-tīrtham*, worship of Viṣṇu, gifts, acceptance of holy water and offerings, and the benedictions of the Brāhmins), got through the second worship of *Chaṇḍikā* (*marupūjeya Chaṇḍikāmbikege māḍisi*) and broke into pieces the *kūshmāṇḍa* (pumpkin).¹³¹ This was the day of the public procession of the king to conduct the *Śamī-pūjā* which was to take place in the evening. Linge-Gauḍa (Mayor of Seringapatam) attended to the decoration of the *Śamī-maṇṭapa*, situated to the east, outside the capital city (*purada bahirbhāgada pūrva-dese-yali*). The main street of the city (*pura-vīdhi*), from the gate of the Palace as far as the *maṇṭapa* (*aramane-bāgilim jambisāri-maṇṭapa pariyanta*), a distance of nearly three miles (*yōjana pariyanta*), was befittingly beautified. The entire distance was crowded to the full by spectators from far and near (*chaudeseya-dēśada nōṭakajana*), to witness the grandeur of the king's procession (*jambī-savāri*). Then, at an auspicious moment, the shrines of Gods Ranganātha and Narasimha were taken in procession to the *Śamī-maṇṭapa*. Presently, at the striking of the drum, the army (consisting of gorgeously caparisoned elephants, horses, chariots and foot) started on its march, and Kaṇṭhīrava, having suitably adorned his person (*singaragaidu*), proceeded in state, on horse-back (*uttamāśvavanēri* . . . *naḍedanu*), amidst the

130. *Ibid.*, XXII, 1-36.131. *Ibid.*, 55-60.

resounding notes of the recitations of panegyrists and of musical instruments. He was accompanied by the Dālavāi, ministers, *karaṇikas*, courtiers, chiefs and feudatories; by all the emblems of sovereignty, including the pearl umbrella (*muttina sattige*), the *makara* banner (*makara-ṭekke*) and the fan (*ālavaṭṭa*); and by regular rows of servants (*ūḷigadavaru*) holding in their hands the pouch (*haḍapa*), chowries (*chāmara*), tasselled fan (*kuncha*), spittoon (*kālānji*) and ceremonial clothes (*pāvaḍe*).¹³² At the *Śamī-maṇṭapa*, a picturesque scene followed, in which Kanṭhīrava, having alighted his horse, was seen displaying his skill in archery (*singāḍiya tegedu ambugaḷanaḷavaḍisi*) and in riding at will the state elephant (*paṭṭada āneya śirake langhisi . . . bīdi varisi . . .*). The occasion was also marked by ram-fights (*ṭagara kādisi*) and athletic contests (*mallara kāḷaga*). These amusements were followed by the king's worship of the *Śamī* (the tree *Prosopis spicigera* Lin.) and his return to the Palace at night, seated on the state elephant (*paṭṭadāne*), amidst illuminations of countless torches (*lekkavillada . . . dīvaṭigegaḷu*) and the resounding noise of crackers and fireworks (*bāṇa birisu*). The functions of the tenth day having been completed by the performance of the waving of the lighted camphor (*ārati*) in the Palace, the Dālavāi dispersed the army and returned to his abode.¹³³

Next day the Dālavāi and the *karaṇikas*, under the orders of Kanṭhīrava, made gifts to the needy and duly honoured the chiefs and feudatories, musicians, scholars, athletes, jesters and others with presents of gold, jewels and cloths. Thus was brought to a conclusion the grand *Mahānavami* festival conducted by Kanṭhīrava when he had been established in the sovereignty (*sthira-sāmrājyadoḷu*) of the kingdom of Mysore.¹³⁴

132. *Ibid.*, 70-98.133. *Ibid.*, 99-107.134. *Ibid.*, 108-110.

That the time-honoured social ideal of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* was being rigorously enforced by the king and followed by his subjects is amply evidenced by the sources.¹³⁵ But side by side with the growth of wealth and luxury, and underlying the gaiety and splendour of city life (particularly in Mysore and Seringapatam), are pictures¹³⁶—though largely idealised and even imaginative to some extent, they cannot but have been entirely divorced from the actualities—depicting prostitution as a growing vice eating slowly into the vitals of contemporary society and indirectly hinting at the ideal of moderation as the *sine qua non* of social and cultural progress. In striking contrast with life in cities was the even tenor of corporate life in the rural parts, of which we have traces during the period.¹³⁷

Kaṇṭhīra-Vara-Narasaraṇa Wodeyar was noted for his patronage of learning. He is said to have been a source of support to scholars (*sakala-vidvajanādhāra*),¹³⁸ providing them all with a living (*samasta vibudhaśśrēṇī-samujjīvanam*).¹³⁹ He appears himself to have been a person of taste, trained to the appreciation of poetry, music and literature. The titles, *Sarasa-vidyā-viśārada*, *Saṅgīta-sāhitya-śāstra-viśārada*, ascribed to him¹⁴⁰ cannot be altogether devoid of foundation or significance.

Sanskrit and Kannaḍa literature alike flourished during the reign. While the *kāvya* style was still adhered to by writers in Sanskrit, *Haḷagannaḍa*, as a medium of literary expression in Kannaḍa, continued to

135. See *K. N. V.* I, 11; II, 74, 109; IV, 100, 107; V, 50, 56-57; VI, 41, 50-52; IX, 3; XXVI, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40; *C. Vam.*, 87-88, 152-153, 160-161; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 108; Nj. 198; IV (2) Yd. 5; V (1) and (2) Ag. 64, etc.

136. *Ibid.*, II, 89-107; VI, 77-100; also Chs. IX and X.

137. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 10; III (1) Sr. 108; Nj. 106; V (1) and (2) Ag. Cn. 160, 163, 165, etc.; see also under *Grants and other records*.

138. *K. N. V.*, XXV, 18.

139. *E. C.*, V (2) Ag. 64, p. 768 (Text).

140. *K. N. V.*, I, 26; XXV, 1c.

hold its own side by side with *Hosagannaḍa*, and the tendency of the latter towards displacing the former is also, to some extent, noticeable in the literary productions of the period. The poet Nṛhari, son of Narasimhārya, composed in Sanskrit the *Gajjiganahallī copper-plate inscription*¹⁴¹ of Kaṇṭhīrava, dated April 7, 1689. Narasimha-Sūri, son of Śrīnivāsa of Kauśika-gōtra, wrote the copper-plate grant¹⁴² from Tondanūr—also in Sanskrit—dated April 27, 1647. He seems to have also composed the Mattigōḍu lithic grant¹⁴³ of Kaṇṭhīrava, another record in Sanskrit of the same date, judging from the similarity in language of both the records. Among Kannāḍa writers, Bhāskara (Bāchirāja), son of Śrī-Varadēva and Lakshmīdēvi, was the author of *Bēhāra-Gaṇita*¹⁴⁴ (*Vyavahāra-Gaṇita*), a mathematical work. He refers to himself as a poet (*sarasam sathavivallabham*) and appears to have had the titles, *Śārade-guvara*, *Gaṇita-vilāsa*. The *Bēhāra-Gaṇita* (c.1645-1650) is written in eight chapters in a mixture of old and new Kannāḍa—poetry (of the *kanda* metre) and prose—each *sūtra* being followed by comment and examples. Among the topics dealt with are compound interest (*chakra-baddi*), square measure (*matṭada-sūtra*), chain measure (*birudina-lekka*?), index numbers or tables (*padakada sūtra*), problems in mint mathematics (*ṭenkasāleyalli kaṭṭuva ichchā varṇakke sūtra*). The work, besides, contains references to Seringapatam (*Rangapura*),

141. E. C., III (1) Nj 198, ll. 127-128.

Padyānā-manavadyānām āsanṭru virājatām |
Karta Śrī-Narasimhārya-nandanō Nṛharīḥ kavīḥ ||

142. *Ibid*, Sr, 108, ll. 163-167.

Śrīmat-Kauśika-vamśa . . . Śrīnivāsambudhēḥ |
Putraḥ Śrī-Narasimha-sūri . . . Kaṇṭhīrava-
Kṣhēmapālēna nibhōdhitāḥ kṛtīmīnām tachchāsanaśyākarōḥ ||

143. *Ibid*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. See also f.n. 54 and 56 *supra*.

144. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 875. Cf. Ms. No. 213—P. L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*: This work, entitled *Bhāskara-Gaṇita*, contains reference to Rājāditya, a mathematician, and deals with arithmetic and astrology. It differs, however, from the Ms. noticed in the *Kar. Ka. Cha.*

Chāmarāja and Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa (*Narasabhūpa*).¹⁴⁵ Timmarasa wrote the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁴⁶ (c. 1645-1650), a *Haḷagannaḍa* poetical work in the *Vārdhika-shatpadi* metre, in 30 chapters and 1,000 stanzas. The poet refers to himself as the son of Karaṇika Buḷḷa of Pāḷkurike, of the Kannāḍiga-vamśa, Bhārādvāja-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Rīg-Vēda. He refers also to Yadugiri (Mēḷkōṭe) Nārāyana and Yadugiri Narasimha. Although there are no further particulars about him in the work, he seems identical with Timmarasa, minister-in-chief of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, who is said to have been well versed in the arts (*suvidya*), including, perhaps, poetry also.¹⁴⁷ Bhārati-Nanja was, as already mentioned, a poet at the court of Kaṇṭhīrava. He is referred to¹⁴⁸ as *Śringāra-kavi*, *Bāla-kavi*, and as having been highly proficient in music also (*sangīta-duttunganenipa*). He appears to have been very influential at the court, although no works of his have so far come down to us.¹⁴⁹

By far the most important writer during the period, however, was Gōvinda-Vaidya, author of the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*¹⁵⁰ (1648). He was the son of Śrīnivāsa-Paṇḍita¹⁵¹ and appears to have been a Smārtha Brāhman of Seringapatam, well read in the *Vēdas*, *Mantra-sāstras* and literary and poetical lore.¹⁵²

145. *Ibid.*, II. 375-377.

146. Ms. No. B. 50—P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 408-409.

147. See K. N. V., XXV, 84; also f.n. 1 *supra*.

148. *Ibid.*, XXV, 87; also I, 25 and XXVI (colophon on p. 498), referring to Bhārati-Nanja who seems to have been a young man of poetical talents and musical attainments.

149. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 373), which, ambiguously enough, assigns the authorship of the K. N. V. to Bhārati-Nanja, besides indicating that Gōvinda-Vaidya also was the author of it! As we shall see, it was not Bhārati-Nanja but Gōvinda-Vaidya who actually wrote that work. *Vide* also f.n. 158 *infra*.

150. *Pub. Mys. Or. Lib. Kannaḍa Series*, No. 15, Mysore, 1926.

151. K. N. V., XXVI, p. 498 (colophon).

152. *Ibid.*, I, 11, 13.

He speaks¹⁵³ of his having written the poem at the instance of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya of Hura (1640-1647). The writing of the work seems to have been begun not earlier than 1641 and not later than 1645 and, according to the colophon¹⁵⁴ at the the end, was actually completed on May 22, 1648 (ś. 1570, *Sarvadhāri, Jyēṣṭha śu.* 11, *Chandravāra*—Monday). Gōvinda-Vaidya, it would appear, was a protégé of Bhārati-Nanja who had, it is said,¹⁵⁵ previously related the subject-matter of the work (namely, the exploits of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar) in the court of Kaṇṭhīrava. This was, perhaps, the reason why Gōvinda-Vaidya, as he himself says,¹⁵⁶ wrote the poem favoured by Bhārati-Nanja (*Bhārati-Nanja-nolidu*), and also why, when it was completed in May 1648, he had it read out by the latter in the court of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa according to the colophon.¹⁵⁷ In any case, Gōvinda-Vaidya seems to have been indebted to Bhārati-Nanja for the subject-matter of the poem, although there is no evidence in favour of the ascription of its authorship to the latter.¹⁵⁸ The *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* is, in the main, written in the *Hosagannada sāṅgatyā* metre. Lucid and intelligible, it undoubtedly is an index of the popularity of *sāṅgatyā* as a form of poetical expression in Mysore in the middle of the seventeenth century. The theme of the work is centred

153. *Ibid.*, I, 28. *Daḷavāi Nanjarājendra tannodiyana karyudētegeya chariteyāgi . . . pīṭsulanu.*

154. *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 498

155. *Ibid.*, I, 25. *Dorerāya Narasarājendrana chariteyanorela Bhārati-Nanja.*

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Ibid.*, XXVI, l.c.. *Gōvinda-Vaidyanu Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayavannu vracchasi . . . Bhārati-Nanja mukhadinda vāchisi rājasthānadalli vistarapudisidudu.*

158. Wilson (*Des. Cat. Mack. Mss.*, p. 381) ascribes the authorship of the *K. N. V.* to Nanja-Kavi (Bhārati-Nanja) and the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* also, apparently following him, assigns it to Bhārati-Nanja (see f. n. 149 *supra*). This seems due to a misunderstanding of the text and is not borne out by internal evidence. A detailed examination of the palm-leaf Ms. of this work (No. 110 of the *Mad. Or. Lib.*) shows that it closely agrees with the text of the poem as now published.

round the rise and fortunes of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, as is clearly indicated by the poet at the end of each chapter (*sandhi*). The entire ground is covered by him in twenty-six chapters. The poem begins with invocation to Paśchima-Ranga, Lakshmī-Narasimha, Lakshmīkānta, Trinayana (of Mysore), Channa-Nanjunda, Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī and Beṭṭada-Chāmundi, indicating the scope of the work by way of introduction (Chapter I). Then we have a descriptive account of the Karnāṭaka country and of the city of Mysore (Chapter II). This is followed by an account of the pedigree and family history of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar (Chapter III), and of his birth, education and training (Chapter IV). Next we have the legendary history (*Māhātmya*) of Seringapatam (Chapter V); a descriptive account of the city of Seringapatam (including the Palace, temples and other buildings therein) under Kanṭhīrava (Chapters VI and VII); a picture of the daily Durbār of Kanṭhīrava (Chapter VIII); and erotic scenes (Chapters IX and X). Then follows a detailed account of the advent of Raṇadullā Khān (of Bijāpur) to the Karnāṭaka, his siege of Seringapatam and his final repulse by Kanṭhīrava (Chapters XI-XV). The subsequent relations of Mysore with Bijāpur (Chapter XVI); Kanṭhīrava's siege and acquisition of Sāmballī and Piriyaṭaṇa (Chapters XVII and XVIII); the action against Mustafā Khān and Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya's death at Turuvēkere (Chapter XIX)—these are treated next, and are succeeded by descriptive accounts of the beautification of Seringapatam on the occasion of the *Mahānavami* festival (Chapter XX), Kanṭhīrava's daily Durbār during the festival and his procession-in-state on the tenth (*Vijayadaśami*) day of the feast (Chapters XXI and XXII), and the *Gajēndra-Tirunāl* festival and the car festival of Ranganātha at Seringapatam (Chapters XXIII-XXV). The poem concludes with a picture of Kanṭhīrava's religion

(Chapter XXVI). Throughout, Gōvinda-Vaidya writes essentially as a poet, freely employing all the literary devices (*i.e.*, ornate descriptions, imagery, epigram, simile, alliteration, etc.) to add to the beauty of the poem, and brings out prominently the greatness of its hero, namely, Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar. He delineates to a considerable extent the heroic (*vīra*) and erotic (*śringāra*) sentiments (Chapters III, IV, XI-XIX, XXVI; II, V-X, XX-XXV), and pays particular attention to minute details in describing nature (*i.e.* seasons, rivers, gardens, hills, paddy fields, etc., as in Chapters II, V and XX). From a purely literary point of view, therefore, the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam* answers to the description of an epic poem (*mahā-kāvya*), the pervading style being *Drākṣhā-pāka*.¹⁵⁹ As a local contemporary, on the other hand, Gōvinda-Vaidya prominently reflects his personality in almost every chapter of the work. In regard to political events, we find him giving expression to what he has himself either actually witnessed or gathered from those who participated in those events (Chapters III, XI-XIX). In delineating the social background, in general, he seems to have been fairly acquainted with the well-known standards of earlier writers as, for instance, Vātsyāyana.¹⁶⁰ In depicting the society and culture of his times (Chapters II, V-X, XX-XXV), in particular, he does show a thorough

159. See also *Editorial Introduction* to the work, p. v.

160. References to and descriptions of such items as the social order, trades and professions, costume and personal adornment, arts and sciences, festivals, amusements, Palace, court life and culture, courtezans and prostitution (in Chapters II, V-X, XX-XXV) correspond, in a remarkable measure, with the general background of social life depicted by Vātsyāyana (see pp. 54, 56-57, 60-63, 212-219, 228-232 and 313-320 of the *Kāma-Sūtra* of Vātsyāyana, translated by H. S. Gambers, Third edition, Amritsar, 1932). We have, again, a direct reference to *Rati-Sāstra* (VI, 197), and have also noticed the references to Bharatāchārya (*vide* f.n. 90 *supra*). All these point to the influence of ancient ideas and ideals on contemporary life and literature.

acquaintance with the realities of life, so thorough, indeed, that even when he presents, or rather attempts to present, idealised and veiled pictures (Chapters IX and X), he cannot but be understood as conveying the deeper under-currents of thought and feeling which he, as a contemporary observer, could not easily dissociate himself from. Viewed as a whole, the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*, making due allowance for poetical fancy and literary flourishes, and subject to comparison with other sources wherever necessary, holds a unique place among the literary productions of the period, as a mirror of the political and social history of the earlier part of the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar in Mysore (1638-1648).

Āyamma, daughter of Huchcha-Timmarājaiya of Domestic life
Queens. Biḷuguli, and Lakshamma, daughter of Dāsarājaiya of Kaḷale, were the principal queens of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar.¹⁶¹ Only by the former, the seniormost queen, Kaṇṭhīrava had a son (named Chāmarāja Wodeyar) who, however, it is said,¹⁶² died in his sixth year (c. 1653-1654).

Among other members of the Mysore Royal Family, Other members of the Royal Family. Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar, father of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, passed away at Gundlu, at the age of 85, in

161 The *Annals* (I. 65-66) mentions in all ten queens of Kaṇṭhīrava, the first two, referred to above, being married by him in April 1629 and the next eight (*aṇṇa-mahishiyaru*) in the *Arka*, as distinct from the *Gandharva*, form in April 1640. These eight queens were daughters of the chiefs of Narunelli, Arikuthāra, Yelandūr, Bāgaḷi, Haṭṭi, Tippūr and Malagūḍ. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 62) mentions only nine. The *K. N. V.* (VII, 69-70, XX, 37; XXIV, 3-4) refers, in general, to the queens of Kaṇṭhīrava (*rājaputrisyaru*, *paṭṭada-satrisyaru*) and idealises them. Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 472.

162. *Annals*, I, 66. According to the *K. N. V.* (XXVI, 42), Kaṇṭhīrava had an issue (*pivdu santānava padedu*) by 1648. The child must have predeceased him subsequent to that date. Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, l.c.

March 1639.¹⁶³ Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the last surviving younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar and uncle of Kanthirava, is said to have been living with his family in Guṇḍlu during the greater part of the reign,¹⁶⁴ and appears to have died in the Palace at Hangala (near Guṇḍlu), in or about 1656, at the age of 103.¹⁶⁵

163. The *Annals* (I. 78) refers to *Pramāthi, Chaitra* *bu.* 2 (April 9, 1639) as the date of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar's death. The *Mys Dho. Vam* (ff. 33) refers to *Pramāthi* (1639), the portion relating to further details about the date being worn out. But from the *Gajjaganahalli copper-plate grant* [*E. C.* III (1) Nj. 198], issued on *Pramāthi, Chaitra* *su.* 15 (April 7, 1639), we note that Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar had passed away before that date, and the grant itself was made for the eternal merit of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (*Ibid.*, l. 83: *Pituh sadgatimanuviechchan*), probably on the day of his attainment of *Varkuṇṭha*. Accordingly we have to fix his death on or before *Pramāthi, Chaitra* *su.* 2 (March 26, 1639), two months after Raṇadullā Khān's siege of Srīngapatam and his repulse. See also *l.n.* 165 *infra*.

164 *Annals*, I 93, 95

165 See *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25, pp. 163-165. This record alludes to the dismantling—by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, under the orders of Venkata II—of the Palace at Hangala, where the Arasu had formerly lived, and to the spot in that Palace, where Rājodeyar attained his beatitude (ll. 6-10: *Venkatapati-rayaravara nuṇṇadinda . . . Dēvaraju-Vodeṛu Hanguladalu ārasinairu yada āramanyali vodedulu Rājodeṛu muktārāda baliya*). It further refers to the construction of a stone *maṭh* (*kala-mata*) and the setting up of a *linga* on that spot (*linga-stapyava mādi*), etc., by Amṛtamma (queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar). The reference to the "Arasu" in this record seems obviously to Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar who, as we have seen, lived in Guṇḍlu and who died in March 1639. It seems not impossible that he had also a Palace at Hangala in the neighbourhood of Guṇḍlu, which was dismantled about 1640, shortly after his death. Again, Kājodeyar, mentioned in the record, appears to be a shortened form of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, who is also said to have lived in Guṇḍlu and whose death in the Hangala Palace, according to the context, was perhaps intended to be commemorated by his eldest son, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, and his daughter-in-law, Amṛtamma, in May 1656. The document thus enables us to fix the probable date of Muppina-Dēvarāja's death in or about 1656. We know that he was born in 1553 (see Chs. IV and V). He was, accordingly, 103 years of age at the time of his death, which is in keeping with *Muppina* (old) prefixed to his name. See also and compare the Editorial note in *M. A. R.*, *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166. For further reference to this record, *vide l.n.* 168 and 169 *infra*.

Of the four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by his second wife Kempamma, Doḍḍa-dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the eldest (born February 18, 1622), it would seem,¹⁶⁶ was holding charge of the city of Mysore (*tanna Mahiśūra-nagara*)

Doḍḍadēvarāja
Woḍeyar indica-
tions of his rule
jointly with
Kañṭhīrava.

under Kañṭhīrava, and for some time resided in Seringapatam also, possibly ruling jointly with the latter (*arasu-geyyuttire*) from about 1644 onwards. A lithic record, dated December 8, 1644,¹⁶⁷ registers a grant by Doḍḍadēvarāja of the village of Sāvantanahalli to provide for the midday offering of God Chaluvārāyasvāmi of Mēlkōṭe. Another, dated May 12, 1656,¹⁶⁸ referring to the construction of a stone *maṭh*, etc., in Hangāḷa by Amritamma (queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar), specifically mentions him as the lord of Mysore (*Maisūrādhīpa*), distinguished by the title *Antembaraganda*. The record, it is further significant, refers¹⁶⁹ also to Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar. Evidently Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, as a prominent member of the Mysore Royal Family, seems to have continued to rule in the city of Mysore in an almost independent capacity, during the latter part of Kañṭhīrava's reign, formally

166. See *C. Fam*, 138, 160; also *C. Vi*, III, 129, and Appendix IV—(1) and V—(2).

167. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 120. *Tārana, Māragasūra* ba 5 "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," mentioned in this record, is identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. All the sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as we shall see in Ch. X (f.n. 9), are generally referred to in some inscriptions as Dēvarāja, although, according to other sources, they had distinct prefixes (i.e., Doḍḍa, Chikka, etc.), with which their actual names commenced. The present grant appears to have been made by Doḍḍadēvarāja by way of commemorating his visit to Mēlkōṭe in c. 1643-1644 (see under *Social life—Festivals*).

168. *M. A. R.*, 1980, No. 25. & 1578, *Durmukhi, Vaisākha* ba 12, Monday—see ll. 7-8. In view of what is stated in the above f.n., "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," mentioned in this record, is identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Moreover, as we shall see from other sources also, "Amritamma," mentioned in this record, was the queen of Doḍḍadēvarāja. *Vide* also f.n. 165 *supra* and Ch. X, for further reference to this document and to Amritamma.

169. *Ibid*, ll. 3-6.

acknowledging the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga.¹⁷⁰ Doḍḍa-dēvarāja was also known as "Doḍḍa-Arasinavaru" and "Doḍḍadēvaiya-Arasu."¹⁷¹ He is depicted to have been an ideal ruler,¹⁷² and is said to have established an *agrahāra* named after himself.¹⁷³

The last days of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar (particularly during the period 1653-1659) seem to have been rather unhappy. His domestic felicity suffered considerably by the death of his only son (c. 1653-1654), and his political position itself was seriously threatened by the calamitous invasion of his territories by Khān Muhammad of Bijāpur, by the war with Madura and by the rise to political prominence of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri. The dazzling splendour of the earlier part of Kanṭhīrava's reign appears, indeed, in striking contrast with the serious set-back in his fortunes during its latter part.

On July 31, 1659 passed away¹⁷⁴ Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, in his forty-fifth year, his death, July 31, 1659. queens, it is said,¹⁷⁵ observing *sati*.

Alike as a warrior, political builder and ruler, Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar occupies an important place in the history of Mysore. An estimate of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar. In appearance he was, as depicted to us

170. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 166, where Dr. M. H. Krishna, assuming Doḍḍadēvarāja (of this record) to be identical with the successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasaraja, holds that the record was issued by the former "before he became king, though royal titles are applied to him out of courtesy." There is no evidence in support of this position. For the identification of the successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, vide Ch. X and Appendix V—(1) and (2).

171. See *E. C.*, III (1) My. 7 (1685), ll. 10-11, and *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 57.

172. *C. Pam.*, 160-161; *C. Vi.*, III, 129-145, etc., see also Appendix V—(2).

173. *E. C.*, l.c.: *namma Doḍḍa-arasinavaru māḍuḍa Dēvarāja agrahāra* where Chikkadēvarāja refers to his father, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, as distinct from his uncle, Dēvarāja Wodeyar.

174. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 56. *Vskāri, Śrāvāṇa ba.* 8; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 25; *Annals*, I, 93; cf. *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 470-473), which fixes Kanṭhīrava's rule between 1635-1660 and places his death in December 1660, for which there is no evidence.

175. *Annals*, l.c.

by contemporary writers,¹⁷⁶ a stalwart figure, possessed of an exceptionally robust constitution and handsome and attractive features. Clad in a superbly wrought suit of armour (*muttina dagale, vajrada jōḍu*), with the helmet of lead on his head (*siradali . . . sisakada pustanga*), the shining yellow-coloured cloth girt round his loins (*miruguva misuniya datti kaṭiyol*) and the jewelled dagger attached thereto (*ratnada bāku*), and brandishing his sharp-edged sword (*oreyanugida khaḍgaviḍidu*) in his hand,¹⁷⁷ he appears with all the life and vigour of a true warrior on the field of battle.

As a warrior Among the titles ascribed to him as a warrior were *Ēkāṅga-vīra, Dhura-dhīra, Saṅgara-sūra*, etc.¹⁷⁸

Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar was a prominent character of Southern India during the greater part of the first half of the seventeenth century. His prominence is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that he strenuously worked for and moulded the destiny of the kingdom of Mysore during a critical period in the history of the Karnāṭaka country. Despite the reverses sustained by him during the later years of his reign, he may, broadly speaking, be said to have achieved a fair measure of success in his two-fold objective of stemming the tide of advance of Bijāpur arms on Mysore and of maintaining the political integrity of the kingdom of Mysore in the southern frontier, besides effecting a series of local conquests in all the directions. The net result of his policy was that he was able to bequeath to his successor a kingdom compact and progressive and yet with the semblance of its position as an integral part of the once powerful but latterly decadent Empire of Vijayanagar. It is, indeed, to the credit of Kaṇṭhīrava that, in evolving

176. See, for instance, K. N. V., IX, 46, 55, 65, 98-117; X, 9, 17, etc.

177. *Ibid.*, XV, 12-13.

178. *Ibid.*, I, 21; XII, 11, 91; XV, 110; XVIII, 67, 174, etc.

this position, he showed from the beginning of his reign a rare consistency of purpose and loyalty to the cause of the Empire (under Venkaṭa II and Śrī-Ranga VI), which appear in refreshing contrast with the disloyal, ruinous and suicidal course of conduct pursued by the rest of the rulers of South India contemporaneous with him, particularly by Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura. Expediency and self-interest, it is true, were the governing principles of the South Indian powers in the complex conditions of the period, but, in the case of Kanṭhīrava, these appear to have been tempered by larger considerations than the immediate political interests of the hour. There seems little doubt that, in arresting the progress of Bijāpur arms in the south and in standing as an effective barrier to the encroachments of Madura and her allies on Mysore in the early years of his reign, Kanṭhīrava rendered a signal service to the cause of the Empire to justify his claim to be "the right-hand man of Emperor Śrī-Ranga in the south" (*taddakshina-bhujadaṇḍa-nāda*) in 1643. The striking of coins (*Kanṭhīrāya-ḥaṇams*) by him in 1645 and his neutrality during the siege of Vellore by Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa in 1647 were due to circumstances and causes purely local and not dictated by any selfish interests; nor does the former event, in particular, indicate "an open disavowal of imperial authority" on the part of Kanṭhīrava, as has been conjectured by some.¹⁷⁹ Indeed Kanṭhīrava, from the materials before us, appears prominently as a local ruler (particularly during 1645-1650) and as a loyal feudatory of the Empire, a position which must be given its due weight in any estimate of him as an historical character. From the beginning of his reign, there are, further, as many documents of Kanṭhīrava mentioning his suzerain as there are others not mentioning him as such, but the latter circumstance, far from pointing to "a sure sign of

179. See, for instance, S. K. Aiyangar in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 133, l.n. 60.

assumption of independence " as has been suggested,¹⁸⁰ serves, to a considerable extent, to enhance his prestige as the ruler of Mysore, particularly after the siege of Piri-yāpaṭṇa in 1645, another outstanding event of his reign. This aspect of his position, again, tends to appear in greater relief when he, during the troublous years of Śrī-Ranga (c. 1650-1653), afforded him shelter and hospitality, denied to him by the other feudatories of his, and helped him to recover a part of his dominions as well. There is neither truth nor justice in the statement hazarded that¹⁸¹ " there is nothing to indicate that it was loyalty to the Empire which induced Mysore . . . to receive Śrī-Ranga." For it surely ignores the available evidence as to Kanṭhīrava's loyalty to the Empire before 1650 and the influence exercised by him on his local contemporaries during 1639-1646. The same under-current of loyalty is discernible in the attitude of Kanṭhīrava towards Śrī-Ranga during the latter part of his reign also. Kanṭhīrava suffered considerably from the course of policy pursued by Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura during the period. It has been further held¹⁸² that Tirumala Nāyaka was justified in proceeding against Mysore, having himself suffered from the " repeated aggressions " of the latter, and having been " threatened by the new understanding between the Emperor and the king of Mysore." The first cause alleged is, as we shall point out, wholly untenable, while the second, though claimed to be based on a¹⁸³ " reading between the lines of the Jesuit account," is not borne out by it as our examination of the latter in the light of other sources would show. Śrī-Ranga had left Mysore in or about 1653, so that the alleged " understanding " between him and Mysore to threaten Madura with an invasion (in 1655) lacks foundation. Again, the first definite advance of

180. *Nayaks of Madura*, l.c.

182. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Mysore arms on the south (as far as Trichinopoly) was, as we have seen, due to Tirumala Nāyaka himself inciting his feudatory (the chief of Sāmballī) to encroach on the southern frontier of Mysore, and even taking an active part in the movement. Tirumala had to eat the humble pie for this act of his, being promptly curbed for it by Kanthirava. We have also seen how Madura, with Gingee and Tanjore, was represented at the court of Mysore in 1647. If this position is appreciated, we would be enabled to follow the subsequent relations of Kanthirava with Madura. It was the desire to maintain the *status quo ante* in Mysore against Bijāpur, which had advanced as far as the Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam frontier by 1653, which appears to have induced Kanthirava to proceed to the acquisition of Satyamangalam and Danāyakankōṭe, guarding the south, in 1654. This objective of Kanthirava seems to have been thoroughly misunderstood by Tirumala Nāyaka as a direct attempt of Mysore to invade his own dominions. This, coupled with the memory of the serious reverses sustained by Tirumala in the early years of Kanthirava's reign, was obviously responsible, in the main, for the calamitous attack of Bijāpur brought about by him (Tirumala Nāyaka) on Mysore, which eventually recoiled on Madura itself. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that Kanthirava, as a loyal feudatory of Śrī-Ranga on the one hand and, on the other, with a view "to wreak just vengeance," waged the war against Tirumala Nāyaka during the last years of his reign (c. 1655-1659) when Śrī-Ranga was, by force of circumstances, actually in Ikkēri (especially from c. 1656). Without sacrificing local independence, the Mysore Royal House seems to have continued its allegiance to the Empire even during these years, for, as we have seen, we have a record of the dynasty, dated in as late as 1656, formally acknowledging the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga. If this position, again, is rightly understood, the

sweeping assertion of the contemporary Proenza,¹⁸⁴ that "Mysore had long ago withdrawn herself from subordination to the same monarch" (Śrī-Ranga), cannot be taken as a correct statement of fact. For, in this part of his account, Proenza refers only to the general political situation of Southern India (during 1656-1659) and does not write from a direct knowledge of the actual position of Mysore.

As a ruler, Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar was very popular and impressed his contemporaries to the extent of idealisation and deification by them. An inscription¹⁸⁵ speaks of him as having been renowned alike for his victory in war and liberality in times of peace. Another¹⁸⁶ refers to his rule thus. "While he ruled, the lord of the Gods sent good rains; the earth brought forth full fruit; all points of the compass were unclouded; the respective orders were diligent in their several rites; all the people were free from disease, the country was free from trouble; the women were devoted to their husbands; and all the world was prosperous." A third¹⁸⁷ mentions him as having been adored by his subjects (*jana-vandyasya*). In keeping with these, the *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Vijayam*¹⁸⁸ also points to the beneficence of his rule and the happiness and contentment of his subjects. His government was deeply rooted in the ancient ideal of *Dharma*¹⁸⁹ in so far

184. *Ibid.*, p. 263 (*Proenza's letter*).

185. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 193 (1639), ll. 46-48.

186. *Ibid.*, Sr. 103 (1647), ll. 40-46.

187. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64 (1647) · see text on p. 767.

188. I, 17-19; IV, 36-68; VI, 72; VII, 65-67; XXVI, 1, 30-39, etc.

189. *K. N. V.*, I, 20, 24; IV, 107; IX, 3; XX, 1; XXVI, 40; *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64. l.c. The expressions, *dharmadīrava*, *sthira-dharmamārgadoḷage*, *sudharmava tāḷedu*, *dharmārtham*, etc., are significant. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 62-68. His estimate of Kaṇṭhīrava as "the idol of his Brāmin historians," etc., appears to ignore the fundamental principles of Hindu government. No doubt, as *Wilks* writes (*Ibid.*, 60-61), Kaṇṭhīrava was rather harsh in his treatment of the refractory Pāṇḍyās and turbulent ryots but this measure was more than

as it was conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number, and was inseparable from religion. Countless were his gifts, benefactions and deeds of charity. The staunch Vaishnava that he was, his tolerance of other faiths and creeds was of a high order. Seringapatam, the capital city, was, during his reign, bustling with life, being a centre of attraction to people from far and near both in ordinary times and on festive occasions, conspicuously during the *Mahānavami* festival. His court, with a galaxy of ministers, officers, feudatories and others, was noted for the splendour of his daily Durbār and had evidently touched the acme of contemporary taste and culture—a place where learning and literature flourished and were liberally encouraged. In private life, Kanthirava was of regular and abstemious habits and his filial piety was of the noble type.

Impressive as a warrior, consistent and loyal as a political builder, popular and pious as a ruler, Kanthirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar appears to us in all the glory of a truly great historical character and a “Maker of Mysore.” The most enduring monuments of his rule extant are the Narasimhasvāmī temple at Seringapatam and the Bangāraddōḍḍi canal in its neighbourhood.

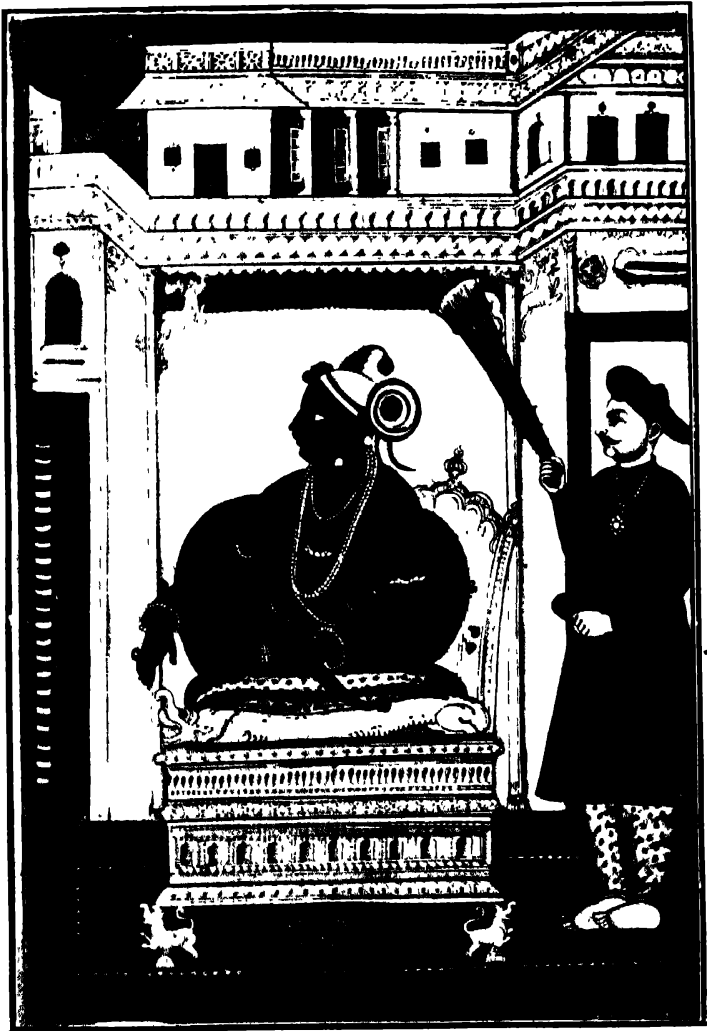
Perphaps what is of greater importance still is that Kanthirava Narasarāja Wodeyar figures as prominently in tradition as he does in history. Numerous stories¹⁹⁰ have been current testifying to his personal prowess and

Kanthirava in tradition.

counterbalanced by what the people gained in the shape of peace, contentment and settled government—the real criterion from which we are to judge of the rule of a prince. See also under *Gifts, grants, etc.*, for further evidence as to Kanthirava's solicitude for his subjects. 190. The *Annals* (I. 77-78), for instance, records how, shortly after Raṇadullā Khān's unsuccessful siege of Seringapatam in 1639, Kanthirava was, by the might of his arms, able, single-handed, to overcome an organised attack on his person (in the Seringapatam Palace) by twenty-five hirelings sent by the chief of Trichinopoly, and how Kanthirava defeated the latter's plot against his life, etc.

liberality. He evidently created such a profound impression on a generation of writers (like Tirumalārya, 'hidānanda and others), during the latter half of the seventeenth century, that they see and depict him almost exactly as did his own contemporaries. Among later records, it is further interesting to note, inscriptions¹⁹¹ of the eighteenth century speak of him as a ruler beloved by all people and specially refer to his coming of the *faṇams* (*Kaṇṭhīrāya-haṇa*) and his devotion to Nṛhari. He has, again, captured the imagination of posterity as a celebrated warrior (*raṇa-dhīra*) and his is a household name in Mysore whenever there is talk of chivalry, exploit or piety.

191. See E. C , III (1) TN. 63 (1749) ; IV (2) Yd. 17 and 18 (1761), etc.



Dēvarāja Wodeyar, 1659-1673.

CHAPTER X.

DEVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1659-1673.

Lineal descent—Birth, accession and identity—Political situation—Political Development: *First Phase*. 1659-1660—Mysore and Ikkeri—Action at Grama, c. September 1659—Siege of Seringapatam, c. October 1659-January 1660—Sivappa Nayaka's retirement, c. January 1660—His death, September 25, 1660—*Second Phase*. 1660-1664—General course of events—Renewed relations between Mysore and Ikkeri: Wars and counter-wars, c. 1661-1662—War continued, 1662-1663—Advance on Ikkeri, 1664—Peace—Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1664. Sri-Ranga VI in Belur, 1659-1663—Devaraja's position in relation to Sri-Ranga VI: his titles, etc.—*Third Phase*. 1665-1668—Local conquests, etc.—Mysore and the South, down to 1667—General course of affairs—Siege of Erode, c. January-June 1667—Acquisition of Erode, etc., June 1667-February 1668—Other events, 1667-1668—*Fourth Phase*. 1668-1673—Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1673—Local position of Devaraja, 1668-1673—Political position of Mysore, 1673—Devaraja's Rule: General features—Ministers, Officers, Dalavais, etc.—Administrative measures—Religion—Gifts, etc.—Grants and other records, 1659-1673. (a) 1659-1663—(b) 1664-1668—(c) 1669-1673—Statue of Devaraja—Social life. General features—Court culture—Devaraja as a patron of learning and culture—Literary progress—Early European intercourse with Mysore, 1671—Domestic life—Queens—Other members of the Royal Family—The Rise of the Kalale Family, down to 1673—Death of Devaraja Wodeyar, February 11, 1673—An estimate of Devaraja Wodeyar—As a political builder—As a ruler—As a "Maker of Mysore"—Devaraja in tradition.

WITH the death of Chāmarāja Wodeyar, the only infant son of Kanṭhirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, towards the close of the latter's reign,¹ direct descent in the line of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar ceased. The succession

Lineal descent

1. *Ante*, Ch. IX.

accordingly devolved on the descendants of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. Of the members of this branch of the Royal Family, once before referred to,² the eldest was Yeleyūr Dēparāja Woḍeyar, son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by his first wife Dēvājamma. Little is known of him subsequent to 1607. As regards the other four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja by his junior wife Kempamma, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Chikkadēvaiya), the second, had predeceased his brothers, and Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Doḍḍadēvaiya), the eldest, had by 1659 renounced his charge of the city of Mysore in favour of his next younger brother, Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvaiya), leaving under the latter's care and protection Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar (Maridēvaiya), the last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, and his own two minor sons, Chikkadēvarāja (b. 1645) and Kanṭhīravaiya (b. 1647).³ Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar or, as he was more familiarly known, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the *third* son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, was then the nearest heir to the throne of Mysore, and he is said to have been sent for from Guṇḍlu and formally adopted by Kanṭhīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar on July 28, 1659 (*i.e.*, three days before Kanṭhīrava's death) to succeed him.⁴

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar ascended the throne of Mysore on August 19, 1659,⁵ eighteen days after the death of Kanṭhīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar. He was born on May 25, 1627,⁶ and was in his thirty-third year at the time of his

Birth, accession
and identity

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII; *vide* also Appendix IV—(2) and Tables II-IV (compare).
3. *Vide* Appendix V—(2); see also under *Domestic life*, for further particulars about Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar; cf. *Wilks*, I. 67-68; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 295; and Appendix V—(1).
4. *Annals*, I. 93; see also and compare the authorities in Appendix V—(1).
5. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 57, II. 23 (compared): *Vikāra*, *Bhādrapada su.* 12. The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (35) places the accession in *Bhādrapada su.* 1 (August 9, 1659); the *Annals* (I. 95), in *Bhādrapada su.* 10 (August 17, 1659); and the *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 475), in *Sārvara*, *Mārgaśīra ba.* 1 (December 7, 1660). The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here.
6. *Ibid.*, I. 53, II. 55 (compared): *Prabhava*, *Jyēṣṭha ba.* 5, Friday; *Annals*, I.c; see also Appendix IV—(1).

accession. He is identical with "Dēvarāja Woḍeya," "Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," "Dēvarāja Waḍeyaraiya," "Mysūru Dēvarāja Woḍeyar," "Dēva-Bhūpāla or Mahīpāla" and "Dēvarāja-Kshitīśah"—referred to as the son of Dēpa or Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (Muppina-Dēvarāja) and grandson of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (Bōḷa-Chāmarāja), in lithic and copper-plate inscriptions ranging successively from 1659 to 1673.⁷ Some of these documents, we find, are also issued under his own signature in Kannaḍa, as *Śrī-Dēvarāju*, *Śrī-Dēvarāja*, and *Śrī-Dēvarāja Waḍeyaraiyanavarū*,⁸ while the *Hālagere* and *Bhērya copper-plate grants* (dated in 1663 and 1666 respectively) specifically mention him as the *third* son of (Muppina) Dēvarāja Woḍeyar by *Kempamāmbā* (Kempamma).⁹ Contemporary literary works (c. 1670) refer to him as "Dēvarājendra," son of Dēparāja (Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar).¹⁰ In keeping with these sources are the literary

7. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records and Domestic list*. For the identification of the successor of Kaṇṭhirava-Narasa I in later writings and modern works, see Appendix V - (1).

8. See, for instance, texts of *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 111, XII Kg. 37, TN 23 (1663); IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666) and 13 (1667), Hg. 119 and 120 (1670).

9. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 41-48. *Trītiyāśrīta-jana surabhājū Dēvarāja-Kshitīśah . . . rakshati dharam . . . dharātalam prasāsati*, IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 156 (Text)

Śrī-Dēvarājāmrpa mahatā munīh Kempamāmbōdarābēhan
Vishnōramēna jātah . . . Dēvarāja-Kshitīndrah |

Kg. 37 refers, in a general way, to all the four sons of [Muppina] Dēvarāja (Dēparāja) being known as Dēvarāja (Dēparāja), *vide* ll. 36-38.

Dēpa-dharādīnāthah |
Chatvārōśya kumārāh . . . sarvā Śrī-Dēparāja nāmināh |

E. C., IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675) also speaks of them in a similar manner, *vide* ll. 13-15:

Asya Śrī-Dēvarājasya Dēvarājendru nāmāh |
Chatvārō jagmūrē . . . nandanāh |

But we know their *actual names* (i.e., Doḍḍadēvarāja, Chikkaḍēvarāja, Kempadēvarāja and Maridēvarāja) from the *C. Vann.*, *C. V.*, *E. C.* III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, etc. See also Appendix IV—(1) and Tables II-IV.

10. See *Dēvarāja-Sāngatya*, I, 21-23; *Chauṇpadadu-Pustaka*, II 1, v. 3, 12. For particulars about these works, *vide* section on *Literary progress*.

works and inscriptions of the period c. 1676-1722, which invariably speak of the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar) in succession to Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar,¹¹ while some of the works (c. 1676-1680) of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi, in particular, more definitely assign him a period of fourteen years' rule.¹²

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar began his reign in Seringapatam just at a time when Bijāpur and Political situation. Gōlkonda, at the end of their southern campaigns, had been involved in their death-struggle with Aurangzīb in the Deccan, leaving

11. See *Sri Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 28; *Komand Nī*, I, 64; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 47, *Paśch Māhat*, I, 10, *Kamala Māhāt*, I, 106; *Munivam.*, II, 76-77, etc. The actual expressions used are *punte negalte vetta Doḍḍadēva-mahiṣana tamma Dēvarāyam . . . dharitrayam paripalisdam*; *Doḍḍadēva-nrpananujātam . . . Dēva-jaṇapālam . . .*; *Dēvarāja mahipam dhareyam . . . Kanthirava-nantaradoḷ taḷedu*; *Doḍḍadēva-nrpatiya sōdaraṇā Dēvarāja-jaṇapam . . . mēdunya-nāldan*; *Doḍḍadēvarāyananujam Dēvarājēndra . . . ilā samram-bhamam tāldudam*, *Kanṭhīrava-Narasa-bhūpōttamana kālāntyadolū . . . Dēvarājodeyaruṇā . . . padariya paṭṭa . . .*, etc.

For particulars about these works, *vide* Ch XIV. The kingly designation ascribed to Doḍḍadēvarāja in these passages is, of course, to be understood as implying his joint rule with and under Kanṭhīrava I [*vide* Ch IX and Appendix V—(2)] Trimalārya, in the *C Vam.* (188-191) and *C. Vi* (V-VI), also refers to the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother (*anujātam*) of Doḍḍadēvarāja. For a further examination and explanation of his position on this subject, see Appendix *Ibid.* Among inscriptions, *E. C.*, III (1) Sr 11 (1686) and 64 (1722), *Mys Dist Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, etc., merely repeat the lines from *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663) referring to the rule of Dēvarāja, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja. Some of the inscriptions of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704), in particular, only mention his direct descent from Muppina-Dēvarāja and Doḍḍadēvarāja [see, for instance, *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675) and III (1) My. 7 (1685)], while one record [*E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn 144 (1680), l. 17] refers to Dēvarāja, the predecessor of Chikkadēvarāja, as "Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja" (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja), perhaps by way of distinguishing the two rulers, without, however, specifying the exact relationship between them.

12. See *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 65; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 49; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 42. The actual expressions used are *Dēva-jaṇapālam . . . chaturdaśa-varṣam . . . porēda mahiyam*, *Dēva-nrpananū . . . āldan . . . chaturdaśa-varṣa-murviyam*; *paṭimāiku-varṣa-mūḷeyam . . . āldu.*

their Karnāṭak possessions under their deputies (particularly Shāhji in Bangalore); when Ikkēri, in the north-west of Mysore, had become prominent under Śivappa Nāyaka I (1645-1660); when Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar (1642-1664²-1681) had been established by Śivappa Nāyaka at Hāssan and Bēlūr; and when Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659-1682), grandson of Tirumala Nāyaka, had succeeded to the kingdom of Madura. Troubles were still brewing in the southern frontier, consequent on the war between Mysore and Madura during the last years of the reigns of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar and Tirumala Nāyaka. Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya, whose lot it had been to take part in that disastrous enterprise, continued to hold office early in the reign of Dēvarāja, when he was called upon to face a new situation.

For, shortly after the accession of Dēvarāja Wodeyar to the throne of Mysore (August 1659), Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri proceeded on an expedition to Seringapatam.¹³ Ever since the rejection of the offer of his alliance by Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I (in September 1647), referred to in an earlier chapter, Śivappa Nāyaka, it would appear, was waiting for an opportunity to proceed against, and wreak his vengeance on, Mysore.¹⁴ With this object in view he had sought assistance from influential quarters

Political Develop-
ment:

First Phase
1659-1660.

Mysore and Ikkēri

13 C. Vām, 191. This work, as it has come down to us, stops abruptly at this point. For further particulars, we have to rely on other sources of information cited below. Śivappa Nāyaka's expedition to and siege of Seringapatam is dated in *Vikṛānti* (1659), in the *Ke N. V.* (VII. 114-115). Since the event is further said to have taken place in the very year of the accession of Dēvarāja Wodeyar and during the period of office of Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya, we would not be far wrong in fixing it between c. September 1659-January 1660. Cf. *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 21; and *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 172, which fail to note the contemporaneity of the rulers of Mysore and Ikkēri and place the event in the latter part of Dēvarāja's reign or early in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja, for which there is absolutely no evidence.

14 C. Vl., V, 18: . . . anēka dinādīm Mahīśūrarasana samayado! paḍibārisuvenembāse.

(*piridum bigurtu neravanarasi*),¹⁵ and we have seen how, espousing the cause of Śrī-Ranga VI, he had, on the plea of restoring the suzerainty of Vijayanagar (*Rāya-samsthānavanuddharisalvēḷkendu*), acquired Hāssan and Bēlūr from Bijāpur in 1657 and how he had succeeded in establishing Śrī-Ranga (*nelegolisi nilisi*) at those places in 1659. These activities of Śivappa Nāyaka on the north-western frontiers of the kingdom of Mysore had been viewed with considerable alarm by Kaṇṭhīra-Narasa towards the close of his reign. And the situation became more serious about the latter part of 1659. Śivappa Nāyaka, ostensibly to safeguard the interests of the Vijayanagar Empire but really in furtherance of his own scheme of aggrandizement, had reinforced his army by quotas drawn from the Pālegārs of Sōde, Bīligi, Tarikere, Harapanahallī, Chintanakal, Maddagiri and Giduga, and by the levies raised by the chiefs of Tuḷu, Konkana, Koḍagu and Maleyāla;¹⁶ and had encamped in the neighbourhood of Grāma, on his way to Seringapatam.¹⁷

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar despatched a large force under Daḷavāi Hamparājaiya (*Hampa-varya*), with instructions to oppose Śivappa Nāyaka. In the action which followed (c. September 1659), Śivappa Nāyaka is said to have won a brilliant victory, capturing Hamparājaiya with sixteen officers (*shōḍaśa sankhyā dhīra gurikāraram*) and several warriors, elephants and horses belonging to the Mysore army. He is also said to have taken possession of Grāma.¹⁸ Accompanied by Lakshmappa Nāyaka of

Action at Grāma,
c. September 1659.

15. *C. Vam*, 190.

16. *C. Vam.*, 191; *Kc. N. V.*, VII. 114, v. 37; see also *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 476) which closely follows the *C. Vam*.

17. *Kc. N. V.*, l.c.: *Paṭṭanaḍa mukhaḷke daṇḍam teraḷdaidi Grāmada samīpamam sārdu pāḷeyavanīḍirāl*. Grāma is an extant village, the head-quarters of a *hōbli* of that name in the Hāssan taluk (see *List of villages*, 114).

18. *Ibid.*, VII. 114, v. 38-43.

Hole-Narasipur (who had turned hostile towards Mysore and who, it is said, had intrigued with Śivappa Nāyaka) and other turbulent Pāḷegārs, Śivappa Nāyaka next marched against Seringapatam itself.¹⁹ Bridging up the Cauvery, he crossed the river and, encamping near the fort, commenced a regular blockade of the place (c. October 1659).²⁰

The siege went on apace. Meanwhile, the authorities in Seringapatam, helpless and unable to withstand the attack, it is said, were obliged to seek the support of a Bijāpur contingent under Bahlūl Khān.²¹ Śivappa Nāyaka was, however, by a diplomatic move (*mantramukhadinda*), able to make him retire (*pindegese*), and was about to take possession of the fort.²² At this juncture, we are told, the besieged, being disheartened, won over by bribe the officers and agents of Śivappa Nāyaka and had recourse to certain counteracting rites and ceremonies,²³ in consequence of which Śivappa Nāyaka became indisposed, and, finding it inadvisable to prolong his stay in the enemy's country, raised the siege of Seringapatam and retraced his steps to Bednūr.²⁴

19. *Annals*, I 98; *Mys. Rāj. Cha*, 25; also *C. Vi.*, V, 18 19.

20. *Ke. N. V.*, VII. 115, v 45-46. *pāḷeyavanūṛu paṭṭanada kōṇṭeyam vēdhaisal*.

21. *Ibid.*, v. 46: *yuddha-mukhadol nittarūalammade tammu sahāyakke Vijāpuradim saṁnyam verasu Balūla Khānanam teralchitaral*. The power of Bijāpur in the Karnāṭak being on the wane about this time, it is not unlikely her generals took part in local politics espousing the cause of one power against another.

22. *Ibid.*, l.c.

23. *Ibid.*: *kōṇṭeyam vēdhaisida gurmānisargam mattam kelambar niyūg-galgaṁ parūḥanava nittantu malladābhuchāra hōma muntāda dushkṛtyangalū noḍarchal*. Wilks (I. 69) also refers to the employment of bribery in inducing the Ikkēri army to raise the siege. There is nothing improbable in this, seeing that the Mysore army was away and Dēvarāja had to oppose the enemy single-handed, almost immediately after his accession.

24. *Ibid.*: *dēhadolayāsam puṭṭal, intappa kaladoḷ satru simā sannivēṣadola villūrpūdanuchitumendu bageḍu . . . muttigo degesi . . . saṁnyam verasu Vēṇupuramam sārdu*.

The retirement of Śivappa Nāyaka was attended with results disastrous to himself. *Śivappa Nāyaka's retirement, c. January 1660* Dēvarāja Wodeyar, assisted by the inhabitants of Seringapatam, hotly pursued the retreating enemy and in doing so laid waste Lakshmappa Nāyaka's territory as well. Daḷavāī Hamparājaiya, having in the meanwhile recovered his lost ground, it would seem, joined in the pursuit and continued it, cutting off the noses of several men in Śivappa Nāyaka's army and returning to Seringapatam with considerable spoils (consisting of horses, elephants and insignias).²⁵

Śivappa Nāyaka's attempt on Seringapatam was thus foiled. He did not long survive his return home. *His death, September 25, 1660* He died on September 25, 1660,²⁶ almost at a time when the relations between Mysore and Ikkēri had become thoroughly embittered.

Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Daḷavāī Hamparājaiya had been succeeded by Mallarājaiya of *Second Phase 1660-1661.* Kaḷale (in April 1660), and he was in turn followed by Muddaiya (July 1660-September 1661), Nanjanāthaiya (September 1661-February 1662) and Kāntaiya (February 1662-April 1662) of Kaḷale, Nanjanāthaiya holding the office a second time (between April 1662-April 1667).²⁷ In Ikkēri, Śivappa Nāyaka I was succeeded by his younger brother, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka ruled till August 1661 and was followed by Bhadrappa Nāyaka (1661-1664) and Hiriya-Somaśēkhara Nāyaka I (1664-1671), the eldest and younger sons, respectively, of Śivappa Nāyaka I.²⁸

25. *Chauvaidada-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 7; C. VI., V, 20-24, *Mys. Rāj. Cha. and Annals*, l.c. See also *Wilks*, l.c.

26. *Kc. N. V.*, VII. 116 *Śāvarā, Āśvaja* 4u 1

27. *Annals*, I. 96-97; also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I 67-68. For further particulars, see under *Ministers, Daḷavāīs*, etc.

28. *Kc. N. V.*, VII. 116-117, VIII. 118-124, 124-128; see also Table XV.

Prospects of war and counter-war between Mysore and Ikkēri, ever since Śivappa Nāyaka's retreat from Seringapatam (c. January 1660), continued to be imminent. Renewed relations between Mysore and Ikkēri
Wars and counter-wars, c. 1661-1662
Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II (of Ikkēri), by way of checking the encroachments of Mysore (*Paṭṭaṇadavar mēreverarideḍeyāḍadantu*), had stationed on the frontier of his dominions (*gaḍimukhadol*) an army under the charge of Śivalinga Nāyaka (Śivalingaiya), son-in-law of Śivappa Nāyaka.²⁹ True to the expectations of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, towards the close of 1661, it would seem, the Mysore army resumed hostilities against Ikkēri by laying siege to the fort of Hebbāle.³⁰ Early in 1662, Bhadrappa Nāyaka (successor of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II) despatched the Ikkēri contingent under Śivalinga Nāyaka, against Mysore. Śivalinga Nāyaka marched on towards Bēlūr. Here, it is said, he met Emperor Śrī-Ranga and, reinforced by the forces of the latter (*Bēlūr-gaudi Rāyaram sandhisi tatsainyam verasu*), proceeded towards Hebbāle and raised its siege (*Hebbāle-kōṇṭeyam muttige-degesi*). Marching further, Śivalinga Nāyaka laid siege to Hoḷe-Narasipur (*Narasimhapura*) itself, then in the possession of Mysore. The Mysoreans, by way of retaliation, invested and took possession of the fort of Konanūr (*Koṇanūr-kōṇṭeyam tegedukolal*). Whereupon the forces of Ikkēri marched on thither and were preparing to bombard and retake the place.³¹ At this juncture, Dēvarāja Wodeyar despatched reinforcements under his Daḷavāi, Kāntaiya of Kaḷale.³² In or about March 1662, Kāntaiya, making rapid marches, encamped near the slope

29. *Ibid.*, VII. 117, v. 50.

30. *Ibid.*, VIII. 118, v. 2. Hebbāle is an extant *satva-mānya* village in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (see *List of villages*, 131).

31. *Ibid.* Koṇanūr, another extant village in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (*Ibid.*, 132).

32. *Ibid.*, 119, v. 2-3.

overlooking Kanagāla (*Kanagālīleyol pāleyavanīliya*).³³ Here, we are told, an action took place between Mysore and Ikkēri, in which both sides fought desperately. At length, however, Daḷavāi Kāntaiya sustained reverses and was forced to retreat, while at the same time Śivaliṅga Nāyaka himself, struck by an arrow from the Mysore side, fell dead on the field of battle.³⁴

Nevertheless Bhadrappa Nāyaka vigorously prosecuted the war, taking possession of Honnavalli, Chiknāyakanahalli, Kandikere, Būdivāla and other places on the outskirts of the kingdom of Mysore.³⁵ Daḷavāi Kāntaiya of Kaḷale having been succeeded by Nanjanāthaiya in April 1662, the latter resumed operations against Ikkēri towards the close of 1662. The power of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa in the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt was fast dwindling away since 1656, so that, when Nanjanāthaiya directed hostilities principally against Ikkēri, important places belonging to these Shāhi kingdoms fell in regular succession. Thus, in January 1663, he acquired Chōlūr, Bidare and Sampige, and in March, Chiknāyakanahalli (which had lately been taken by Ikkēri).³⁶ Proceeding further, Nanjanāthaiya strenuously pushed through the

War continued,
1662-1663.

33. *Ibid.*, v. 8. Kanagāla, a village probably identical with the extant *sarvamānya* Karigāla in the Arkalgūd taluk (*Ibid.*, 133). Parts of the present district of Hāssan, it is to be remembered, formed the bone of contention between Mysore and Ikkēri, early in the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar.

34. *Ibid.*, 119, v. 4-6.

35. *Ibid.*, v. 6.

36. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 24-25; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I. 97; also *Wilks*, I. 70 (*List of conquests*). Wilks's statement (*Ibid.*, 69), however, that the Mysoreans "appear to have received from the royal pageant (Śri-Ranga) forced grants of conquered districts, during this (1663) and the four subsequent years," is hardly borne out by the sources. See also *C. Vi.*, V, 93. The references to Dēvarāja's conquests, etc., in this work, are to be understood in their chronological setting, with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. Among other sources, the *Hast. Mahāt.* (I, 67) and inscriptions of 1663 [*E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23, l. 10; XII Kg. 37, ll. 72-74; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 24-25] refer to and echo Dēvarāja's victory over the Turushkas (*Turushkaram savari*; *sushkāsturushkāḥ*, etc.), obviously pointing to the activities of Mysore in the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt in 1662-1663.

war with Ikkēri, capturing the elephant named *Gangādhara* and taking possession of the celebrated and impregnable fortresses of Hāssan (*Hāsana*) and Sakrepaṭṇa (*Sakkarepaṭṭana*)—with their dependencies of Vastāre (*Vasudhāre*) and Honnavalli—in December (1663).³⁷

In February 1664, Bhadrappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri was succeeded by Hiriyā-Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka I, younger son of Śivappa Nāyaka I.³⁸ Shortly after his accession, Hiriyā-Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka, it would seem, retaliated against Mysore, resuming possession of Bekkōḍu, Belagōḍu, Kanatūr, Abbina and Bēlūr.³⁹ Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya pushed on the operations against Ikkēri, carrying fire and sword into the Malnād, passing through Kaḷasa, Khāṇḍeya, Dānīvāsa, Hebbe, Jāgara, Bednūr (*Bidarūr*) and Honnūr (*Ponnūr*), and thrashing Ikkēri itself (*Ikkēriya-nokkalikkisi*).⁴⁰ These activities on the Mysore side appear to have been continued up to about the latter part of 1664, for, from a lithic record dated October 11 (1664), we learn how Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya (*Nandināthaiya*) was sent against Ikkēri and how he was able to win a victory against it.⁴¹

Thoroughly overpowered, Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka, towards the close of 1664—shortly after Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya's return to Mysore—seems to have found it expedient to sue for peace, sending his ambassador, Purushōttamaiya, to the court of Seringapatam with presents (consisting of

37. *Ibid.*, II. 26, dating the acquisition in Śōbhakṛit, *Mārgaśīra* śu. 13 (December 2, 1663); *Annals*, l.c.; *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, l.c.; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 25; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 39-41, referring to Dēvarāja's conquests from Ikkēri; *Cl. Wks.*, I 71 (*List of conquests*); *Ancient India*, p. 297; *Sources*, p. 21; *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 172.

38. *Ke. N V.*, VIII. 124 39. *Ibid.*, 125, v. 28-30. 40. *C. Vi.*, V, 26.

41. See *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46, ll. 13-17: *Daḷavādi Nandināthaiyanu samarasannāhava māḍi Yikēriyavara-mēḷana-kāryakke kaḷuhisuvalli . . . a kāryavu namage digvijayavāgalāgi.*

elephants, horses, robes and jewels) and an offer of submission to Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.⁴² Hostilities ceased on the grant of a letter of assurance by Dēvarāja.⁴³ The net result of this five years' war (1659-1664) was that by 1665 the sphere of influence of Mysore was extended as far as Chiknāyakanahalli, Hāssan, Sakrepaṭṇa and Vastāre in the north and the north-west, in which region perfect security was established.⁴⁴

We have seen how in 1659 Śrī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, was established in Bēlūr by Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri. However temporising the policy of the latter

Mysore and Vijayanagar, down to 1664.

Śrī-Ranga VI in Bēlūr, 1659-1668.

towards his suzerain, there seems little doubt that Śrī-Ranga himself was fully confident of the powers and abilities of Śivappa Nāyaka, especially after the death of Kaṇṭhirava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar. The failure of Śivappa Nāyaka to take Seringapatam by siege (in 1659) and the death of Śivappa himself in September 1660 proved, however, serious blows to Śrī-Ranga. So strident, indeed, were his hopes of imperial restoration and so thoroughly had he been won over by Śivappa's assurances, that he had even begun to view with disfavour the policy of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar towards Ikkēri and had, in 1662, actively lent his support to the Ikkēri general, Śivalinga Nāyaka, against Mysore. What little hope from Ikkēri Śrī-Ranga had—especially after the death of Śivappa Nāyaka—was blasted for ever by the successes achieved by Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya during January-March 1663. With Ikkēri, his sole supporter (since c. 1656), growing weaker and weaker, and Mysore rapidly absorbing the possessions of Śivappa Nāyaka, Śrī-Ranga's position in Bēlūr in 1663 became critical to a degree: to depend

42. C. VI, V, 27-30; see also *Hasti. Māhat.*, I, 67, referring to Dēvarāja's victory over the Ikkēri (*Keḷadi*) chief

43. *Ibid.*, 81: *nambugeyam pāṭsi*.

44. *Ibid.*, 32: *paḍugaḍeyam paḍuḷam baḍuṣi*.

any longer on Ikṛeri seemed unsafe; to turn again for help to Mysore, having lately distrusted her, would be humiliating in the extreme. Such was the predicament in which Śrī-Ranga found himself placed about April 1663, when he appears to have finally left Bēlūr for the south.⁴⁵

The position of Dēvarāja Wodeyar in Seringapatam, during 1659-1664, appears in significant contrast to that of Śrī-Ranga. In the earliest inscriptional records of Dēvarāja's reign (belonging to the years 1659-1660),⁴⁶ we find his name mentioned without any titles. In his lithic records, dated in March 1662,⁴⁷ he is styled a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* ruling in Seringapatam (*Śrīrangapattṇavarāḷuva*), while in another record, also lithic, dated in November,⁴⁸ he refers to himself as *Śrīmad-rājādhirāja Mysūra Dēvarāja Vaḍēraṇyanavarū* (Dēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore, Emperor of kings). In the next series of records—lithic and copper-plate—ranging from April 1663 down to March 1664,⁴⁹ Dēvarāja Wodeyar appears with a number of titles implying

Dēvarāja's position
in relation to Śrī-
Ranga VI his titles,
etc.

45. We have inscriptions of Śrī-Ranga from Bēlūr, ranging from 1659 to 1663, if not 1664 [see *Mys. Gaz.*, II in 2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2396; *Nāyaks of Madurai*, p. 357, No. 160, also *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Hn 39 and Mj. 21]. In the light of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr* (cited in fn 36 and 37 *supra*), Śrī-Ranga appears to have finally left Bēlūr for the south not later than c. April 1663, although grants continued to be issued in his name till 1664. For particulars about Śrī-Ranga after 1663, *vide* section on *Mysore and the South* (down to 1667).

46. See *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 20 (1659); *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52 (1660). In the former record, mention is made of Śrī-Ranga-Rāya and "Dēvarāja Wodeya" (Dēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore). It seems to have been issued by Dēvarāja during the sojourn of Śrī-Ranga VI in Bēlūr and would afford the earliest indication of his acknowledgment of the latter's suzerainty in the very first year of his (Dēvarāja's) reign. For further particulars about these records and those cited *infra*, see under *Grants and other records and Domestic life*.

47. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81, ll. 3-4. 48. *E. C.*, IX Kn. 94, ll. 5-8.

49. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My 114, ll. 27-28, XII Kg. 33, ll. 9-11; 37, ll. 92-101; *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143; *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67, ll. 10-12; III (1) TN. 23, ll. 6-18; Md. 114, ll. 6-9 (of 1663) and Sr. 13 (1664), ll. 3-6.

imperial ideas, among the most significant being *Mūru-manneyara-gaṇḍa* (champion over three chiefs), *Para-rāya-bhayankara* (dreaded by enemy kings), *Hindu-rāya-suratrāṇa* (Sultan of Hindu kings), *Nānā-varṇa-makūṭa-maṇḍalikara-gaṇḍa* (champion over chiefs of many-coloured crowns), *Chatussamudrādhiśvara* or *Chatussamudra-paryanta-bhūmaṇḍalādhiśvara* (lord of the world as far as the four oceans) and *Dharaṇī-Varāha* (sovereign of the world). The use of the Boar seal is also in evidence in some of these records,⁵⁰ while there is a marked tendency on the part of Dēvarāja to claim imperial rule from the throne in Seringapatam.⁵¹ All these documents are, again, conspicuous by the absence of the name of his suzerain, *i.e.*, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. Evidently, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, during this period, gradually rose to prominence from the position of a feudatory of the Vijayanagar Empire to that of a ruler of an independent Mysore, who laid claim to imperial sovereignty. His achievements against Ikkēri and his activities in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt and the south of Mysore during 1659-1663 were no doubt such as to enhance his reputation and prestige. His progress in those directions was possibly facilitated also by the unsettled conditions of the times and the critical position of Śrī-Ranga at Bēlūr. Śrī-Ranga himself having probably left the latter place about April 1663, Dēvarāja Wodeyar appears more conspicuously—in his records (of 1663-1664)—with the imperial titles, referred to, which are distinctly reminiscent of Vijayanagar. In particular,

50. See, for instance, *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1663), l. 240; *Bhū-Varāha-mudrayācha vṛṇṇitam*; III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 78-79. *Bhū-Varāha-mudraya pravṛṇṇitam*.

51. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 48-49; XII Kg. 38, l. 12; 37, ll. 98-99; *M. A. R.*, 1917, l.c.; *E. C.*, IV (3) Kr. 67, ll. 12-13; III (1) TN. 23, l. 16; *Md.* 114, l. 9 (of 1663); and *Sr.* 13 (1664), l. 6. The actual expressions used are: *Mysūra-Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa śimhāsana-rūḍharāgi*; *Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa śimhāsanaḍhiśvara*; *Paschimarangadharma-nagari śimhāsanaḍhiśvaraḥ*; *Mysūru śimhāsanaḍhiśvara*, etc.

the *Palace Copper-plates* (dated April 9, 1663), while eulogising Dēvarāja's prowess and claiming for him the sovereignty of the Karnāṭaka country, are even found to contain verses⁵² which seem to correspond with those from the *Śrī-Śailam Plates* (1465) of Virūpākṣha III of Vijayanagar (1465-1485). Thus, apparently seceding from the decadent Vijayanagar Empire but really stepping into its shoes, Mysore, during the early years of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, had reached an important stage in the evolution of her independence as a kingdom. The arrival at about this time (April 1663) of the celebrated Tātāchārya family of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava royal preceptors from the court of Vijayanagar, and their settlement in Seringapatam, probably contributed no little to confirm in the Royal House of Mysore the vanishing glories of Vijayanagar imperialism.⁵³

By January 1665, Dēvarāja Wodeyar had reached

Third Phase
1665-1668

Local conquests, etc

the height of his power, as is perhaps obvious from the title Emperor (*Samrāt*) actually ascribed to him.⁵⁴ In July 1666, Dalavāi Nanjanāthaiya acquired

52. See *E. C.*, *Idol*, II 18-27, 34-36.

Niṣa-pratūpādadhigutya rāḥyam
Samusta bhāgyaḥ paripūrṇakūmah |
Khaḍgagrataḥ sarva ripūn vijitya
Pramōḍatē vira-vilāsa-bhūmiḥ ||
Karnāṣa-Lakṣmīḥ savilāsamastē
Yasmin mahiṣē mahānitya kirtau |
Bhūmi-stuthai vāpa'vasundharatvam
Sthirēti nāma prathamam quṇaugharḥ ||
Pratāpa-vahnau parijymbhaman
Sushkā-sturushkā-hyubhayan digantān |
Ripu-kṣitīndrascha nirasta dharyāḥ
Kāntāra-valmika kṛtāma rakṣah |
.
. Dēvarāja-kṣitīśvarah ||
.
. Raṅgadhamnah-purōṭtamē |
Pitṛyam simhāsanam prāḥya vilāyannavanīmimam ||

58. *Vide* section on *Social life*.

54. See *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1865), ll. 9-11 :

**Samrat samasta-nrpa-mauli-mani-prabhabhir
Nirajito vijayate bhuvi Devarajah !!**

Sāratavalli from Anṇājaiya,⁵⁵ and in November, Hoḷe-Narasipur from Narasimha Nāyaka.⁵⁶ In April 1667, Nanjanāthaiya was succeeded by Kumāraiya of Kaḷale.⁵⁷

The hostile relations between Madura and Mysore, so much in evidence during the last years of the reigns of Tirumala Nāyaka and Kaṇṭhirava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, appear to have been prolonged in some form or other during the earlier parts of the reigns of Chokkanātha Nāyaka and Dēvarāja Wodeyar. A lithic record from Singānallūr, dated in the very first year of Dēvarāja's reign,⁵⁸ possibly points to the renewed activities of the Mysore army in the neighbourhood of the passes. Other records, dated in 1663,⁵⁹ refer to Dēvarāja as "destroyer of the Pāṇḍya king," "skilful in cutting down the strong-armed Pāṇḍya" (*Chaṇḍa-bāhu-balōddanḍa Pāṇḍya-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitaḥ*), etc. Evidently by 1663 Mysore seems to have achieved a distinct victory over Madura, advancing, it is said, as far as Dindigal.⁶⁰ The political

Mysore and the South, down to 1667. General course of affairs.

55. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II 27; *Annals*, I 97, cf. *Wilks*, I. 71 (*List of conquests*)

56. *Ibid.*, II. 27-28; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 94

57. See *Annals*, I. 97; also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I. 68, and section on *Ministers, Daḷavāis*, etc

58. *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 20 (1659).

59. *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143; *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23, II 10-11.

60. *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II. 169, 171-175. This Ms., from the *Mackenzie Collection*, refers to an invasion of Madura by "Carasura Nandi Raja," during the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore, but speaks of the details as if connected with the reign of Tirumala Nāyaka, contemporary of Kaṇṭhirava-Narasa I (1638-1659), for which there is no evidence. It seems, however, possible that the hostilities between Mysore and Madura, begun during the latter part of the reigns of Kaṇṭhirava and Tirumala Nāyaka, continued unabated in the early part of the reigns of Dēvarāja Wodeyar and Chokkanātha Nāyaka (i.e., c. 1659-1669), Mysore ultimately coming out successful. "Carasura Nandi Raja," referred to, is probably identical with Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya I of Kaḷale, who appears to have been entrusted with the southern campaigns of Dēvarāja (see under *Domestic life—Rise of the Kaḷale Family*; also Table XIII). The Ms., being a later compilation, seems loosely to refer to him as "Carasura" (Karāchūri), which was, however, the distinctive epithet of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya III of Kaḷale (1789-1759). (See Vol. II of this work.) For a critical notice of the position of the author of the *Nayaks of Madura* on the subject, see f.n. 54 in Ch. VI.

ambitions of Mysore from 1663 onwards continued to be a source of concern to the southern powers, particularly Madura. The situation assumed an important aspect by the policy and attitude of Śrī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, during the period. As indicated already, Śrī-Ranga appears to have finally left Bēlūr about April 1663. That he was in the south in 1663 seems obvious from a grant of Chokkanātha Nāyaka dated in that year,⁶¹ though the latter formally refers in it to Śrī-Ranga's rule at Ghanagiri (Penukonda), that he was away from Bēlūr before 1664 is borne out by the resumption of Bēlūr itself—along with other places—by Hirya-Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka I of Ikkēri, early in 1664.⁶² During 1663-1667, Śrī-Ranga, it would appear,⁶³ resided in the dominions of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura, and continued to work out his plan of imperial restoration, directing his attention particularly against the rapidly rising kingdom of Mysore, towards which he was, as we have seen, by no means well disposed since 1659. To Chokkanātha, however, the presence of Śrī-Ranga in the south seemed eminently advantageous, to further his own ends against Mysore.

About this time Ghaṭṭa-Mudalār of Sāmballī, backed up as usual by Madura, appeared to remain an obstacle to the projected expansion of Mysore in all the directions (*dese-gelalendu*). About January 1667, Dēvarāja Wodeyar

61. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 356, No 157; *Mys Gaz.*, II. in. 2366-2367, No 19, citing from Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* *Sōbhakṛti*, the date of the record, corresponds to 1663, the *śaka* date 1584, mentioned, being an expired year.

62. *Vide* f.n. 39 *supra* and text thereto.

63. See *C. Vi.* (V, 81), where Chokkanātha (*Chokkalīnga*) is made to refer to Śrī-Ranga as "his Śrī-Ranga" (*tanna Śrī-Rāya*). Evidently Śrī-Ranga had gone over from Bēlūr to Madura in the vain hope of recovering his position by an alliance with Chokkanātha and other southern feudatories hostile to Mysore. See also inscriptions of Chokkanātha during 1663-1667, in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga (*Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 356-358, Nos. 157, 165-168; *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2366-2367, Nos. 19, 21-24).

directed operations against him, defeating him and putting the Kongas to flight. At this reverse, Chokkanātha Nāyaka (*Chokkalinga* of Madura) himself marched forth towards Ērōḍe, at the head of a vast army (consisting, it is said, of a lakh of foot, a hundred elephants and several horses) and a confederacy made up of the fugitive Emperor Śrī-Ranga of Vijayanagar, Vēdōji-Paṇḍita, a Vizier of Bijāpur (then in charge of Gingee), Ananta-Paṇḍita (Anantōji) of Gingee (*Chenji*, *Tenji*), a Bijāpur general, and Dāmarlaiyappa Nāyaka⁶⁴ (Dāmarlaiyapēndra). There were also, in his ranks, the Velama-Kammes, Telugas, Banajigas and artillery-men (*tupākadavar*), the last under the command of Lingama Nāyaka, the artillery-officer (*tupākada Lingama Nāyaka*) Chokkanātha, with his main army (*tanna mūlabalamum*) and the forces of the confederates, encircled the fort of Ērōḍe and was preparing to lay siege to it. At this news Dēvarāja Woḍeyar deliberated with his councillors in Seringapatani as to how best to meet the situation. Some of the councillors spoke of the advisability of collecting a large army and carefully proceeding against the enemy; others touched upon the vain frivolity and laxity prevailing in the ranks of the confederate forces (despite their being numerically strong and well-equipped) and the ease with which the combination could be broken down; others, again, stressed the need for diplomacy (*rāyabhāriya-nesagurudu lēsembudum*). At this juncture, the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja (nephew of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar)—now in his twenty-second year—offered, with rare courage, to lead the Mysore army against the coalition, and sought his uncle's permission to march on to Ērōḍe. Dēvarāja having apparently acquiesced in his request, letters were despatched forthwith to the commanders of various local forts, ordering a general mobilisation of their troops for

64. Identical with Aiyappa of Poonamalli (brother of Dāmarla-Venkaṭādri), founder of Chennapaṭṭaṇṇam or Madras in the name of his father, Chenna. See *Sources and Mys Gaz.*, referred to in f.n. 66 *infra*.

the campaign. In the course of these preparations, Chokkanātha's representative (*niyōgi-gurinānisam*) at Seringapatam—probably under the influence of Dēvarāja's own courtiers⁶⁵—hastened to send him a report (*binṇarattale*), acquainting him with the weakness of his (Chokkanātha's) position and the intended advance of Chikkadēvarāja, and hinting at the latter's might and prowess. Whereupon Chokkanātha retired in strict privacy to Trichinopoly and was followed thither by Śrī-Ranga also. In vain did Dāmarlaiyappa Nāyaka and the artillery-men at Ērōḍe write to Chokkanātha assuring him of their steadfastness and of the support of the cavalry force of Gingee. Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, on hearing of this turn in the course of affairs, found it expedient, in agreement with Chikkadēvarāja, to send his army only under the Daḷavāi, to engage the remnant of the confederacy. Accordingly, about June 1667, Daḷavāi Kumārāya (who had lately succeeded Nanjanāthaiya) left Seringapatam. Making rapid and uninterrupted marches, he entered the camp of the enemy at Ērōḍe causing great havoc. A short and swift action followed, in which the Kongas were thoroughly defeated and put to rout; Dāmarlaiyappa Nāyaka was slain; Ananta-Paṇḍita put to flight, the elephant named *Kulaśēkhara* captured and the entire Tigula-nāḍu plunged in consternation (*Tigula-nāḍanitam tabbiḇbugole*).⁶⁶

65 There seems some reason to suspect the accuracy of this part of the *C. Vi.*, cited in f.n. 66 *infra*. It is a question whether Chokkanātha's agent at Seringapatam would not have been prevailed upon by Dēvarāja's courtiers to effectually detach his master from the confederacy. Some diplomacy must have been at work, in keeping with the mature deliberations at Dēvarāja's court and in view of the risk involved in entrusting young Chikkadēvarāja with the responsibility of leading the Mysore army against a formidable combination. See also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 297, for a similar view.

66. *C. Vi.*, V, 33-90; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1666), ll. 36-38; and *Hastī Mahāt.*, I, 67—detailing, and referring to, the siege of Ērōḍe and Dēvarāja's victory over the Nāyak of Madura and the Kongas. The siege of Ērōḍe is to be dated c. January-June 1667, in the light of the *Mys. Dho. Pār.* and inscriptions cited *infra*. See also and compare *Wilks*, I, 69-70; *Ancient India*, pp. 296-297; *Sources*, p. 21; *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 26, 171-173; and *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2394-2398.

It was a distinct victory for Mysore. In June 1667, **Acquisition of** Daḷavāi Kumāraiya took possession of Ērōḍe; in November, Dhārāpuram; **Erōḍe, etc., June** and in February 1668, Vāmalūr and the dependencies of Kāmalūr and Sāmballī-pura—from **1667-February 1668.** Ghaṭṭa-Mudaliār.⁶⁷ The Mysore army, we are told, proceeded as far as Trichinopoly, forcing Chokkanātha to submit and accepting from him presents consisting of several horses, cash and costly jewels.⁶⁸ These activities of Dēvarāja Wodeyar are confirmed in an ample measure by records referring to his grants, found in what are now parts of Salem and Coimbatore districts, ranging from 1667 onwards.⁶⁹

Among other events of importance from a local point of view were the acquisition of Huli-yūrdurga in December 1667, and of Kunigal in January 1668, from Mummaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa of Māgaḍi (1658-1678).⁷⁰

We have seen how Śrī-Ranga VI, the Vijayanagar Emperor, was in the dominions of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura during 1663-1667 and how he left for Trichinopoly, about the middle of 1667, during the siege of Ērōḍe. Śrī-Ranga's last hopes of imperial restoration vanished with the break-down of the confederacy at Ērōḍe and the victory

Fourth Phase
1668-1673.

Mysore and
Vijayanagar, down
to 1673

67 See *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 28-29, specifically dating these acquisitions in *Plavanga*, *Aśadhā* *su* 15 (June 25, 1667), *Mārgaśira* *su*. 10 (November 15, 1667) and *Phalguna* *su*. 10 (February 12, 1668); *Annals*, I. 97; also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, I c.; *C. Vi.*, V, 91, and *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, II. 38-39, referring to Dēvarāja's conquests in the south-east of Mysore. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 71 (*List of conquests*); *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 161-163.

68. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, I c.; *Annals*, I. 98; *C. Vi.*, V, 95-96; also *Wilks*, I. 69-70; cf. *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 162.

69. *I M C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 43 (June 22, 1667), referring to Dēvarāja's conquest of Tigulānya; *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552, Cb. 306, 308 and 309 (1669 and 1671). For further particulars about these records, see under *Grants and other records*. Cf. *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 161-163, 171.

70. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 20, *Annals*, I. 97; see also *C. Vi.*, V, 93-94; *Hast. Mahāt.*, I, 67; Cf. *Wilks*, I. 71.

achieved by Mysore against them (June 1667). Successively foiled at Mysore, Ikkēri and Madura during a period extending well nigh to two decades (c. 1650-1667), Śrī-Ranga, in or about 1668, appears to have left Trichinopoly for Penukonda, from where, it would seem, he continued to rule, with his authority much reduced, till about 1681, if not 1692.⁷¹ During the period covered by his absence in the south, two scions of the Āravīḍu dynasty, Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya and Venkaṭapati-Rāya (Venkaṭa V), son and nephew, respectively, of Śrī-Ranga, appear to have held nominal sway of the Empire.⁷² In a lithic record, dated in October 1664,⁷³ Dēvarāja Wodeyar acknowledges the suzerainty of Dēva-Dēva-Mahārāya. The series of Dēvarāja's records, ranging successively from 1665 down to 1673,⁷⁴ are generally conspicuous by the absence of the name of the Vijayanagar Emperor. In only two of these records, however, dated in April 1665 and May 1668⁷⁵ respectively, does Dēvarāja Wodeyar acknowledge the suzerainty of Vīra-Venkaṭatirāya-raiṇya (Venkaṭa V). Most of the records, from 1664 down to 1673,⁷⁶ refer to Dēvarāja with or without

71. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 360, 362, Nos. 183 and 198, also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2367 (Nos. 25 and 26), 2406-2407, citing documents and correcting S. K. Aiyangar and other authorities.

72. See Table XIV; also records cited *infra*.

73. *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46, ll. 6-9. For details about this and other documents cited *infra*, see under *Grants and other records* and *Domestic life*.

74. *Vide* references cited under *Ibid*.

75. *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64, ll. 8-9; 65, ll. 6-10.

76. Among the records mentioning the imperial titles, etc., of Dēvarāja are *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (1665), ll. 9-10, Ml. 147 (1669), ll. 4-5; IV (2) Gu. 64 and 65 (1665), ll. 9-11; Hs. 139 (1669), ll. 7-8, 22 (1672), ll. 8-9; Yd. 53 and 54 (1666), ll. 5-7 and pp. 156-157 (Text); 43 (1667), ll. 10-22; Hg. 119 (1670), ll. 6-7; and 57 (1672), ll. 5-7; III (1) Ml. 38 and 63 (1672), ll. 7-9 and 3-5, Nj. 191 (1672), ll. 10-13, TN. 54 (1673), ll. 9-11; IX Cp. 56 (1666), ll. 5-7, *M. A. R.*, 1931, No. 33 (1668), ll. 5-6; XII Kg. 4 (1671), ll. 7-8, and Tp. 106 (1673), ll. 4-6. Among the records not mentioning the titles of Dēvarāja are *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46 (1664), Tp. 72 (1669), 70 (1671), Kg. 5 (1671); XI Kn. 95 (1671); V (1) and (2) Cu. 218 (1665), 155 (1670), 273 (1672), etc., Hn. 8 (1666); II SB. 401 (1672); IV (2) Gu. 25 (1665), Ng. 44 (1669), Hg. 120 (1670) and 107 (1672); III (1) Md. 51 (1667), *M. E. R.*, 1929, No. 6 (1665); *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552 (1669, 1671), etc.

imperial titles, etc., these being generally identical with those occurring in the earlier documents (down to 1664). Among the additions, however, are *Karnāṭa-simhāsana-madhiśvaraḥ* (Lord of the throne of the Karnāṭaka country), *Vīra-pratāpaśāli-Chakravartī* (Emperor) and *Dakṣhiṇa-simhāsana-Śrīrangapattanaṅkar-kartarāda* (Agent or Deputy to the seat of southern power—lit. throne), mentioned in lithic documents dated in December 1667⁷⁷ and January 1673.⁷⁸ The use of the Boar seal is also, as usual, in evidence.⁷⁹ In one document, dated in November 1672,⁸⁰ the earlier designation of Dēvarāja, i.e., *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, appears side by side with the imperial titles of his. Other records⁸¹ bear out, in an increasing measure, his claim to imperial rule from the throne at Seringapatam. One record⁸² even speaks of Dēvarāja as seated on a secure throne. From another,⁸³ we learn that he had been established on the jewelled

77 *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 43, ll 10-11

78 *Ibid.*, III (1) TN 54, ll 9-11

79 See, for instance, *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd 43, ll 166-167 *Bhū-Varaha-mudrapaṭha virājitaṃ*

80 *E.C.*, III (1) Nj 191, ll 10-11

81 See *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd 53, ll 6-7, Hs 139, l 8, Hg 119, l 7, IX Cp. 56, l 7, *Mys Dist Suppl Vol.*, Ml 147, ll 4-5, also IV (2) Gu 64, ll 9-10, 65, ll 10-11, III (1) Ml 38, ll 9-10 (revised with a fresh transcript obtained from the *Mysore Archaeological Office*); 63, ll 4-6; V (1) and (2) Cn 218, ll 14-16—referring to the throne as *Śrīrangapattanaṅka-simhāsana* and *Pāschima-rangaḍhāni-simhāsana*, and to Dēvarāja Wodeyar as *Śrīrangapattanaṅka-simhāsanaḍhiśvara*, *Mysūru-simhāsanaḍhiśvara*, *Mysūru-simhāsanaḍhipati*, *Mayisāra-simhāsanaṅkar yōgyarāda*, etc.

82 *E.C.*, IV (2) Yd. 54 (1666), p. 156 (Text): *Bhadra-piṭhādhipaḥ*. The word *Bhadra-piṭha* generally means throne. Rice's rendering of the expression as "seated on a secure throne," is quite in keeping with the context.

83 *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), ll. 16-18

Śrī-Ranga-Rāya-maṇi-sūbhata-piṭha-samsthā

Śrīmaṇ-vibhūr-vijayatām Doḍa-Dēvarājāḥ ||

Rājād-Rangapurē surēndra-mahitē sāmvrājya-simhāsane

Sākṣad-Vishpurva Śrīya-Vasudhaya-sambhūmanāḥ prabhuh ||

The reference to Śrī-Ranga-Rāya in this record is to Śrī-Ranga II (vide f.n. 97 in Ch. V). The record being a grant of the reign of Chikka-dēvarāja Wodeyar (1673-1704), Dēvarāja Wodeyar is referred to here as "Doḍa (Doḍḍa) Dēva-Rāya," perhaps by way of distinguishing him from his nephew and successor (see also f.n. 11 *supra*).

throne of Śrī-Ranga Rāya and was wielding the sceptre of imperial sovereignty from Seringapatam. All this points to how the Vijayanagar Empire was fast decaying and how the earlier tendency on the part of Dēvarāja Wodeyar to step into the latter's sovereign status as its political heir—while retaining his theoretical designation of *Karta* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Seringapatam—continued to manifest itself in a more pronounced manner during the latter part of his reign.

Side by side with this tendency towards the open assertion of imperial power was the local position of Dēvarāja Wodeyar himself. Local position of Dēvarāja, 1668-1673 Already by 1665, he was, as we have seen, at the height of his power. The events of 1667-1668 added considerably to his reputation and prestige. And, during 1668-1673, he was ruling Mysore in absolute peace and security, impressing his contemporaries with his might and prowess by the trophy of a pair of sandals (*pāda-chūḍam*), which he is said to have got prepared out of the precious stones received as tribute from the powers subdued by him.⁸⁴

By 1673, the last year of Dēvarāja Wodeyar's reign, the kingdom of Mysore, powerful and practically independent, had been extended as far as Hāssan and Sakrepaṭṇa in the west, Salem in the east, Chiknāyakana-halli in the north and Ērōḍe and Dhārāpuram in the south.⁸⁵

Inscriptions of Dēvarāja Wodeyar point to his rule from the capital city of Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled throne. The influence of his personality thoroughly made itself felt in civil as in military matters. The

Dēvarāja's Rule

General features.

84. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 26; *Annals*, I. 98-99; see also *C. Vi*, V, 95-96; *Kāmaṇḍ. Nt.*, I, 65.

85. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll 40-48, which enables us to determine the precise limits of the kingdom of Mysore in 1673.

administration was, as usual, conducted in the traditional manner, due regard being paid to the precepts of *dharma* laid down in the *Smṛti*.⁸⁶

The ministers and officers of Kaṇṭhīrava's reign, it would seem, continued in office under Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, with the possible exception of the royal scribe, to which office Lakshmīpati, a Jain, appears to have succeeded.⁸⁷ Among the Daḷavāis of Dēvarāja, already referred to, Hanaparājaiya of Kārugahaḷḷi continued in office till April 1660, when he was, it is said, removed from service on a charge of defrauding the state revenues. He was succeeded by Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (April-July 1660). Muddaiya (July 1660-September 1661), Nanjanāthaiya (September 1661-February 1662) and Kāntaiya of Kaḷale (February 1662-April 1662). Nanjanāthaiya was re-appointed in April 1662 and was followed in April 1667 by Kumāruiya of Kaḷale, who remained in office during the rest of the reign.⁸⁸ Among the feudatories, Doḍḍaiya of Channarāyapaṭṇa, having died about 1660, had been succeeded by his son, Basavaiya, mentioned in records dated in the years 1661, 1669 and 1670.⁸⁹

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar is credited with having thoroughly studied the character and conduct of his feudatories (*Pāḷegārs*) and regulated his relations with them, granting rent-free lands (*umbāḷi*) to some and quit-rent villages (*jōḍi*) to

86. See *Pāsch. Māhāt* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 42 *Smṛtyukta-dharmadindāḷu*.

87. *Vide* prose passage at the end of the Ms. copy (1663) of Rama's *Ajitanātha-Purāna*, p. 190 *Mysūra-Chikkaya-Rāyana rāyasada Lakshmīpati*. The reference to "Chikkaya-Rāya" here is to Dēvarāja-Woḍeyar of Mysore. See also under *Literary progress and Domestic life*, for further notice of this Ms.

88. *Annals*, I 96-97; also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, I 67-68. Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya is identical with the one mentioned in *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81 (March 14, 1662, ll. 5 and 6), and with "Daḷavāyi Nandināthaiya" mentioned in *E. C.*, XII Kg. 46 (October 11, 1664, l. 18). For further particulars about the Daḷavāis of the Kaḷale Family, see section on *Domestic life—Rise of the Kaḷale Family*, and Table XIII.

89. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records*

others and settling cash contributions (*khaṇḍaṇeya haṇa*) with the rest.⁹⁰

Dēvarāja was, like his predecessor, an ardent Vaiṣṇava.⁹¹

The *Palace Copper-plates*,⁹² in particular, speak of his devotion to God

Religion.

Ranganātha of Seringapatam. From other records,⁹³ we learn that he used daily to rise at dawn, contemplate and worship the lotus feet of Viṣṇu repeating without omission His thousand names, then perform oblations to fire, and, having bestowed gifts of cows and money on the Brāhmins, listen to the recital of the *Purāṇas* and sacred stories. In keeping with this, we have the contemporary work, *Chaupadāda-Pustaka* (c. 1670),⁹⁴ generally depicting Dēvarāja Wodeyar as getting up at dawn, taking his bath, wearing shining silken garments, putting the *ṭīkā* of musk on his forehead and performing the morning rites. Toleration was, as usual, a prominent feature of Dēvarāja's religion. He

90. *Annals*, I 102

91. See *E C*, XII Kg 37 and III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 97-98 and 15-16. *Śrī Nārāyaṇa pāda-paṅkajayuglā vinayasta vishvagbharah*, IV (2) Yd 54 (1666), p. 156 (Text) *Sudā Hari-parāyaṇa hr̥di-nirūṣṭa Nārāyaṇaḥ*

92. *E C*, Mys Dist Suppl Vol, My 114 (1663), l. 32. *Rangēśa-sēvā-niratā*. See also *Kāmaṇḍ Ni* (c. 1676), I, 65. *Ranganātha pādāravinda-bandhura sēvā niratam*

93. *Ibid*, XII Kg. 37 (1663), ll. 68-70

Kālyāṇ prabudhya kamalā-ramaṇāṅghri-yugmam

Dhyātāvābhīpājya uyama na sahasa-nāmnā |

Hutvā kṛṣṇanumadhukam vasaṅgam phalāni

Prājyāni vipra-nivahūya dadāti nityam |

III (1) Sr 14 (1666), ll. 43-46

Kālyāṇ . . . rasugām devēbhyaḥ

Datvā santyam itihāsa kālāḥ śrīmōḥ

See also *Mys. Rāj. Chu.*, 26, *Annals*, I 102.

94. See ff. 1

Mysūru-Dēvarājēndra . . . ānupa-nudayadul |

Majjanava-nannukolasi |

Suruchira dukulagaḷa mariyyoḷim-bittu |

Pere nonalinaloge kasturi-tilakavittu |

Vinuta sanāthyāḍi satkarmavanu rachasi

The verses in this part of the poem are not numbered in the original. For a notice of the work, see under *Literary progress*.

was a great friend and patron of Brāhmanism as known to those days. He is indeed referred to⁹⁵ as having taken a vow to govern the kingdom, to protect and establish Gods and deserving Brāhmins. The *Bhērya copper-plate grant*⁹⁶ (1666) further speaks of him as having divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to the Brāhmins, the second to the Gods, the third to charity, and reserving the fourth for his own use. He paid equal attention to Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism and respected equally the three sects of Brāhmins, especially in the matter of making grants and bestowing on the latter, shares (*vrittis*) in the *agrahāras* formed in his own name (*Dēvarājapura*).⁹⁷ Equally solicitous was he towards the Jains and Vīra-Śaivas in the kingdom.⁹⁸ Maintenance and upkeep of temples, *maths* and *satras* (feeding-houses) for all classes and creeds was, as we shall see, the object underlying most of his grants and other records.

Gifts, acts of piety and public utility were a normal feature of Dēvarāja's activities as a ruler. Thus, we learn,⁹⁹ he conducted the *Vājapēya* and other sacrifices to Gods (*Vājapēya-makhānēka-makha-nikhila . . . ; yajñā dēvāścha dharmāḥ*), made the sixteen great gifts (*śhōḍaśa mahā-dāna*) described in Hēmādri and other works (gifts namely, *hiraṇya-garbha*, *brahmāṇḍa*,

95. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 and XII Kg. 37 (1663), ll. 17-18 and 100-101. *Dēva-brāhmaṇa rakṣaṇāya prithvī-sāmrājya-dīkṣhām vahan*; also Kg. 37, ll. 94-95: *Dēva-sa[d]-brāhmaṇa-gaṇa pratīṣṭhāpana-dīkṣhataḥ*.

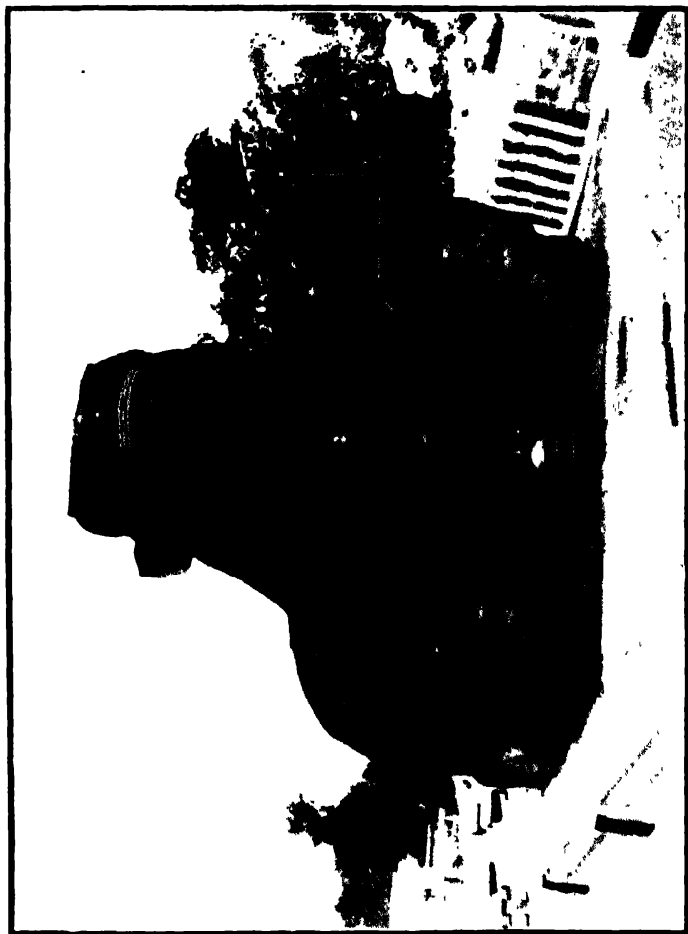
96. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 157 (Text)

*Chaturdāśa vibhāgyātmanō rājya-mādyam
Dvītyābhyo param dēvatābhyah prayuchan |
Trstiyantu dharmāya turyam evaktiyam
Vidhāyāvati kṣhmām sadā Dēvarājuḥ ||*

97. See under *Grants and other records*, for details.

98. *Ibid.*

99. See *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 65; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 107; *Hasti Mahāt.*, I, 68; *Yad. Mahāt.*, I, 51-52; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, II, 29; *C.V.*, V, 96; *E.C.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 72, 74-79; IV (2) Yd. 53, ll. 15-16; 54, pp. 156-157 (Text); also see and compare *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 26-27; *Annals*, I. 100-101.



The Bull on the Chāmūndī Hill. Mysore.—Cut out of a monolith

saptāmbudhi, *tulā-purusha*, *gō-sahasra*, *kalpavalli*, *kāmadhēnu*, *ratna*, *gō-svarṇa-bhū-svarṇa-garbha*, *pancha-hala* or *lāngala*, *kalpa-vriksha*, *kanakarathi-bhāṣṭva* and *viśva-chakra*; bestowed difficult, varied and innumerable gifts (*viridhān amānushān dharmān*, *amitā yasya dharmāḥ*) at Śrīrangam, Tirupati (*Venkaṭaśaila*), Mēlkōṭe (*Yāḍavagiri*), Kānchi (*Hastigiri*), Rāmōśvaram (*Sētu*), the banks of the Gautamī (or Gōḍāvarī), Allahābād (*Prayāga*), Benares (*Vāraṇāsī*), Gaya and Seringapatam (*Purī Raṅgadhāmnaḥ*); constructed wells, ponds, tanks and temples (*rāpī-kūpa-taṭākān* . . . *dēva-grhān*, *dēvasthānāni*); established groves, watersheds and feeding-houses from road to road (*mārgē-mārgē sadranāni prapāścha*; *mārgē-mārgē prapāścha satrāni*), furnishing each village with a feeding-house for the free distribution of food (*grāmē-grāmē bhūri-mṛṣṭānna-satram*), and arranged for the conduct of daily festivals in the temples, bestowing villages as donations therefor (*Dēvasthānān-yutsarān-tēṣu-utyam* . . . *tadartham datvā grāmān*). He is further referred to as utilising the spoils of war for making gifts to Brāhmanas, for rewarding his friends and for providing ornaments to his queens¹⁰⁰. The popularity of his rule and the extent of his kingdom are indicated by a record of 1686¹⁰¹ mentioning the establishment by him of feeding-houses (*satra*) at a distance of every nine miles (*yōjana*) on every road throughout the length and breadth of his dominions, to the east from Sakrepaṭṇa (*Sakhare-paṭṭaṇa*), to the west from Salem (*Sēlayapura*), to the south from Chiknāyakanahalli (*Chikkanāyaka-pura*), and to the north from Dhārāpur (*Dhārāpura*). Among other acts of piety Dēvarāja is credited with are: the laying of a thousand steps to the Chāmuṇḍī Hill at Mysore and the setting up of an exquisitely sculptured monolithic Bull midway thereto (1664); the construction of a tank named

100. C. Vī., I.c.

101. E.C., III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 41-43.

Dēvāmbudhi in Mysore (March 1666) besides provision for daily services, with gifts, to the holy shrine at Tirupati and endowments to the Goddess Chāmunḍēśvarī and to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples at Nanjangūḍ, Mysore, Seringapatam, Mēlkōṭe and other places; and the extension of the temple of Trinēśvara at Mysore, adding a stone *maṇṭapam* of twenty-seven *ankaṇams*, a stone pillar and a seven-storeyed tower over its *Mahā-dvāra*, and setting up the images of twenty-five Śaiva deities in the pavilions of the temple.¹⁰²

Among the extant records of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, a damaged lithic inscription, Grants and other records, 1659-1673 · dated in 1659,¹⁰³ seems to register a (a) 1659-1663. service to the Basavēśvara temple at Singānallūr, Kolḷōgāl taluk. A *nirūpa*, dated in 1660,¹⁰⁴ refers to his grant of lands rent-free (*umbali*) to Gange-Basave-Gauḍa of Hangala. A third, dated November 25, 1661,¹⁰⁵ refers to a service by Basavaiya (son of Doddaiya) of Channarāyapaṭṇa, a feudatory of Dēvarāja, in the temple of Jakkēśvara-svāmi in the village of Jambūr. A stone charter of Dēvarāja, dated November 15, 1662,¹⁰⁶ directs the local officials of the *gaḍis* of the Kāṅkāṇhalli-sīme (i.e., *Gurikārs*, *Pārupatyagārs*, *Sunka-maṇēgārs*, *Sēnabhōgas*, *Rāvutas*, *Rāṇuves* and *Sunka-kārḱūns*, etc.) to make annual cash contributions to the treasury of God Mahadēśvara of Moḷagāla, for the offerings, illuminations, car festival and services to the

102. See *Annals*, I 99-101; *Mys Itaj Cha.* 27; also *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 32-34 (referring to the construction of the tank in Mysore); *Wilks*, I, 70 (referring to the Bull); cf. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 472 (referring to the setting up of the Bull in the reign of Kaṇṭhirava I).

103. *M.E.R.*, 1910, No. 20 (*I.M.P.*, I. 556, Ch. 345): s. 1581, *Vikāri*; see also fn. 46 *supra*.

104. *I.M.C.*, No. 19-1-52, *Hangala-Bāya-Rēkhe*, p. 10: *Śarvari*.

105. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 258: s. 1584, *Plava, Mārgasira śu* 15, Monday; s. 1584, in this record, is a slight error for s. 1583.

106. *Ibid.*, IX Kn. 94: s. 1561, *Śubhakrit, Mārgasira śu* 15, Saturday; s. 1561, in this record, is an error for s. 1584 (*Śubhakrit*).

God. The *Palace Copper-plates*, dated April 9, 1663,¹⁰⁷ register a rent-free grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, for the merit of his parents, of the village of Chandakavāḍi (with six hamlets) in the Rāmasamudra hōbḷi in the Hadinād-sīme, to Mantra-mūrti Rāja-Rājendra-Bhārati-Svāmi, as a *math* endowment (*matha-svāsthya*). A lithic record, dated May 6, 1663,¹⁰⁸ refers to the building of a temple to God Chandraśēkhara at Channarāyapaṭṇa and the performance of the consecration service therein by Doḍḍaiya. The record also refers to the erection by him of a temple to Kāḍa-Basavēśvara. We have next a number of records of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, dated July 6, 1663 (*Śōbhakrit*, *Āshāḍha* *śu.* 12, Monday). one of these, a copper-plate grant from the Rāghavēndrasvāmi *math* at Nanjangūḍ,¹⁰⁹ registers the gift by him of the village of Nallūr—surnamed *Dēvarājapura* (of the annual revenue of 100 *dīnārs*)—in the Saragūr-sthaḷa, to Rāghavēndra-tīrtha-Śrīpāda-Svāmi, son of Sudhīndra-tīrtha-Śrīpāda (spiritual son of Vijayīndra-tīrtha-Śrīpāda), to provide for God's worship and the feeding of the Brāhmins. Others record, respectively, the establishment and grant of an *agrahāra* (named *Dēvarājapura*) of fifty shares for Brāhmins at Malagūr and its seven hamlets in the Bāchahallī-sthaḷa and the Nāgamangala hōbḷi of the Hoysaḷa-nāḍu;¹¹⁰ the grant, for the merit of Dēvarāja's parents and ancestors, of the village of Tūbinakere in the Amritūr-sthaḷa, to Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya of Yēḍūr or Eṭṭūr—of Śaṭamarshana-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajuśśākhā—son of Kōṭi-Kanyādānana Lakshmīkumāra-

107 *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (*M. A. R.*, 1909, p. 26): s. 1585, *Śōbhakrit*, (*Nīja*) *Chaitra* *śu.* 12. There was an intercalary *Chaitra* in *Śōbhakrit* and the grant appears to have been made in *Nīja-Chaitra*, April 9, 1663, as indicated above.

108 *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn, 156: *Śōbhakrit*, *Varāḥa* *śu.* 10, Wednesday.

109 *M. A. R.*, 1917, pp. 58-59, para 143. *Śōbhakrit*, *Āshāḍha* *śu.* 11, Monday, of this record, actually corresponds to July 6, 1663, on which day there was both *Ekādasi* and *Dvādasi* (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI, 129), the former being evidently observed by the Vaishṇava *math*, the donee.

110 *E. C.*, IV (2) Kr. 67.

Tātāchārya and grandson of Immaḍi-Tirumala-Tātāchārya of Śrī-Śaila Vamśa, after making the *laksha-hōma*, *śvētāśva* and other gifts; ¹¹¹ another grant to the same donee of the village of Haḷḷikere, in the Nāgamangala-sthaḷa, and of the *agrahāra* of Nūlapura (named *Ikkēri*), containing sixty-four shares; ¹¹² the establishment of an *agrahāra* (named *Dēvarājapura*) in the Maṇikarnikā-kshētra, north-east of Seringapatam, and the grant to the three sects of Brāhmans, *i.e.*, *Smārthas*, *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* and *Tatva-vādins* (Mādhvas), of the village of Hālagere (with its hamlets and two other villages)—also in the Amritūr-sthaḷa and yielding 500 *dinārs*—divided into fifty shares; ¹¹³ the gift of the village of Āgatūr, in the Saragūr-sthaḷa, to a priest, as an offering to Lord Krishna; ¹¹⁴ and a grant to an *agrahāra* established at the village of Kauḍale (otherwise called *Dēvarājapura*). ¹¹⁵ A *nirūpa* of Dēvarāja, dated in 1663, ¹¹⁶ records the grant of the villages of Horakēri-Bachahaḷḷi and Hosahaḷḷi to the newly constructed stone *maṭh* at Hangaḷa (*Hangaḷa-dalli hosadāgi kattistu kalmatakke*).

111 *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 33 For further particulars about the donee, see under *Social life*.

112. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 23 See also f n 162 and 169 *infra*

113 *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37: the *Hālagere Plates*; also 38; III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 34-36; and *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, pp. 55-56, paras 132-133. See also under *Learning and culture* Rice places Kg. 37 in 1662 but *Śōbhakṛt*, the actual date of the record, corresponds to 1663.

114. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 85.

115 *E. C.*, III (1) Md. 114 (revised with the fresh transcript obtained from the *Mysore Archaeological Office*) See also *M. A. R.* 1933, No. 49, pp. 252-256.

116. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52, *Hangaḷa-Rāya-Rēkhe*, p. 13. *Śōbhakṛt*. This record is almost identical with *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 24 (pp. 161-163), regarded by Dr M. H. Krishna, on chronological grounds, to be spurious (*Ibid.*, p. 163). In the light of the earlier copy (c. 1800) from the *I. M. C.*, the latter (*i.e.*, No. 24) must be taken to be an interpolation of a document originally dated in 1663 (*Śōbhakṛt*)—*vide* also Appendix V—(1). The stone *maṭh*, referred to in the record, is the same as the one mentioned in *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25 (1656), pp. 163-166, and noticed in Ch. IX, f.n. 165. For further reference to it, see under *Domestic life* in this Ch.

A lithic record, dated October 11, 1664,¹¹⁷ refers to the grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, on the occasion of *Tulā-Sankaramaṇam*, of the village of Kaggere in the Kuṇigal-sthaḷa, for the service of Kaggere-Tōṇṭada-Siddhēśvara-Svāmi, a deified Vīra-Śaiva saint. The grant, it is said, was made in commemoration of the success achieved by the Mysore army (under Daḷavāi Nanjanāthaiya) against Ikkēri, for which they had offered prayers to the *svāmi*. A copper-plate inscription, dated January 6, 1665,¹¹⁸ registers the grant by Dēvarāja of the village of Lakkūr, in the Terakaṇāmbi-sthaḷa, to Lakkappa-Jyōtisha (son of Banadanna-Jyōtisha, of Jāmadagni-gōtra, Āśvalāyana-sūtra and Ṛk-śākhā), at the time of performing the gift of *svarna-tulā* (weighing oneself against gold), on the occasion of the solar eclipse. A lithic record, dated April 10, 1665,¹¹⁹ speaks of Dēvarāja Wodeyar as having caused the *virakta-maṭha* to be newly erected in the Mallana's corner (*Mallana-mūleyalli*), to the north of God Nanjunḍēśvara at the junction of the Kapinī and Kaunḍinī, and made a grant of the villages of Hukunda and Dēśipura to the Virakta-svāmi Praṇamappa-Channavīra-Dēvaraiya Waḍēr, in order that all the Vīra-Māhēśvaras might find refuge in Śiva. Another, dated December 7, 1665,¹²⁰ is a charter registering a grant of Dēvarāja to the God of Bhaktarahalli. A copper-plate inscription, dated December 29, 1665,¹²¹ records the gift of three villages (one belonging to the Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa division and the other two to Hāssan)—on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrānti*—

117. *E. C.*, XII Kg 46. *s.* 1585 expired, *Kṛādhī*, *Kārtika* *śu.* 2; see also text of *f.n.* 41 *supra*.

118. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126). *s.* 1586, *Kṛādhī*, *Pushya* *ba.* 80, Friday; also IV (2) Gu. 25.

119. *E. C.*, IV (2) Gu. 64: *Vīśvāvasu*, *Vaiśākha* *śu.* 5, Monday.

120. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 218. *s.* 1586 expired, *Vīśvāvasu*, *Mārgaśīra* *śu.* 10.

121. *M. E. R.*, 1929, No. 6: *s.* 1587, *Vīśvāvasu*, *Pushya* *śu.* 8, Friday. See also Nos. 9 and 10 (copies of No. 6). The donor, Dhanvōjaiya, in this record, seems to be identical with Dhanvōjaiya who used to furnish ornaments to Kaṭṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I (see Ch. IX).

by Dhanvōjaiya (*Dhanōjaiya*, son of Śivaiya and grandson of Nānaga, of Lambakārṇa-gōtra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra), an officer of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (?), for the celebration of the car festival in the temple of Subrahmaṇya at Kukke and for the maintenance of an *anna-satra* there. A lithic record, dated February 22, 1666,¹²² refers to the grant of some villages by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar to the *agrahāra* of Garakahallī (named *Dēvarājapura*), on the occasion of *Śivarātri*. An epigraph, dated June 24, 1666,¹²³ records a cash grant to the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*) of Ādīśvara of Seringapatam, by Pāyanna (a disciple of Chārukīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya of Śravana-Belagoḷa), for the *Aṣṭāhnikā-Dharma*. A lithic record, dated June 29, 1666,¹²⁴ registers the grant of the village of Gāvunahallī as rent-free (*sarva-māṇyanāgi*), by Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, for the service of the Goddess Chāmunḍēśvarī. Another, dated December 30, 1666,¹²⁵ is a stone charter of Dēvarāja, granting an *agrahāra* (of 92½ shares) named *Dēvarājapura*—in the Bhērya One Thousand place and its twelve hamlets belonging to Narasiṃhapura—to learned and deserving Brāhmins of various gōtras and sūtras, on the occasion of *Makarā-Saukrānti*. The *Bhērya copper-plate grant*, of the same date,¹²⁶ not only confirms this charter but also records the additional gift by Dēvarāja of a well-built and well-furnished house (in the Maṇikarnikā-kshētra) to each of the 92 donees, on the same occasion. A lithic record, dated in

122. *E. C.*, IX Cp. 56. *Viśvavasu*, *Māgha* *ba.* 12, Thursday, *Śivarātri*. *Śivarātri*, however, actually took place on *Māgha* *ba.* 14, Thursday (February 22, 1666)—see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 134. The *tithi*, mentioned in the record, is apparently a slight scribal error. Cf. *Annals*, I 99.

123. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 181 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126). *s.* 1589, *Parābhava*, *Āshāḍha* *su.* 2; *s.* 1589, in this record, is a slight error for *s.* 1588.

124. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Hn. 8. *s.* 1588, *Parābhava*, *Āshāḍha* *su.* 8.

125. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 53. *Parābhava*, *Pushya* (*su.* 14), Sunday.

126. *Ibid.*, Yd. 54. *Ibid.* For further details about the grant, see under *Learning and culture*.

April 1667,¹²⁷ speaks of the grant by Dēvarāja Wodeyar of three additional villages to the *Dēvarājapura agrahāra* which he had previously established at Hālugaṅga-kere belonging to Anritūr. An inscription from the *Mackenzie Collection*, dated June 22, 1667,¹²⁸ records a grant by Dēvarāja, of eleven villages in the Paritipādi-sthaḷa of Vāmalūr-sīme, for services to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam, on the occasion of his conquest of Tigulānya (*Tigulānyavannu . . . mantāda rājyavannu jeyiṣi jayōtsaragaḷalli grāma-kshētragaḷannu biṭṭa nīvara*). Another record, a copper-plate charter, dated December 30, 1667,¹²⁹ registers a gift by Dēvarāja of the village of Mundūr, in the Sāligrāma-sthaḷa (belonging to Narasimhapura), for an *agrahāra* (of 21 shares) named *Dēvarājapura*. A lithic document, dated May 30, 1668,¹³⁰ confirms the grant by him of the villages of Hukunda and Dēśipura to the Virakta-maṭha newly built in the Mallana-mūle to the north of the Kapinī and Kaundinī rivers in Nanjangūd. Another, dated July 1, 1668,¹³¹ records his gift of the village of Kētahalli, in the Terakannāmbi-sthaḷa, for the free distribution of food in the Lingāyat maṭh in the town of Mysore (*Matsūra ura-voḷagaṇa . . . Mahattina maṭhadu anna-dānada dharmake*).

Another, dated April 1, 1669,¹³² registers a grant of Dēvarāja, in perpetuity, to a certain Wodeyar (? of Talakād), in the village of Belakavādi. A third, dated May 10,

127. *E. C.*, III (1) Md 51 s. 1586, *Plavanga, Vaisākha*. Rice places this record in 1664, relying on the *saka* date only (1586), which, however, does not tally with *Plavanga*. *Plavanga, Vaisākha* actually corresponds to April 1667 and this date is preferred here.

128. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 43 s. 1669, *Plavanga, Āshādha* *su.* 11, *Prathama-Ēkādaśi*.

129. *E. C.*, IV (2) Yd. 43 *Plavanga, Pushya* *ba.* 10, Monday.

130. *Ibid.*, Gu. 65: s. 1590, *Kilaka, (Ādhika) Āshādha* *su.* 1, Saturday; vide also Gu. 64 in f.n. 119 *supra*.

131. *M. A. R.*, 1931, No. 83, pp. 129-131. *Kilaka, Nija-Āshādha* *su.* 2. For further reference to this document, see under *Domestic life*.

132. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, No. 147 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 56, para 126): s. 1591, *Saunya, Chaitra* *su.* 10, Thursday.

1669,¹³³ refers to the setting up of God Viśvēśvara in Nāgamangala. A fourth, dated October 19, 1669,¹³⁴ speaks of the erection of a temple and a *bali-pīṭha* for God Chandrasēkhara, the processional image of God Śankarēśvara of Keregōḍu (in the Channarāyapaṭṇa-sīme), by Doddaiya, a feudatory of Dēvarāja. Among other records of the year 1669 are two lithic ones (one from the Mahādēva temple, south of Bestara-pālayam on the north of the Bhavānī river, and the other from Sengalarāi, Śiva-pālayam, near Satyamangalam, on the way to the same river),¹³⁵ registering the gift by Dēvarāja Wodeyar (*Uḍaiyar*) of the village of Bestara-pālayam, surnamed Kumāra-pura (*Comārī*), to the temple of Kunārasvāmi on the Dhavalagiri hill in the Dūrvāsa-kṣhētra at the confluence of the rivers Chintāmanī and Bhavānī. A lithic record, dated February 23, 1670,¹³⁶ speaks of Basavaiya as having caused a *dīpa-mālā* pillar to be erected for God Channarāya in the fort of Channarāyapaṭṇa. Another, belonging to about 1670,¹³⁷ records a gift by Dēvarāja of the village of Bindēnahalli, for the incense, lights, offerings, decorations and festivals of God Chandrasēkhara of Channarāyapaṭṇa. A third, dated January 2, 1671,¹³⁸ registers his gift—on the occasion of *Makara-Sankramaṇa*—of the village of Jānagere, in the Kottanagere-sthala of the Kuṇigal hōbḷi, for the Śivarātri service (*Śivarātri śēvege*) and for the offerings to God Agastyēśvara at the tri-junction of the Cauvery, Kapilā and the Sphaṭika-sarōvara (crystal lake). A fourth, dated January 17, 1671,¹³⁹ speaks of his grant of a piece of land

133. *Ibid*, IV (2) Ng. 44 *Saumya, Varṣakha ba.* 5.

134. *Ibid*, XII Tp. 72 *Saumya, Kārtika su.* 5.

135. *M. E. R.*, 1910, No. 181; also *I. M. P.*, I. 551-552, Cb. 306 and 306 :
s. 1591, *Saumya*.

136. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 155: *Saumya, Phalguṇa su.* 15; s. 1491, in this record, is an error for s. 1591 (*Saumya*).

137. *Ibid*, Cn. 168.

138. *Ibid*, XII Kg. 4 : s. 1592, *Sadhārana, Māgha su.* 2, Monday.

139. *Ibid*, Kg. 5: *Sadhārana, Māgha ba.* 2.

in the Kuṇigal-sīme to Udeya Nāyaka. A fifth, dated March 20, 1671,¹⁴⁰ refers to his having given away the tank of Virupa-samudra to God Mahadēśvara of Moḷagāla, in the Kāṅkāṇhaḷḷi (*Kāṇikāranahaḷḷi*)-sthaḷa, and to its restoration and rebuilding, after a breach, by a private individual. A sixth, dated August 12, 1671,¹⁴¹ mentions the gift by a private individual of a *dīpa-mālā* pillar and a *pātāḷa-maṇṭapa* to the processional image of God Śankarēśvara at Keregōḍu, under the government of Basavaiya, during Dēvarāja's reign. A seventh, dated in 1671,¹⁴² records the formation of the village of Vinnappalli into an *agrahāra* of sixty-four shares, and the bestowal of the same on sixty-four Brāhminans, by Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Among the records of 1672, a lithic one, dated August 18,¹⁴³ registers his grant of the village of Toravaḷḷi to God Mahābalēśvara. Two others, dated October 21,¹⁴⁴ relate to his grant of the village of Sasīyālapura, to provide for the offerings, illuminations and festivals of God Gangādharaēśvara of Maḷavaḷḷi (otherwise named *Gangā-dharapura*) and for the upkeep of the temple of the God. The grant, we learn, was made on a representation by one Gangādharaīya of the Maḷavaḷḷi-sthaḷa. Another, of the same date,¹⁴⁵ records Devarāja's gift of the village of Rāgi-Bommanahaḷḷi, for the maintenance of a feeding-house for Brāhminans. A fifth, dated November 7,¹⁴⁶ registers his grant of the village of Marihaḷḷi (belonging

140. *Ibid.*, IX Ku. 95. s. 1584, *Virōdhikrūt, Chaturta ba.* 5; s. 1584, in this record, is an error for s. 1593.

141. *Ibid.*, XII Tp. 70. s. 1593, *Virōdhikrūt, Śrāvāṇa ba.* 8, Saturday; see also Tp. 72 in f n. 134 *supra*.

142. *I. M. P.*, I. 552, Cb. 309. s. 1593, *Virōdhikrūt*.

143. *E. C.*, IV (2) Hg 107. *Paridhāvi, Bhādrapada śu.* 6. Rice doubtfully places this record in 1612 (?) but it actually belongs to Dēvarāja's reign.

144. *Ibid.*, III (1) Ml. 38 and 63. *Paridhāvi, Kārtika śu.* 10; s. 1472 and 1595, in these records, respectively, an error for s. 1594. See also *M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 40, para 95 (Ml. 38 revised).

145. *Ibid.*, II SB. 401: *Ibid.* See also *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 54, para 129.

146. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj 191 s. 1594, *Paridhāvi, Kārtika ba.* 12, Thursday.

to Ummattūr) to a local god, for the merit of his father (Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar). A sixth, dated November 14,¹⁴⁷ relates to his grant of the village of Kaggundi (otherwise called *Dēvarājapura*), for a feeding-house (*satrada dharmakke*), while a seventh, dated December 19 (*Pushya śu.* 10),¹⁴⁸ records his gift of the village of Madani, to provide for the daily distribution of food to the Jaina sanyāsīs of the *Dāna-śāle* of Chārukīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya of Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa. Perhaps the last of the available records of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar is a lithic one, dated January 15, 1673,¹⁴⁹ registering his grant—on the *Ratha-saptami* day—of the village of Beṭṭahalli (also called *Dēvarājapura*), in the Talakāḍ-sthala, to provide for the worship and ceremonies of God Mallikārjuna (of the original Śrī-Śaila) on the left of God Vaidyēśvara of Talakāḍ (*Gajāranya-kshētra*).

A *Bhaktu-vigraha* of Dēvarāja Wodeyar—evidently an authentic likeness of his—is to be seen
 Statue of Dēvarāja placed side by side with that of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar, in one of the pavilions of the temple of Triṇayanēśvara at Mysore, with the name Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Wodeyar latterly inscribed thereon, the prefix *Doḍḍa*¹⁵⁰ being generally used to distinguish him from his successor, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

Seringapatam, the capital city, continued to be a flourishing centre of social life, with all its attractions, under Dēvarāja. Its importance as the seat of the southern throne (*dakṣiṇa-simhāsana*) increased with the fall of

147. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hs. 22. *Ibid.*, *Mārgaśīra śu.* 5, Thursday.

148. *Ibid.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 278 s. 1595, *Paridhavi*, *Pushya śu.* 10. Here, for s. 1595, read s. 1594. The *Munivam.* (II, 78-79) speaks of Chikkadēvarāja, during Dēvarāja's reign, as having paid a visit to Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa and got the village of Madaneya (Madani) as a gift to the *Dāna-śāle* of that place. It was possibly this gift which was, later, recorded on stone in December 1672.

149. *Ibid.*, III (1) TN. 64 s. 1591, *Paridhavi*, *Māgha śu.* 7, Wednesday.

150. *Vide* Appendix V—(1).



Bhakta vighrahas of Kaṭhīrava-Narasaiṇi Wodeyar I and
Dēvaiṇi Wodeyar in the Trīṇayanēśvara Temple, Fort, Mysore.

Penukonda and the Muhammadan occupation of Vellore, the capitals of the rapidly declining Vijayanagar Empire. The systematic adoption of Vijayanagar political ideals and traditions by the Ruling House of Mysore also helped in the same direction. This was made possible by the influence exerted by the celebrated Tātāchārya family, particularly by Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya of Yēḍūr (grandson of Immaḍi-Tirumala-Tātāchārya of Śrī-Śaila Vamśa and son of Kōṭi-Kanyādānam Lakshmīkumāra-Tātāchārya, already referred to) who, we learn,¹⁵¹ proceeded to the court of Seringapatam as the preceptor of Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Already during the reign, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism had become a living religion in Mysore. Aṣaṅgarārya, father of Tirumalārya and companion of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, continued as the expounder of the Purāṇas (*Paurāṇika*)¹⁵² to Dēvarāja Wodeyar after the retirement of Doḍḍadēvarāja to the banks of the Kaunḍinī in or about 1659. The *Vasantōtsava* of God Śrī-Ranganātha, the *Rāma-navami* and the *Mahā-navami* (*Mānōmīyuk-keva*) were, we note,¹⁵³ among the popular festivals of the period. The general culture of the times, especially in Seringapatam, is reflected¹⁵⁴ in the references to storied

151 *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 (1663), 1 37 *āgamana Sri-guru-nūhēr-narapatir-Dēvarājasya*. Cf. Rice's rendering of this passage, "who was in his assembly as Brihaspati in the assemblage of the gods" (*Ibid.*, p. 72, translation), which does not seem to be in keeping with the text. Members of the Tātāchārya family were very influential at the court of Vijayanagar as royal preceptors (*Narapati-sinhāsana-chārya*). Kōṭi-Kanyādānam Lakshmīkumāra-Tātāchārya, father of Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya, was himself the preceptor of Venkaṭa I (1586-1614) and was reputed to have given away countless virgins in marriage to learned Brāhmins, as his title seems evidently to suggest—see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2223-2226. The migration of the family to the court of Seringapatam in the sixties of the seventeenth century seems significant, generally from the point of view of the continuous course of influence of Vijayanagar traditions on Mysore and particularly from the point of view of the growth of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the country. Probably the nucleus of the present *Parakāla-Maṭh* at Mysore was laid in the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar.

152. See *C.V.*, V, 15: *Aṣaṅgarāryarim purāṇam gēveḍeyol*, referring to Dēvarāja Wodeyar; see also under *Court culture*.

153. *Ibid.*, V, 164-168; VI, 106, 270-274; *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 13 (1664), 1. 56.

154. *Ibid.*, VI, 80-82, 87, 99, 108, 152, 154, 200, 206, 208, 222, 236, 238, 265, etc.

mansions (*karumāḍa*) with pavilions (*matta-vāraṇa*), plastered pavements (*kundaṇada jaguli; chandrōpala paṭṭikā . . . kuttimāṅkaṇa*) and apartments (such as *Chandra-śāle, Bhadra-bhavana*, etc.), and¹⁵⁵ in the gay and luxurious life and tastes of fashionable society, as indexed, for instance, by the use of silken clothes and garments and the popularity of music and dancing among the arts. There is evidence of the active pursuit of the ideal of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* by the respective sections of the Hindu social order.¹⁵⁶ The social evil, as is seen depicted,¹⁵⁷ shows that it had become deep-rooted in contemporary city life.

The *Palace copper-plate grant*¹⁵⁸ (1663) testifies to the wealth and grandeur of the court of
 Court culture. Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. From the *Chaupadada-Pustaka* (c. 1670)¹⁵⁹ we glean a picture of him, with his half-tied *jaṭā* or tress of hair (*ara-jaṭe*) and the *ṭikā* of musk on his forehead (*nosalinolage kasturi-tilaka*), dressed in silken and lace garments (*pītāmbara, dukūla*), with wreaths of flowers, with ear-rings, finger-rings, medallions and necklaces (set with pearls and precious stones), with the jewelled sword in his hand (*ratnamaya-khaḍga-dharanāgi*), and seated on the throne (*simhāsanārūḍhanāgi*) surrounded by ministers (*mantrigaḷu*), functionaries (*niyōgiḷu*), scholars and musicians (*śāstra-saṅgīta-kōvidaru*), personal attendants, mahouts and cavaliers (*pari-jana . . . gaja-turaga-rēvanta rāvutaru*). In his court, we note,¹⁶⁰ flourished

155. *Ibid.*, V, 158; VI, 128-133, 155-158, 169, 170, 174, 196, 198, 200, 238, etc.

156. *Ibid.*, V, 170.

157. *Ibid.*, VI, 32, 64-70, 74-81, 141-151, 154-155, 237-239, 263, 274-285, etc. This canto of the poem, though principally devoted to the delineation of the erotic sentiment, indirectly hints at the deeper undercurrents of contemporary life. For further details about the C. Vi., see Ch. XIV.

158. *E.C., Mys Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, ll. 31-32.

Aṣṭaśvarya samā-yukta-śchāṣṭa-bhōga divrandharah.

159. ff. 1, v, 1-6, etc.; see also C. Vi., V, 6-10. 160. C. Vi., V, 158-160.

poetry, music, dancing, drama and amusements of various descriptions (such as athletic contests, cock-fights, ram-fights, elephant-fights, etc.). Foremost among the court scholars of the time was Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya (of the Tātāchārya family), the royal preceptor (*guru*). He was reputed for his proficiency in logic, philosophy and the śāstras (*tarka-vēdānta-śāstra-sāmrājya-dhārmā*),¹⁶¹ and is referred to¹⁶² as having delivered verses of eulogy on Dēvarāja (*rāja-prabandhān uvācha*) when the latter granted him the Nūlapūra (or *Ikkēri*) *agrahāra*. Another scholar at the court was Aṣasingarārya, to whose attainments we have referred in the preceding chapter. He seems to have attained considerable popularity as *Paurāṇika* to Dēvarāja Wodeyar, who is said¹⁶³ to have granted him the villages of Nāṭanahalḷi and Bīrubalḷi (in the Narasīpura hōbḷi of the Mandagere-sthala) for expounding the *Mahābhārata*, particularly the episode relating to Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation. His son Tirumalārya, the young litterateur, was, it would seem,¹⁶⁴ exercising a profound influence on his co-student and colleague, Chikkadēvarāja, the Crown-prince. Among other luminaries were Lakshmīpati (*Lakshmā-khya budhōttamam*), the royal scribe,¹⁶⁵ and Lakhappa-Śarman, an astrological scholar (*Jyōtīrvida*).¹⁶⁶

Sacred and secular lore alike claimed the attention, and flourished under the patronage, of Dēvarāja, as a patron of learning and culture. Dēvarāja. From the *Hālagere Plates*¹⁶⁷ (1663) we learn that he got built in the *Dēvarājapura agraḥāra*, in the Maṇikarṇikā-kshētra,

161. *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23 (1663), ll. 48-49.

162. *Ibid.*, ll. 38-40; see also f n. 112 *supra* and text thereto.

163. *Ibid.*, Sr. 94 (1678), ll. 18-17; IV (2) Kr. 45 (1678), ll. 14-18. The actual expressions used are: *Dēvarāja Wodeyaryanavarū numma kaṣṣya Mahābhārataṭaṭa kēḷi Yudhiṣṭhirābhīshēka śravaṇa kaladalli namage dhāreya-neradu koṭṭa . . . grāmagaḷaḷa . . .*

164. See *C.V.*, V and VI.

165. *Vide* Ms. copy (1663) of Ranna's *Ajtanātha-Purāṇa*, p. 189.

166. *E.C.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 116 (1665), ll. 11-12.

167. *Ibid.*, XII Kg. 37, ll. 80-90.

fifty houses (each 50 feet wide and 100 feet long), with a well and backyard, and settled them with poets, religious teachers, artists and learned men (*kavi-guru-kalā-dharān-anu-vibudhāmścha nivēśayāmāsa*), giving them villages that they might dwell there and carry on their religious exercises. Again, from the *Bhērya copper-plate grant*¹⁶⁸ (1666) we note that he got built ninety-two houses (each 50 feet wide and 100 feet long), also in the Manikarnikā-kshētra, and gave them away (each furnished with supplies for a year, together with jewels, clothes and a milch-cow and calf) for the maintenance of Brāhmins of good lineage, learned in *Vēdas*, *Śāstras* and Philosophy, observers of penance and religious rites, pure, and following the right course of conduct, (*Vēda-śāstrārtha-t a t v a j n ā n j a p a - h ō m a - p a r ā y a ṇ ā n | s a d ā c h ā r a - r a t ā n ś u d d h ā n j v a l a t ō b r a h m a - t e j a s ā . . .*), besides assigning 3½ shares exclusively for the recitation of the *Vēdas* (*tripāda-sammitā Vēda-vṛttiścha*).

Among the authors of the period, Tirumalārya of Kausika-gōtra, son of Alasingarārya, composed in Sanskrit the copper-plate inscription, dated July 6, 1663 (*Śōbhakrit, Āshāḍha śu 12*, Monday), recording Dēvarāja's grant of Hallikere to Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya, the royal preceptor.¹⁶⁹ This record is as usual written in the *kāvya* style, and is so far the earliest known literary production of Tirumalārya. Chāmayya wrote the *Dēvarāja-Sāngatya*¹⁷⁰ (c. 1670), dealing with the achievements of Dēvarāja. The work, however, as it

168. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 54, pp. 157-158 (Text).

169. See *E.C.*, III (1) TN. 23, ll. 92-94. *Kausikānuvya . . . Alasingarāryasya tanayaḥ Tirumalāchārya vyatānit tāmbra-śāsana ślōkān*; also f.n. 112 *supra* and text thereto. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-2) to the *C. Pam.*, *C. Vi.*, and *A. V. C.*, erroneously assigning this record to 1664.

170. Ms. No. 19-3-44 (*P*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), I, 28: *Bhāmipa Dēvarājēndracharitra Chāmayya-nolīdu pēḷdanū*. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 595-596, fixing the poet in c. 1700, which is not borne out by the internal evidence available.

has come down, is unfortunately incomplete, containing as it does only two chapters (*sandhis*). It is, as its name indicates, a poem written in intelligible *Hosagannaḍa sāṅgatyā* metre. The poet, who seems to have been a protégé of Dēvarāja, directly refers¹⁷¹ to his patron as "Dēvarājēndra of Mysore, of Ātrēya-gōtra," and as distinguished by the titles, *Birud-antembara gaṇḍa*, *Dhore-Vira* and *Karnāṭaka-Kuruvāra-Chakra*. He begins with invocations to Gōpāla of Padmagiri (Gopālasvāmi Hill), Rāmachandra, Paśchima-Ranga and Lakshmīkānta among the Gods, and Vyāsa, Vālmīki and Jaimini among the poets; gives the usual poetical description of the Karnāṭaka country and the city of Mysore, and eulogises Dēvarāja. Another work, also incomplete, written in the *Hosagannaḍa chaupadi* metre under Dēvarāja's patronage, has also come down to us under the title, *Chaupadada-Pustaka*¹⁷² (c. 1670). Its authorship, however, is unknown, being anonymous. It begins with invocations to Rāmachandra, Gaṇēśa, Gangādharaśvara, Ranganātha and Narasimha (of Seringapatam), and, besides the eulogy, contains direct references to the achievements, personality, court life, daily routine, etc., of Dēvarāja Wodeyar. Among other writers, Lakshmīpati, the royal scribe of Dēvarāja, appears also to have been a poet. Though no authentic works of his have so far come down to us, we have some evidence of his poetical attainments in the verses (in the *kanda* metre) at the end of the colophon to the manuscript copy¹⁷³ (1663) of Ranna's *Ajitanātha-Purāṇa* (c. 1000), prepared by him for the use of the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Chikkēndra-bhūmiśangendu*). From the reference to Dēvarāja of Mysore and his Daḍavāi Kumāraiya

171. I, 23-27. 172. Ms. No. 18-11-7—P.L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*

173. Ms. No. A. 53 (P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), pp. 189-190. The copying of the work was actually completed on August 25, 1663 (s. 1585, *Śōbhakrit, Bhādrapada* sū. 3), according to the colophon on p. 189. For further references to this Ms., vide section on *Domestic life*. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 450), which, by a slip, places *Śōbhakrit* in 1662.

in the verses at the beginning of the second chapter of a manuscript¹⁷⁴ of Immaḍi-Tōṇṭadaiya's *Vajrabāhu-Charite* (c. 1530), it appears probable that a copy of this work also was made towards the close of Dēvarāja's reign.¹⁷⁵

The reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar saw the beginnings of intercourse of European nations with Mysore. "In the month of June 1671," we note,¹⁷⁶ "Flacour, the French agent, went from [Tellicherry] to settle a trade at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. Dellon [the physician who had sailed from France in March 1668], intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents and came back : Flacour persisted, and returned from Seringapatam in November. In January 1672 Dellon sailed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat."

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar had two queens, Muddājamma, daughter of Channarājaiya of Arikuṭhāra, and Dēvājamma, daughter of Lingarājaiya of Ammachavāḍi.¹⁷⁷ Of these, Dēvājamma is probably identical with "Dēvāmbā" and "Dēvājamma" mentioned in two lithic records dated March 14, 1662.¹⁷⁸ She is, again, referred to in

174. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 227, f.n. 1; see also f.n. 227 *infra*, for a further notice of this Ms.

175. Cf. *Ibid.*

176. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, pp. 174-175, Note VII-v.

177. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 63; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 95.

178. *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 56 and 81 s. 1584, *Śubhakṛt, Chaitra su. 5*. These records relate to the construction of a *maṭh* in Kajale (attached to the Palace), and the grant of the villages of Kurahaṭṭi and Śambupura as an endowment thereto, by Dēvāmbā (Dēvājamma), with the permission of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar and the consent of (Daḷavāi) Nanjanāthaiya, on the death of her father (?). The expressions, *namma arasinnavaru svargastarāgalāgi*, in Nj. 81, ll. 8-9, are literally rendered by Rice as, "on my king (i.e., husband) going to *svarga*" (*Ibid.*, p. 103, translation). In the absence of specific reference, these expressions may as well imply the death of an elderly member (father of Dēvāmbā?) of Dēvājamma's family taking *namma arasinnavaru* in a wider sense, in which case we have to assume the identity of Dēvāmbā with Dēvājamma, queen of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar.

an inscription, dated June 22, 1667,¹⁷⁰ recording a cash grant for services (*i.e.* flower decoration and offerings) to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam. Dēvarāja had no issue by either of his queens. Yet he seems to have endeared himself to Chikkadēvarāja (the Crown-prince) and Kanthiravaiya as their uncle,¹⁸⁰ looking upon them as if they were his own sons.¹⁸¹

Among other members of the Royal Family, Dodḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, elder brother of Dēvarāja Wodeyar—who, as already referred to,¹⁸² had renounced his charge of the city of Mysore in favour of his younger brother by 1659—devoted¹⁸³ himself to penance on the banks of the Kaundinī river (near Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇāmbi), during the latter part of his life covered by the reign of Dēvarāja. The staunch Vaishnava that he was, Dodḍadēvarāja was, as he is depicted to us,¹⁸⁴ a saintly personage with a religious and philosophical turn of mind, ever devoutly served by his younger brothers (*yad-bhakti-yukta-chittair nityam paricharyatē nijair anujaiḥ; yad-bhakti-bhāva-vivaśair . . . anujaiḥ*). In particular,

179 *I. M. C.*, No 18-15-20, p. 45 *Plavanga, Āshādha śu. 11, Pruthama-Ēkādaśi.*

180. See colophon to the Ms. copy (1668) of Ranna's *Ayṣṇātha-Purāṇa* by Rāyasaḍa Lakshmīpati, p. 190; *Chaupadada-Pustaka*, ff. 1, v. 1, 3; *C. Vi.*, IV, 176, 178—referring to Dēvarāja as "*Chikkaya Rāya*," "*Chikkayya*," "*Kiru-tande*," respectively. All these terms mean "uncle."

181. See *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114, l. 30, where the reference to "*putraidcha*" is applicable to the nephews of Dēvarāja in a general sense; also *C. Vi.*, V, 69, 73, where Dēvarāja is made to refer to his nephew, Chikkadēvarāja, as "*maga*" (son). We have also some records where Kanthiravaiya, the other nephew of Dēvarāja, is generally referred to as "*kumara*" (son), *vide* references cited in f.n. 200-203 *infra*.

182. *Vide* section on *Lineal descent*.

183. *Vide* Appendix V—(2); cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *infra*.

184. *C. Vam.*, 37-48, 89-160; *C. Vi.*, III, 7-128; *E. C.*, XII Kg. 37 (1668), ll. 38-42; IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 15-17; III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 118 (Text); 14 (1686), ll. 28-29, etc. For further reference to the Vaishnava predilections of Dodḍadēvarāja, *vide* Ch. XIII.

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar himself is stated¹⁸⁵ to have ruled the kingdom of Mysore as a devotee at the feet of his elder brother. Obviously, as the seniormost member of the Royal Family, Doḍḍadēvarāja seems to have continued to wield his moral influence over the affairs of the State, during the period of his retirement.¹⁸⁶ Amritāmbā (Amritamma), daughter of Bālē Urs of Mūgūr, was his lawful and only queen (*dharmapatnī*; *ēkapatnī-vratastham*).¹⁸⁷

185. See *Kamand. Nī.*, I, 65 *Dēva-janapālam bhāmāgraja-bhaktiym poreḍa mahiyam*; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 49 *Dēva-janapālam . . . Doḍḍadēva-urpanaughriya bhaktiyol āḍan . . . urviyam*, etc. Cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *infra*

186. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 475-476, where Dēvachandra speaks of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar as not having been allowed by his brother, Dēvarāja, to re-enter Seringapatam on his return from a pilgrimage, of his (Doḍḍadēvarāja's) subsequent tour in the kingdom, his sojourn in Yelandūr, the marriage of his son, Chikkadēvarāja, with the Yelandūr princess (Dēvajamma), Doḍḍadēvarāja's death at Hangala and the performance of his obseques on the banks of the Kaupḍini by Chikkadēvarāja, etc., cf. also *Wilks* in Appendix V—(1), referring to Chikkadēvarāja and his son, Chikkadēvarāja, as having been kept as prisoners at Terakauāmbi during Dēvarāja's reign. Rice (I 365) follows *Wilks*, S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 295) is rather inclined to be critical on the point. There is absolutely no evidence in support of the position of either Dēvachandra or *Wilks*. A detailed examination of the *Rāj. Kath.* goes to show that Dēvachandra, who closely follows the *C' Vam*, only *distorts* that text in an attempt to trace the connection of Chikkadēvarāja with his Jain minister, Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit. Nor does *Wilks* seem to have been well-informed by his contemporaries on the point at issue. The truth seems to be that a legend grew up, in later times, about the renunciation of Doḍḍadēvarāja and his penance and death on the banks of the Kaupḍini river. Since Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, eldest son of Doḍḍadēvarāja, was also, as we shall see, in Hangala from 1668 onwards, this would appear to have led to the notion that both father and son were in prison, a notion which perhaps easily crept into later writings like the *Kaṣṣyats*, etc., uncritically relied upon by *Wilks*. We have to totally reject both Dēvachandra and *Wilks* in the light of the evidence derivable from the sources cited in f.n. 180-181, 183 and 185 *supra* and 196-199 *infra*.

187. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 57; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 45; *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, II 21-22; III (1) Sr. 151, pp. 118-119 (Text); also see and compare *Annals*, I, 95; of *E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144 (1680), l. 27, referring to Channamāmbā as the mother of Chikkadēvarāja, which seems evidently a surname of Amritāmbā. All other sources are agreed that Amritāmbā was her actual name. See also references cited in f.n. 189 *infra*. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 474), where Dēvachandra connects Amritāmbā with Yelandūr, for which there is no evidence.

By her he had two sons, Chikkadēvarāja (b. 1645) and Kanṭhīravaiya (Kanṭhīrava-Arasu, b. 1647), and two daughters, Dēpamma and Guruvājamma.¹⁸⁸ Amritāmbā was, as she is depicted,¹⁸⁹ an ideal and pious lady ever devoted to her husband. As already indicated, she got constructed, in 1656, a stone *math* in the Palace at Hangala [where Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar (?) had died] and an independent *math* for Maraḷa-Basavalīṅga-Dēvaru, granting the village of Horakēri-Bāchahallī as an endowment to the latter.¹⁹⁰ She also, we learn,¹⁹¹ got newly erected a Lingāyat *math* in the town of Mysore. Evidently she seems to have been a patron of the Vīra-Śaivas. She appears to have predeceased Doddadēvarāja Wodeyar,¹⁹² and her memory is perpetuated by a votive *maṇṭapa*, to the east of the *nāmatīrtha* pavilion at Mēlkōṭe, with her name inscribed thereon (*Amrutammanavara sēve-maṇṭapa*).¹⁹³ Doddadēvarāja himself, it would seem, passed away, in his forty-seventh year, not later than November 30, 1669, for we have a lithic record, dated

188 *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I, 57-58, Appendix V-(2) and references cited in f.n. 185 *supra* and 189 *infra*; also see and compare *Annals*, I c.

189 *C. Vam.*, 39; *C. Vi.*, III, 24-26, *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 62-63; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, I, 26-27, *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 45-46, *Paśch. Mahāt.*, I, 38-39, *Kamālā Mahāt.*, I, 103-104; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 46-48, etc.

190 *M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 25 (1656), pp. 163-166, see also Ch. IX, f.n. 165 and 168. It was probably this grant which was confirmed and extended by Dēvarāja in 1663—*vide* f.n. 116 *supra* and text thereto.

191 *Ibid.*, 1931, No. 33 (1668), pp. 129-131, ll. 7-9: *Manvira vira-voḷagaṇa Mahattige Ammanavaru Amrutamma-navaru nātanavāgi kaṭṭata Mahattina-maṭha*. Dr. M. H. Krishna renders the expressions, *Ammanavaru Amrutamma-navaru*, literally as Amritamma, "mother" of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (*Ibid.*, pp. 130-131). The word *Ammanavaru*, however, is only a term of respect by which Amritamma, an elderly lady and sister-in-law of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, is referred to here.

192 See *M. A. R.*, I. c., from which it would seem Amritamma had died some time before 1668. The *Annals* (I. 103, 198) is rather confused and contradictory on the point. In the absence of decisive evidence, we would not, in the light of inscriptions (dated in 1656 and 1668) above referred to, be far wrong in placing her death somewhere between 1656 and 1665.

193 *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 83.

November 19, 1670,¹⁹¹ registering a grant—on the anniversary day of his death (*namma pitru-dīvasada punyakāladalli*)—by his second son, Kanṭhīravaiya (Kanṭhīrava-Arasu). A mutilated image of God Varadarāja (formerly adorning the Paravāsudēva temple on the banks of the Kaundinī but now to be seen in the Vijaya-Nārāyanasvāmī temple at Guṇḍlupet), with the label *Śrī-Dodḍadēvarāja-Varada* (lit. giver of boon to Dodḍadēvarāja) inscribed thereon,¹⁹⁵ perhaps reminds us of his devotion to that God, especially during the last years of his life. Of his two sons, Chikkadēvarāja, the elder, who had been placed as a junior prince (*Kiriyarasu*) under Dēvarāja, became the Crown-prince during the latter's reign (*Yauvarājyadoḷ alankarisidam*).¹⁹⁶ On February 21, 1662 (*Plava, Phālguna śu.* 14), Dēvarāja, it is said,¹⁹⁷ got him married to Dēvājamma (Dēvāmbā), daughter of Lingarājaiya of Yelandūr, and Dēvamma, daughter of (Daḷavāi) Kumārāiya of Kaḷale. There is evidence of Chikkadēvarāja having stayed with his uncle in Seringapatam till June 1667, for, as we have seen, he made a rare exhibition of his courage and prowess during Dēvarāja's deliberations on the occasion of the siege of Ērōḍē.¹⁹⁸ It was probably shortly after this event that he was, with his family, sent to Hangala by Dēvarāja for being educated and trained in politics and state-craft under proper arrangements.¹⁹⁹ Kanṭhīravaiya, the younger son of Dodḍadēvarāja, appears to have stayed

194. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Hg. 119. s. 1592, *Sadharana, Mārgatira* ba. 3. For details, see text of f.n. 203 *infra*. We have also records in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, relating to his grants on the anniversary day of the death of his father, Dodḍadēvarāja Wodeyar (i.e., *Mārgatira* ba. 3)—*vide* Ch. XIII. Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, in f.n. 186 *supra*.

195. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Gu. 105 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 56). For details about the Paravāsudēva temple, *vide* Ch. XIII.

196. *C.Vam.*, 190.

197. *Annals*, I. 96 and 104; cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, in f.n. 186 *supra*. For details about the Kaḷale Family, see under *Rise of the Kaḷale Family*.

198. *C.V.*, V, 62-75; see also text of f.n. 66 *supra*.

199. *Annals*, I. 96; cf. authorities in f.n. 186 *supra*. For further details, *vide* under *Early life of Chikkadēvarāja* in Ch. XI.

with his uncle and possibly ruled jointly with him during the latter part of his (Dēvarāja's) reign. An inscription, dated June 22, 1667,²⁰⁰ refers to his grant of the village Horeyāla (*Arasinavara-haḷḷi*), in the Turuvēkere-sthaḷa, for services to God Ranganātha of Seringapatam. A lithic record, dated October 26, 1669,²⁰¹ records the formation by him of an *agrahāra* in Turīkallu (and twenty-three adjoining hamlets), named *Kaṇṭhīrava-samudra*, and the grant of the same—divided into 126 shares—to learned and deserving Brāhmanas of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās*, one share being set apart for God Lakshmīkānta-svāmi. Another, dated October 15, 1670,²⁰² refers to his grant of land of 6 *varahas* (in Ālanahaḷḷi ?) to Biḍārada-Venkaṭaiya, on account of having sent him to Kāśī. A third, dated November 19, 1670, already mentioned,²⁰³ registers his gift of the village of Biḷugumba (in Kottāgāla), also named *Kaṇṭhīrava-pura*, to a Brāhman by name Beṭṭappaiya of Kātūr (of Gautama-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajussākhā), on the anniversary day of the death of his father, Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar. A fourth, dated December 11, 1672,²⁰⁴ records his grant of land, assessed at 10 *varahas*, to Niranjaiya, Śānabhōg (*Sēnabōga*) of Kittūr, as an *umbaḷi-mānya* (rent-free) for the Kambara-maṭha of the Kittūr-sthaḷa. A fifth, a much worn out record, also dated in 1672,²⁰⁵ seems to register his grant of the village of Manchanahaḷḷi, in Maḷavaḷḷi hōbḷi, for the feeding of Brāhmanas. All these records are usually signed by Dēvarāja Wodeyar, at the end. Evidently the grants seem to have been made by

200. *I.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 45. *Plavanga, Śiśadha* *su* 11.

201. *E.C.*, IV (2) Hs. 189: *ś.* 1591, *Saumya, Kārtika* *su*. 12 The week-day mentioned, *Bhānuvāra*, is apparently a misreading, or a scribal error, for *Bhaumavāra* (Tuesday).

202. *Ibid*, Hg. 120: *ś.* 1592, *Sadhāraṇa, Kārtika* *su*. 12; *ś.* 1592, in this record, is clearly an error, for *Sadhāraṇa*, in the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, corresponds to *ś.* 1592.

203. *Ibid*, Hg. 119; see also *f.n.* 194 *supra* and text thereto.

204. *Ibid*, Hg. 57: *ś.* 1594, *Paridhavi, Pushya* *su*. 2.

205. *Ibid*, III (1) Ml. 69 (*M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40, para 95): *ś.* 1594, *Paridhavi*.

Kanṭhīravaiya with the consent of his uncle. Maridēvarāja Wodeyar, youngest brother of Doddadēvarāja Wodeyar and last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar—who had also been placed under the care of Dēvarāja—seems to have stayed in Seringapatam during the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, faithfully serving him.²⁰⁶ He was familiarly known as "*Chikka-Arasinavaru*."²⁰⁷ A copper-plate inscription (from the Ranganātha temple, Seringapatam), dated March 12, 1664,²⁰⁸ registers, under Dēvarāja's signature, a grant by Maridēvarāja, of the village of Allappanahalli, to six families of Śrī-Vaishnavas, to provide for daily decoration with garlands (*tirumāle*) from head to foot of God Ranganātha and the Goddess Ranganāyaki of Seringapatam, and for small garlands to the attendant goddess and the two Nāchyārs (goddesses). The record further registers his grant of a land, assessed at 4 *varahas* (*nālku-varahada-bhūmi*), for God Hanumanta newly set up in the *maṇṭapa* in the middle of the village. Another inscription, dated June 22, 1667,²⁰⁹ records a similar pious service of his in the Ranganātha temple at Seringapatam.

From the domestic, no less from the political, point of view, the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, The Rise of the of view, the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar, Kaḷale Family, down it is interesting to note, witnessed an to 1673. important development in the relations of the Mysore Royal House with the Kaḷale Family.

206. See *Ibid.*, Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 29-30:

Paricharati mudāyan bhavya-karmānujanmā
Sakhalu Mariyadēva-kṣmāpati . . . ;

Yad. Mahāt., I, 41: *Dēva-nṛpālanallī Maridēvēndram maha-bhaktiyam taledīrdam*, etc. See also *E.O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 114 (1663), ll. 30-31 (*Bhrātr putrasācha sahīṭe mantri-mukhyaischa sēvitah*), referring, in general, to Dēvarāja as having been served by his brother, sons and ministers. The reference to the brother here is to Maridēvarāja. For further notice of this reference, *vide* f.n. 181 *supra*.

207. *I.M.O.*, l.c., *vide* f.n. 200 *supra*.

208. *E.O.*, III (1) Sr. 18: s. 1585, *Śōbhakṛt, Phālguṇa ba.* 10.

209. *I.M.O.*, *vide* f.n. 207 *supra*.

In view of the influence the latter exercised in later times on the fortunes of the kingdom of Mysore, it seems pertinent here to trace its origin, foundation and rise from small beginnings. The founding of the Kaḷale Family dates in 1500, according to tradition preserved in the *Kaḷale-Arasugaḷa-Vamśāvali*²¹⁰ (c. 1830). Two brothers, by name Kānta Wodeyar and Krishṇarāja Wodeyar, of Yādava descent, Bhāradvāja-gotra and Āśvalāyana-sūtra, it is said, proceeded from the region of Dvāraka towards Vijayanagar, intending to carve out a kingdom for themselves²¹¹. At Vijayanagar they stayed for a while, deliberating with its ruler (*Kāya*). Ultimately, however, Kānta Wodeyar, owing to some differences with the latter, left with his consort and his brother for Kaḷale in the south, taking with him the shrine of his family god Lakshmīkānta. In due course, as unanimously decided by the elders (*haḷabas*), Kānta Wodeyar was installed as chief of Kaḷale by the Pāḷegār of Ummattūr.²¹² Kānta Wodeyar I thus became the progenitor of the Kaḷale Family, and is assigned a period of twenty-two years' rule (1505-1527).²¹³ Kānta Wodeyar I had a son and four grandsons, one of the latter, Kānta Wodeyar, marrying (Doḍḍa) Dēviramma, daughter of Hīriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (*Vijaya-Chāmarasa Wodeyar*) of Mysore (1513-1553).²¹⁴ Kānta

210. A paper Ms. in the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, No. B. 424. It is otherwise known as *Śrī-Veṅṇupurāḍa-Kaṣaṭṭṛigaḷavara-Vamśāvali*. It embodies the traditional history and fortunes of the Kaḷale Family down to the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and from internal evidence appears to have been compiled about 1830 (see ff. 34). Our account is mainly based on this Ms., supplemented by other sources of information wherever available.

211. *K.A.V.*, ff. 1. The actual expressions used are *diḡvijaya nṁṁityavāga*. Cf. the founding of the Mysore Royal Family as recorded in the *Mys. Nag. Pūr* (Vide Ch. III of this work).

212. *Ibid.*, ff. 1 and 2. The Vijayanagar ruler of the time, according to the Ms., was Krishṇadēva-Rāya (*Krishṇa-Raya*). But the actual ruler, in 1500, was Narasa Nāyaka (1497-1503).

213. *Ibid.*, ff. 31; see also Table XIII.

214. *Ibid.*, ff. 2; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

Woḍeyar I appears to have got built a temple to Viṣṇu (*Lakshmīkānta-srāmi*) in Kaḷale.²¹⁵ His rule was, however, characterized by considerable domestic embroil between the chief of Ummattūr and the members of the Kaḷale House, leading eventually to a wholesale massacre of the latter, with the exception of only one member, Mallarāja Woḍeyar, a great grandson of Kānta Woḍeyar I, who was rescued and brought up by a faithful adherent of the family. Great confusion prevailed in the land, and the Ummattūr chief placed Kaḷale under the nominal sway of one Kāntanna, a natural son of Kānta Woḍeyar.²¹⁶ Meanwhile the Kaḷale Family was revived under Mallarāja Woḍeyar, whose son, also known as Mallarāja, married (Chikka) Dēvīramma, another daughter of Hiriya-Bettada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar III of Mysore.²¹⁷ The family, however, resumed its sway in Kaḷale only under this Mallarāja's son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar I, who is assigned a period of eighteen years' rule (1527-1546).²¹⁸ He is said to have had five sons by three out of his four consorts, the last of the latter, (Chikka) Dēpamma, being a daughter of Bōla-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar IV of Mysore (1572-1576).²¹⁹ At his death (in April 1546), Lakshmīkānta Woḍeyar, his eldest son by his first consort (Doḍḍājamma of Hura), was installed by the leaders of the *halepataka* community. This so much excited the jealousy of Lakshmīkānta Woḍeyar's half-brothers (*i.e.*, sons of Timmarāja Woḍeyar by his second consort, Channājamma of Tagadūr) that they treacherously removed the former to the unbearable agony and bitter curse of his mother who is said to have committed *sati* with her husband. They sought also the life of Mallarāja (afterwards Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II)—then a child of five years of age—another half-brother of

215 *Ibid.*, ff. 5.

216. *Ibid.*, ff. 3-7

217. *Ibid.*, ff. 8-9; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

218 *Ibid.*, ff. 9 and 31; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

219. *Ibid.*, ff. 9-10; also Table XIII and Ch. IV.

theirs (*i.e.*, son of Timmarāja Wodeyar I by his last consort, Dēpanma of Mysore). Luckily, however, a faithful onlooker removed him for safety to Mysore.²²⁰ The kingdom of Kaḷale thus fell to the share of the sons of Timmarāja Wodeyar I by his second consort, and, it is said, they kept under custody Dēpanma, mother of Mallarāja.²²¹ Of these sons of Timmarāja Wodeyar, Nandinātha Wodeyar is assigned a rule of eighteen years (1546-1564).²²² He was followed by Mudda-Mallarāja Wodeyar I (1564-1591), probably a son of his. The latter was in turn succeeded by Kānta Wodeyar II (1591-1605) and Chandraśēkhara Wodeyar of Mallahalli (1605-1615), younger brothers of Nandinātha Wodeyar.²²³ Meanwhile Mallarāja, who had been brought up at Mysore, was advised by his saviour to proceed against his cousins and take possession of Kaḷale. Mallarāja approached his maternal uncle, Rāja Wodeyar (1578-1617), and sought his assistance. Rāja Wodeyar, however, on grounds of policy, directed him to Hirya-Rāmarāja Nāyaka, chief of Yelandūr One Lakh country. Rāmarāja Nāyaka not only promised Mallarāja the assistance he sought but also gave his daughter, Dēviramma, in marriage to him. During the wedding ceremonies, the pavilion, owing, it is said, to a slight defect in the *laṅgam* already forewarned, caught fire; and Mallarāja himself sustained a severe burn on his foot which swelled and left a scar thereon, whence he became familiarly known as *Karikāla-Mallarāja* (lit. Mallarāja, with the black scar on his foot). Karikāla-Mallarāja, with the assistance in men and money from his father-in-law, succeeded in taking possession of Uppanahalli and Sindhuvali and eventually Kaḷale itself. Chandraśēkhara Wodeyar (1605-1615), the last of Karikāla-Mallarāja's half-brothers in charge of Kaḷale,

^{220.} *Ibid.*, ff. 10-11; see also *Annals*, I. 46-47, referring to this account.

^{221.} *Ibid.*, ff. 11.

^{222.} *Ibid.*, ff. 32; also Table XIII.

^{223.} *Ibid.*

was obliged to flee for his life to Malabar (Maleyālam), leaving the other members of his family at Mallahalli where they were kept under a close guard and ultimately died. Unopposed Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II was installed by the elders on the throne of Kaḷale.²²⁴ He is assigned a period of twenty-eight years' rule (1615-1644).²²⁵ He was an important member of the Kaḷale House and, as referred to in an earlier chapter,²²⁶ was the first Daḷavāi of Mysore under the solemn compact entered into between him and Rāja Woḍeyar in or about 1614. Karikāla-Mallarāja (Karikāla-Mallarājaiya of other sources) having, however, returned to Kaḷale and sent in his resignation through his grandson Nandināthaiya, the compact was not actually in force for some time, possibly because Karikāla-Mallarāja and his immediate successor had had more than they could manage in bringing order out of chaos and in securing their own position in Kaḷale before they could effectively take part in the politics of the kingdom of Mysore. Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II was succeeded by his second son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar II,²²⁷ and he is assigned

224. *Ibid.*, ff. 11-14 225. *Ibid.*, ff. 32; also Table XIII 226. *Ante*, Ch. V
 227. The *K. A. V.* is silent as to why Mallarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu, eldest son of Karikāla-Mallarāja Woḍeyar II (*vide* ff. 14 and Table XIII) did not succeed the latter to the kingdom of Kaḷale and how the second son, Timmarāja Woḍeyar, became its ruler. It seems, however, possible that the eldest son had been adopted by Lingarājaiya, son of Tirumalarāja Nāyaka and grandson of Hiriya-Rāmarāja Nāyaka of Hādīnād-Yelandūr. For we have a lithic record, dated July 12, 1647 (*Sarvajit, Āśhādha ba 5*), specifically referring to Mallarāja as his heir-elect—see *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, VI. 188, ll. 10-12 *tamma paṭṭada śrīgarāda Kaḷḷeya-prabhu Mallarāja-Arasinavararu*. We further learn from this record (l. 12) that Mallarāja had also a daughter by name Mallājamma. He had five sons (*vide K. A. V.*, ff. 14-15 and Table XIII) who are referred to in a Ms. copy (c. 1670) of Immaḍi-Tōṇṭadaiya's *Vajrabāhu-Charite*, and he is himself found mentioned in it as the right-hand man of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore in the south (*Maisūru-Dēvarajanuge dakshina-bhūja-nenisida Kaḷḷeya Mallarāja*)—see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 227, f.n. 1, also f.n. 174 *supra* and text thereto. Evidently Mallarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu, as a member of the Kaḷale Family in general and as the ruler of Yelandūr in particular, seems to have occupied an important position during the reign of Dēvarāja

a period of about sixteen years' rule (1644-1660).²²⁸ Timmarāja Wodeyar was in turn followed by his nephew, Kumāra-Mallarāja Wodeyar III (1660-1679), eldest son of Mallarāja Wodeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu.²²⁹

The period of rule of Mallarāja III in Kaḷale synchronised with that of Dēvarāja Wodeyar in Mysore. By now the kingdom of Kaḷale had been securely established, and the relations between the Kaḷale and Mysore families were renewed, perhaps under the influence of Mallarāja *alias* Kempē-Arasu, father of Mallarāja Wodeyar III.²³⁰ Mallarāja III himself was married to Chikka-Dēpanima, a sister of Dēvarāja Wodeyar,²³¹ and, as we have seen,²³² he held the office of Daḷavāi also under the latter for a short while (April-July 1660), while Nandināthaiya (Nanjanāthaiya of other sources) and Kumārāiyya, younger brothers of Mallarāja III, successively held the same office (September 1661-February 1662; April 1662-April 1667; April 1667-1673). The bond of relationship between Kaḷale and Mysore was further strengthened by the marriage of Dēvamma, a daughter of Kumārāiyya, with the Crown-prince, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, in February 1662.²³³ Among other members of the Kaḷale Family, Nanjarājaiyya I (a nephew of Mallarāja III) seems to have commanded the Mysore army during Dēvarāja's southern campaigns (c 1659-1663),²³⁴ while his son, Kāntaiyya, officiated as the Mysore Daḷavāi during February-April 1662.²³⁵ We have thus enough data at

Wodeyar. This perhaps accounts, in a great measure, for the renewed friendly relations between Mysore and Kaḷale and the appointment of Mallarāja's sons and other members of the Kaḷale Family as Daḷavāis of Mysore during the reign.

228. K. A. V., ff. 32; also Table XIII.

229. *Ibid*; also Table XIII and f.n. 227 *supra*.

230. *Vide* f.n. 227 *supra*.

231. K.A.V., ff. 15; also Table XIII.

232. *Vide* section on Daḷavāis; also Table XIII.

233. *Vide* f.n. 197 *supra* and text thereto.

234. *Vide* f.n. 60 *supra*; also Table XIII.

235. *Vide* f.n. 232 *supra*; also Table XIII.

hand pointing to the rise of the Kaḷale Family to an important position in the kingdom of Mysore already by 1673.

On February 11, 1673, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar passed away, in his forty-sixth year, in the Palace at Chiknāyakanahalli, while on a tour in the State.²³⁶ His body, it is said,²³⁷ was quickly conveyed in the course of a single day to Seringapatam and his cremation, as had been piously desired by him, took place on the banks of the Cauvery, his queens observing *sati*

If Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I worked for and evolved the independence of the kingdom of Mysore in the critical conditions prevailing in his time while remaining loyal to the cause of the Vijayanagar Empire, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar went a step further by entering into and claiming the status of the Empire itself as its political heir, without, however, completely breaking away from the original theoretical position of Mysore as a feudatory of the latter. There is ample evidence, as indicated and explained above, that this result was, in a large measure, brought about by a combination of circumstances at once fortuitous and favourable to Mysore from the beginning of Dēvarāja's reign. The siege of Seringapatam by Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri, followed by his disastrous retreat and death (1659-1660); the attitude of prejudice,

236. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 57, II 23; *Paridhavi*, *Phalguṇa* *su* 5; see also *Annals*, I. 103; cf. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 27; *Rāj. Kath.* XII. 476; and *Wilks*, I. 70. Rice (I. 365) and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 298), following Wilks, place Dēvarāja's death in 1672. The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here. That the last days of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar were spent at Chiknāyakanahalli appears obvious from a lithic record, dated July 18, 1673 (*Pramāḍicha*, *Śrāvāṇa* *su*. 15), registering a gift of three villages for the decorations, illuminations, offerings, etc., to the Goddess Beṭṭada-Chāmunḍēśvari (*E.C.*, XII Tp. 106). Evidently, it would seem, grants continued to be made in Dēvarāja's name in those parts, even after his death on February 11, 1673.

237. *Annals*, l.c.

if not open hostility, adopted by Emperor Śrī-Ranga VI himself towards Mysore after 1660, under the influence of Śivappa Nāyaka's anti-Mysore policy; the series of operations of Mysore against Ikkēri during 1663-1664; the gradual slackening of the control of Bijāpur and Gōlkonḍa over their Karnāṭak possessions; the departure of Śrī-Ranga towards the south about April 1663; the simultaneous settlement in Mysore of the celebrated Tātāchārya family (of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava royal preceptors) from the court of Vijayanagar, the victory of Mysore over the southern confederacy at Ērōḍe (headed by Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura) in June 1667; and the rapid dissolution of the Empire itself thereafter—all these contributed not a little to steadily enhance the reputation and prestige of Dēvarāja Wodeyar as a ruler of Mysore. If this general course of affairs is remembered, we would be enabled to follow and estimate Dēvarāja Wodeyar's achievements as a political builder. Though not possessed of conspicuous military talents like his illustrious predecessor, and though he does not appear to have commanded the army in person or taken an active part in any decisive action, there is evidence of his having exhibited rare political insight, diplomatic skill and courage which stood him in good stead, especially when he was on the point of losing in the deep game of political policy. We have reference in the sources to his expert knowledge of politics and diplomacy (*nīti-śāstra nipuṇaṇum; akhila rāja-dharma nidānam*).²³⁸ Indeed it is to these attainments of his that we have to ascribe his success in repulsing Śivappa Nāyaka I from Seringapatam (1659) and his victory against the confederacy at Ērōḍe (1667). Added to these qualities, he was assisted by able Daśavāis like Nanjanāthaiya and Kumārāya of Kaḷale, in

238. *C. Vam.*, 186; *Dv. Sū. Cha.*, I, 78. Cf. *Wilks*, I, 70: His statement that Dēvarāja "is less celebrated by his brahmin historians for his civil or military talents and political skill than for his excessive devotion and religious munificence," is hardly borne out by the materials quoted in this Chapter.

the work of political expansion. And he was, on the whole, able to extend, and maintain the independence and integrity of, the kingdom of Mysore in the west, north and the south, with a tendency to advance further southwards in the direction of Trichinopoly and Madura ; and leave a rich legacy to his nephew and successor, Chikkādēvarāja Wodeyar.

As a ruler of Mysore, Dēvarāja Wodeyar was very pious and popular. He was universally adored by his subjects for his numerous acts of benevolence and solicitude towards them. Though a devout and staunch Vaishnava, his toleration towards other faiths and creeds was remarkable. The capital city of Seringapatam under him was a centre of great attraction, and his court was famous for the galaxy of learned scholars and the munificent patronage extended to sacred and secular lore alike. He was, as he is depicted to us,²³⁰ a strong and well-built person of middle age, possessed of attractive features and a serene countenance expressive of the depth of spiritual merit acquired by him. In domestic life, he was amiable and endearing to all the members of the Royal Family, and he was devoutly served by his queens, younger brother and nephews. His sincere devotion to Doḍḍadēvarāja, his saintly elder brother, was a noteworthy feature of his domestic life. No less significant was the establishment of renewed relations between the Mysore and Kaḷale families and the rise of the latter to a position of importance in the kingdom of Mysore by 1673, while there were already the beginnings of European intercourse with Mysore during the reign.

As a "Maker of Mysore" An astute political builder and a popular and pious ruler, Dēvarāja Wodeyar occupies an important place in history as a "Maker of Mysore." The most enduring

230. See *C. Vam.*, 186, 188-190; *C. Vr.*, V, 4-10; *Dēvarāja-Sāṅgatya*, I, 38; *Kamand. Nī.*, I, 64; *E. O.*, IV (2) Yd. 54, p. 157 (Text), etc.

monuments of his rule are the *Thousand Steps* to the Chāmunḍi Hill and the huge monolithic *Bull* thereon and the *Dēvāmbudhi* tank (now known as *Doḍḍakere*) in Mysore. In sum, the period of Dēvarāja Wodeyar's reign justly claims to be regarded as an intermediate stage in the evolution of new ideas, tendencies and factors in the development of the kingdom of Mysore.

On the generation of authors who wrote during the succeeding reign, Dēvarāja Wodeyar has left a lasting impression. Tirumalārya testifies to the magnificence of Dēvarāja's rule and presents an ideal picture of his personality and character, besides showing an intimate acquaintance with his reign.²⁴⁰ Among other writers contemporaneous with Tirumalārya, Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi, Mallikārjuna and Chidānanda speak of the splendour and popularity of Dēvarāja Wodeyar's rule in unequivocal terms;²⁴¹ so also do later inscriptions (of 1686, 1716, 1722, 1748, 1761, etc.).²⁴² Under the influence, however, of the compilations of the eighteenth and nineteenth century *Annalists* and other writers, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, as we have shown,²⁴³ has become well known, and been deep-rooted, in popular tradition as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Wodeyar, the prefix "Doḍḍa" being generally, though loosely, used either by way of distinguishing him from his nephew and successor, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, or by way of making him identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja, or both.

240. *C. Vam.*, l.c., *C. Vs.*, V and VI.

241. *Vide* works cited in f.n. 11 and 12 *supra*.

242. See *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115; Nj. 295; III (1) Sr. 1 and 64; TN. 63; IV (2) Yd. 17 and 18, etc.

243. *Vide* Appendix V—(1).

CHAPTER XI.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704.

Lineal descent—Birth and early life—Accession, etc.—General political situation—Political Development and Consolidation: *First Phase*: 1673-1677—*Feudalism* vs. *Imperialism*. Relations with Madura, 1673—Relations with Vijayanagar, 1674—Relations with Bijapur, 1675-1677: Retrospect of affairs—Chikkadevaraja's activities, 1675—His position about the close of 1675—In 1676-1677—*Second Phase*: 1677-1690. *The Crisis*—Mahratta affairs, 1677-1680: Sivaji's expedition to the Karnatak, 1677—Sivaji's irruption into Mysore, c. August 1677—Its implications—South Indian politics, 1677-1680—Chikkadevaraja's movements, 1678 (*a*) In the south-east—(*b*) In the north—His position in 1679-1680—General course of affairs, 1680-1682—Mysore and the South, 1680-1686 The fight for Supremacy: Dalavai Kumaraiya in Trichinopoly, 1680-1682—Trichinopoly, the objective of southern advance of Mysore, its siege, c. March-May 1682—Mysore vs. Mahrattas, 1680-1682—Kumaraiya's negotiations (*a*) With Chokkanatha—(*b*) With the Mahrattas—Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam, c. April 1682—Kumaraiya's retreat from Trichinopoly, c. May 1682—Kumaraiya's retirement, May 26, 1682—Review of the events of c. April-May 1682—Mysore vs. Ikkeri, Golkonda and Sambhaji, June 1682—Sambhaji's movements in Mysore and the South, June-August 1682—c. August 1682 to c. July 1686—Political position of Chikkadevaraja, 1686—Mysore vs. Mughals: March-May 1687—The acquisition of Bangalore, July 1687—General course of affairs: 1687-1690—The recovery of the lost ground by Mysore—*Third Phase*: 1690-1704: *The Climax*—Ikkeri and the Mahrattas, 1690—Mysore and Ikkeri, 1690—Mahratta and Mughal affairs, 1691-1698—Chikkadevaraja and the Mughals, 1691-1694—Further relations between Mysore and Ikkeri, 1694-1696: Action at Hebbale, c. January 1695—



Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, 1673-1704

Acquisition of Arkalgud, Agur, Saklespur and Kodlipet, 1695—Hostilities renewed, c. February 1696—Other events, 1696-1704—Chikkadevaraja's political position, 1698—The period of consolidation. 1698-1704—General political situation in South India—Chikkadevaraja's embassy to Aurangzib, c. 1699—Its return to Seringapatam, 1700—Its implications—Other political activities, c. 1698-1700—Advance on Malabar and Coorg, peace between Ikkeri and Mysore, etc.—Period of peace, 1700-1704—political position of Mysore, 1704.

ON THE death of Dēvarāja Wodeyar without issue, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, his nephew and eldest son of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar by Amritāmbā, became the lawful heir to the throne of Mysore, directly in the line of Muppina-Dēvarāja Wodeyar. That he was looked upon as the heir-designate from the beginning of Dēvarāja's reign and that his eventual succession as the ruler of Mysore had, perhaps, been the cherished desire of his father (Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar), appear obvious from the works of Tirumalārya, already referred to.¹ In keeping with this position, Dēvarāja Wodeyar, on the eve of his death, is said to have enjoined on Daḷavāi Kumāraiya and other officers to arrange for the installation of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as his successor to the kingdom of Mysore.²

Born on September 22, 1645,³ Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, we learn,⁴ brought up in Mysore by his father Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, till the latter's renunciation and departure for the banks of the Kaunḍinī (by 1659). Already in this period of his life, Chikkadēvarāja, as has

1. *Vide* Ch. X; also Appendix V—(2).

2. *Annals*, I. 102-103.

3. *Mys. Dho. Pūr*, II. 55 *Pārthiva, Ātviya* su. 12, Monday; see also *Annals*, I. 104; *C. Vam*, 166; *C. V.*, IV, 51, and *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 478-474 (following the *C. Vam*.)

4. *C. Vam*, 166-188; *C. V.*, IV, 51-180.

been depicted by his friend and co-student Tirumalārya,⁵ displayed traces of a promising career, being educated and trained along sound lines and acquiring proficiency in the principles of drama, rhetoric, poetry and linguistics, in dialectics, *Purāṇas*, *Dharma-sāstras* and politics, in music (including the lute), gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship, and in horse-riding and elephant-riding and various other manly exercises. As indicated in the preceding chapter, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, during the reign of his uncle Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, stayed in the capital city of Seringapatam as Crown-prince (*Yuvarāja*) till 1667. In February 1662, he was married to Dēvājamma, daughter of Lingarājaiya of Yeḷandūr, and Dēvamma, daughter of (Daḷavāi) Kumārāya of Kaḷale. As Crown-prince, he exhibited rare courage and military spirit—during the deliberations at Seringapatam—on the occasion of the siege of Ērōḍē (1667).⁶ And he adorned, also, the court of Dēvarāja, taking an active interest in the study and appreciation of various subjects, sacred and secular.⁷ From about 1667 onwards, however, Chikkadēvarāja, as a young man of twenty-two, appears to have shown a tendency

5. See *C. Vam*, 172-184 *Nāṭakāḷankāra kabba palavum dēśabhāshegaḷoḷam paḍa-vākya-pramāṇa* . . . *vāda chāturiya* . . . *Purāṇa* . . . *Dharma-sāstra* . . . *Rāja-nīti* . . . *Saṅgita-sāstra* . . . *Vina-vādya* . . . *garudi-sādhaka* . . . *ḷikkatti modaliḍa palavum kaḍu-gaṁe-yoḷam, āne-kūḍuregaḷērātāḍoḷam palavum kaḷa-vidyegaḷoḷam praviṇa-nenuḷam* See also *C. Vi*, IV, 98-149 Cf. *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474-475, where Dēvachandra, who closely follows the *C. Vam.*, makes it appear as if Tirumalārya, Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit and Shaḍaksharaiya were the colleagues and companions of Chikkadēvarāja in his boyhood. Wilks (I. 106) merely speaks of Chikkadēvarāja's early youth at Yeḷandūr and of his intimacy with Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit there. There is, however, no evidence in support of the position of either Dēvachandra or Wilks, who seems to follow Dēvachandra here. On the other hand, from contemporary works like the *C. Vam.* (170-172) and *C. Vi.* (IV-V), we learn that only Tirumalārya, the eldest son of Aḷasingarārya, was the colleague and co-student of Chikkadēvarāja from the latter's boyhood. The connection of Chikkadēvarāja with the Jain Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit and the Vira-Saiva Shaḍaksharaiya must have come into being, as we shall see, only during c. 1668-1673, the period of his stay in Hangala.

6. *Ante*, Ch. X.

7. *C. Vi.*, V, 157-160.

to fall off from his higher leanings, a tendency perhaps indirectly hinted at by Tirumalārya himself.⁸ It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that his uncle, according to one authority,⁹ resolved to keep him under some restraint at a place remote from Seringapatam. In or about 1668, Dēvarāja accordingly sent him with his family to Hangala, a village in the south of Mysore in the present Gundlupet taluk. There arrangements were made for the continuance of his education and for affording him training befitting the character and dignity of the future ruler of the kingdom of Mysore. During his stay in Hangala, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, we note,¹⁰ came into contact with Shaḍaksharaiya (Shaḍaksharadēva), Vira-Śaiva (Ārādhyā) preceptor to the family of Mudda-Bhūpa of Yeḷandūr, and with Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, a learned Jaina Brāhman of Yeḷandūr, both of whom, together with Tirumalārya, became his friends and colleagues. All these figure prominently in the history of this period. Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, in particular, is further said to have developed an intimate acquaintance with Chikkadēvarāja and even predicted the latter's ultimate succession to the kingdom of Mysore, forestalling his own elevation as his Prime Minister.¹¹ Of the details of that acquaintance very little authentic has come down to us, but it seems not improbable that the foundations of Chikkadēvarāja's greatness as the ruler of Mysore were securely laid in Hangala during c. 1668-1673.

8. *Ibid.*, VI; see also and compare S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient Indra*, p. 296, f.n. 1.

9. *Annals*, I. 96; cf. Dēvachandra and Wilks in Ch. X, f.n. 186.

10. Wilks (l.c.) writes of the continued attachment of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit with Chikkadēvarāja at Hangala. But, as noticed in f.n. 5 *supra*, Chikkadēvarāja could not have come into contact with Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit and Shaḍaksharaiya earlier than c. 1668. For further particulars about the colleagues of Chikkadēvarāja, *vide* section on *Council of Ministers* in Ch. XII.

11. *Raj. Kath.*, XII, 476; see also and compare Wilks, l.c.

On February 28, 1673,¹² sixteen days after the death of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, Chikkadēvarāja
 Accession, etc Woḍeyar was with due pomp and ceremony installed on the throne of Mysore in Seringapatam, Daḷavāi Kumārāya having, it is said,¹³ brought him in state with his family from Hangāḷa to the capital city. It was thus as a young man, just in his twenty-eighth year,¹⁴ that Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar began his reign in Seringapatam; and he appears prominently mentioned in the extant records of his, dating in regular succession from 1673 onwards.¹⁵ The first act of Chikkadēvarāja, on his accession, was the formation of an executive council (*mantrālōchana-sabhe*)—a sort of cabinet—consisting of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit as Prime Minister and Tirumalaiyangār (Tirumalārya of literary works), Shadāksharāya, Chikkupādhyāya and Karaṇika Lingaṇṇāya as Councillors, to assist him in the governance of the kingdom.¹⁶ Daḷavāi Kumārāya of Kaḷale continued to hold office during the first decade of the reign, wielding considerable influence as Chikkadēvarāja's father-in-law and taking an active part in the politics of the times.

12 *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 31; also I. 58 and II. 56 (compared) *Paridhāva*, *Phālguṇa* ba. 8, Friday Cf. *Annals* (I. 104), fixing Chikkadēvarāja's accession in *Paridhāva*, *Phālguṇa* ba. 12 (March 5, 1673), and *Rāj Kath* (XII. 477), in *Paridhāva*, *Kārtika* su. 5 (October 16, 1672). Wilks (I. 104) places the accession in 1672, and is followed by Ricé (I. 366) and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 296). The authority of the earliest Ms. is, as usual, preferred here. Moreover it is in keeping with the inscriptions of Chikkadēvarāja, which begin from 1673—*vide* under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.

13. *Annals*, l.c. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 105-106. His story of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit bringing about the accession of Chikkadēvarāja by his personal influence, is not founded on fact. Even Dēvachandra, the local traditionist, hardly refers to it; he merely speaks of the quiet accession of Chikkadēvarāja after Dēvarāja's death—see *Rāj Kath.*, XII. 477, also XI. 387.

14. *Vide* f.n. 3 *supra*, citing authorities for the exact date of Chikkadēvarāja's birth (September 22, 1645). Cf. *Wilks*, I. 105. His statement that Chikkadēvarāja "succeeded to the throne at the mature age of forty-five" [*Italics ours*], is not borne out by evidence.

15. *Vide* under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.

16. *Annals*, I. 105. For further particulars about the Councillors, see under *Council of Ministers* in Ch. XII.

The accession of Chikkadēvarāja to the throne marks a turning-point in the history of India, particularly South India. The Empire of Vijayanagar, which had continued to hold its own against adverse forces for well nigh a century after the battle of *Raksas-Tagḍi* (1565), was rapidly losing its hold on the country under the nominal, but attenuated, sway of Srī-Ranga VI during the latter part of his life. The Shāhi kingdoms of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa were being drawn into a struggle with Aurangzīb in the Deccan, while the power of Bijāpur in the Karnāṭak-Bālagḥāṭ had been definitely on the wane since the death of Shāhi in 1664. Shāhi had been succeeded in the Karnāṭak possessions of Bijāpur by his son Ēkōji (Venkōji), and the latter was staying in Bangalore, the seat of his father's *jahgīr*, exercising the powers of a Bijāpur general. The Mahratta power in the Deccan under Śivāji was steadily asserting itself against the Mughals on the one hand and the Shāhi kingdoms on the other. In Ikkēri, in the north-west (of Mysore), Hiriya-Sōmasēkhara Nāyaka I having died a victim to court intrigue, had been succeeded by his queen-dowager, Channammāji, in February 1672; and the latter was governing the kingdom with the assistance of Basappa Nāyaka—afterwards Hiriya-Basappa Nāyaka I—adopted, and appointed heir-designate, by her in July 1672. Madura, in the far south, under Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659-1682), was on the point of drifting into war with Tanjore on the one side and Mysore on the other. As feudal powers and offshoots of Vijayanagar, both Ikkēri and Madura were practically independent. Indeed, to them Mysore, which had likewise emerged under similar circumstances but was powerful and claimed imperial status as the political heir of Vijayanagar in the Karnāṭak, had become a source of alarm, already towards the close of Dēvarāja's reign. The result was that, when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar

ascended the throne of Mysore in February 1673, a conflict between the forces of feudalism and imperialism, as represented by these factors, was almost inevitable, while the maintenance of the *status quo* of Mysore in the south-east and the north-west seemed to be the supreme need of the hour engaging Chikkadēvarāja's immediate attention.¹⁷

The situation assumed a serious aspect when, about the time of Chikkadēvarāja's accession, Chokkanātha Nāyaka (Chokkalinga) of Madura evinced an attitude of hostility towards Mysore (*durhṛda-bhāvam-bettiral*).¹⁸ On march 5, 1673, i.e., on the fifth day after his installation (*paṭavā-daidaneya-dinadoḷ*), Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar proceeded on an expedition towards the east,¹⁹ taking in rapid succession the forts of Dhūḷigōṭe, Maḷali, Muṭṭānjatti, Paramatti and Salem (*Śālya*).²⁰ Marching further, Chikkadēvarāja

Political Development and Consolidation.

First Phase: 1673-1677

Feudalism vs. Imperialism: Relations with Madura, 1673.

17. *Vide*, for general references on this section, *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2407-2408; J. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV. 136-138, and *Shivaji*, pp. 252-255; *Wilks*, I. 92-94; *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 163, and *Ke. N. V.*, VIII. 126-130, IX. 131-132.

18. See *Śrī. Mahat.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 36. For the chronological position, etc., of this text and of those cited *infra*, see Ch. XIV. The political data contained in these works (including inscriptions in poetical style) are generally to be understood in their chronological setting with reference to the more specific authority of other sources of information—compared with each other—wherever available.

19. *Ibid.* The *Sachchū. Nir* (I, 51) refers to the beginning of the eastern campaigns of Chikkadēvarāja on the day following his installation (*paṭṭabhishēka-dīvasādapart-dyure prāg-digvijayāya*); the *A. V. C.* (III, 58) speaks of the event as taking place immediately after the installation (*paṭṭangoḷuta*); but the *Śrī. Mahat.*, being an earlier work, is more specific.

20. *Śrī. Mahat.*, l.o.; also *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 81, 86; *Kamala. Mahat.*, I, 123-126; *Hastī. Mahat.*, I, 74; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 53; *Yād. Mahat.*, II, ff. 28; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 27; *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 51-52; *C. Bi.*, p. 58; *Gī. Gō.*, pp. 38, 69. See also *E.C.*, IV (3) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 25-26, and III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 119 (Text), referring to the earlier conquests of Chikkadēvarāja. *Paramatti* is found mentioned in these records as *Parama-tripura*, which Rice renders as "the great Tripura" and which S. K. Aiyangar identifies with "Trichinopoly" (see

encountered Chokkanātha himself at the head of his forces (consisting, we are told,²¹ of eight thousand horse, a lakh of foot and a hundred elephants) commanded by his Daḷavāi Venkaṭakrishṇama Nāyaka and lying in wait at *Madhuvana* on the borders of the forest region of Śādamangalam.²² In the action that took place, Chokkanātha was repulsed and hotly pursued: his forces severely crushed, and several elephants, horses and valuables in his camp plundered and captured by the Mysore army.²³ This was followed by Chikkadēvarāja's expedition to Śādamangalam whose chief, Rāmachandra Nāyaka, readily submitted to him and was promised protection; the fort of Anantagiri was next taken, and the hostile chiefs of Ariyalūr, Toreyūr and Dhārāpuram, in the Kongu-nāḍu, were successively reduced and forced to pay tribute.²⁴ After having securely established himself in the east—in the places commanding the south—Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar returned to the capital about the close of 1673. These activities of his are perhaps

Ancient India, p 299) From the context, however, the reference is obviously to Paramatti, a place in the Salem district. Paramatti (commonly spelt as *Parmati*) is at present a market-town in the Karūr taluk, 11 miles west of Karūr. Its name has been derived from *parama*, best, and *atti*, Tamil for *figus racemosa* of Lin., Sanskrit scholars, however, say that the name is a shortened form of *Paramēṣṭhi-pura*, the town of the Supreme God Subrahmanya, for whom there is a temple in the place. Śādamangalam (or Chēdamangalam), referred to in the text of f.n. 22 and 24 *infra*, may be identified with Sendamangalam in the present Karūr taluk, about 25 miles south-west of Karūr.

21. *Tri. Tāt.*, ff. 17, v. 8: *Kudure enchaśira kūraḷgaḷu lakka maḍaḍane nūraṇam maletu mārānta Madhureyāṇmanu paṇṇa mardisi.*
22. *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 52 and ff. 121; *A. V.C.*, III, 58, 63 and 79, 88; *O. Bi. and Gt.*, l.c. The actual expressions used are: *Madhuraḍhipa-bala-mājayam Madhuvana-simānta-kāntārē; Pūrva-ḍiyuvjaya-yātrā-vitrāsita Chēdamangalōpānta-kāntārōpagūḍhavyūḍha-sēnabhogupta - P ā ṇ ḍ y a - sēnādhipa sangarakṛiṭa Venkaṭakrishṇa-śbira-sarvasva-haraṇa . . .* See also f.n. 20 *supra*.
23. *Kāmand. Nr.*, *Kamala. Mahāt* and *Hasti. Mahāt.*, l.c.; also *Ruk. Cha.*, ff. 7. The expressions used are: *Madhureya dhoreyam mettē, balamellamum puḍigutti, chaṭulatara-vastuyukta taṭkaṭakamanure sṛageydu . . . gaja-vāṇ-galam . . . kondu . . .*
24. *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 127-129; *Hasti. Mahāt.*, I, 75; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, ff. 28-29; *Chikkadēvendra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 58; *O. Bi. and Gt. Gt.*, l.c.; see also *E.C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92 and III (1) Sr. 151, l.c.

confirmed by a lithic record from Dodḍa-Bēlūr (dated in 1673) referring to Daḷavāi Kumāraiya;²⁵ and are significantly reflected by the new type of coins subsequently issued by Chikkadēvarāja.²⁶

Meanwhile, the political situation in the north-west of the kingdom of Mysore had taken a serious turn. Acting ostensibly as the restorer for the last time of the fortunes of the house of Śrī-Ranga VI of Vijayanagar, but really aiming at the territorial integrity of her possessions on the fringe of Mysore, Ikkēri, under Channammāji and Basappa Nāyaka, was on the brink of war with the latter. In this enterprise, she was assisted by the Gōlkoṇḍa and Bijāpur forces in the Karnāṭak under Husain Khān and Balbal Khān (*Balabalā-Khāna*), and by other powerful local chieftains (*piridāda manneyar*) including those of Bēlūr and Arkalgūḍ.²⁷ The combination was led by Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma I, a nephew of Śrī-Ranga VI, according to the *Rāmarājīyamu*.²⁸ Among those who took a leading part in the movement were Kesaragoḍu (*Kāsaragōḍu*) Timmanṇa Nāyaka, Sabnis (*Sabbunīsa*) Krishṇappaia, officers of Channammāji—commanding the innumerable forces of Ikkēri (*asankhyātamāda sēnāsamūhamam*)—and Māṭṭa Venkaṭapati, a feudatory of Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma.²⁹ In 1674 (*Ānanda samvatsaradoḷ*), Daḷavāi Kumāraiya was despatched with an army against them.³⁰ He proceeded

25. *I. M. P.*, II. 1216, Sa. 107. For further particulars about this record, vide under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XIII.

26. *Vidr* Ch. XII.

27. *Kaṁanl. Nī.*, I, 82; *Kamala. Māhāt.*, I, 194-196; *Hast. Māhāt.*, I, 76, 81; *Bhag. Gi. Ti.*, I, 56-57; *Yad. Māhāt.*, II, ff. 28; *Chikkadēvendra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 98; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 51; *Sachchā. Nīr.*, I, 54-55 and ff. 122; *A. V. C.*, III, 58, 61; *C. B.*, p. 59, and *Gi. Gō.*, pp. 39, 69-70.

28. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 312, 318.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 318; also *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 133, v. 8.

30. *Ke. N. V.*, l.c.; cf. S. K. Aiyangar, in *Nayaks of Madura* (p. 134, f.n. 60), placing this event subsequent to 1675, and *Mys. Gaz.* (II. iii. 2414), in 1704—which requires revision.

forthwith, winning rapid victories over the local chieftains and the Muhammadan forces, taking Arkalgūd, Angaḍi, Nuggēhalli and Saklēspur from Krishnappa Nāyaka of Aigūr, and finally wresting Bēlūr from Venkaṭātri Nāyaka.³¹ At Hāssan, however, he was defeated and put to rout with great loss by the combined forces of Ikkēri and Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma, the defeat being followed by the resumption by Ikkēri of Vastāre (*Vasudhāre*) and other places from Mysore.³² This victory, attributed in the *Rāmarājyamu* to Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma, was, however, more apparent than real, for, as we shall see, it left Bēlūr, Hāssan and Vastāre—formerly belonging to the Empire—virtually a bone of contention between Mysore and Ikkēri during the succeeding years, the imperial claim therefor having quietly receded to the background under the rapidly changing conditions of the period. Arkalgūd itself became the southernmost point of attack for Ikkēri, though Mysore had temporarily come into possession of that place, together with Saklēspur, about the close of 1674.

We may now turn to Chikkadēvarāja's relations with Bijāpur. As indicated already, Madura was on the point of drifting into war with Tanjore in 1673. They actually came to conflict between 1673-1674 (after Chokkanātha's repulse from the south-eastern frontiers of Mysore in 1673), and this resulted in the deaths of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka (of Tanjore) and his son, the acquisition of Tanjore by Madura and its rule under Aḷagiri Nāyaka, foster-brother of Chokkanātha Nāyaka, appointed as Viceroy. Aḷagiri, in due course, began to claim independence as ruler of Tanjore, adopting an attitude of indifference towards Madura. While he and

31. *Vide* texts cited in f.n. 27 *supra*; also *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 32, ll. 26-28; III (1) Sr. 151, p. 119 (Text).

32. *Sources*, pp. 312, 318; also *Ke. N. V.*, IX, 183, vv. 9-10.

Chokkanātha were on the point of a rupture, one of the officers of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka at the court of Tanjore planned the restoration of the old dynasty in the person of Changamala Dās, a boy of the Nāyaka family of Tanjore; and sought the help of Bijāpur. The latter sent Ēkōji, with instructions to drive Aḷagiri out of Tanjore and reinstate the boy on the throne. Ēkōji proceeded thither and succeeded in taking possession of Tanjore by siege, forcing the helpless Aḷagiri to take to flight towards Mysore. He also reinstated Changamala Dās but, subsequently, after the death of the Adil Shah in 1675, himself usurped all sovereign authority, establishing Mahratta rule in Tanjore and Gingee. From 1675 onwards Ēkōji threw off his allegiance to Bijāpur, and Tanjore became his headquarters, though he continued to maintain a foothold on his father's *jahgīr* of Bangalore in the distant north.³³

During the absence of Ēkōji from the Karnāṭak in and after 1675, the Bijāpur possessions, Chikkadēvarāja's activities, 1675. in parts of what at present constitutes the Tumkūr district, continued to be held by Jahāngīr Khān and Husain Khān, generals claiming connection with Raṇadullā Khān. The menace of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa (then in alliance with Ikkēri and other local powers) on Mysore seemed seriously to affect the position of Chikkadēvarāja in the north. About the middle of 1675, he was, therefore, obliged to proceed personally in that direction; and succeeded in wresting from the Muhanımadans Kētasamudra, Kandikere, Handalakere, Gūlūr, Tumkūr, Chiknāyakanahallı, Honnavallı, Sāratavallı and Turuvēkere (*Turugere*), situated in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-

33. *Vide*, on this section, *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 163-168, 279; cf. *Annals* (I. 109-110), containing a rather confused and gossipy account of the Mahratta conquest of Tanjore, etc.

Bālaghāt.³⁴ This was followed by an action against Narasappa Wodeyar (Narasa Nāyaka)—distinguished as *Muṣṭika* (fighter with fist)—chief of the celebrated fort of Jaḍakana-durga, who opposed him assisted by the Morasas and the Kirātas. Jaḍakana-durga itself was bombarded, its name being changed into Chikkadēvarāya-durga.³⁵

About the close of 1675, Chikkadēvarāja's position in Mysore had become secure. He had succeeded in checking the aggressions of Madura and in ensuring the safety of Mysore against further attacks, and shown a marked tendency to absorb the remaining possessions of Madura in the south; he had also advanced up to Bēlūr in the west (against Ikkēri), despite the reverses at Hāssan; and, profiting by the absence of Īkōṇ from Bangalore, had extended the sphere of influence of Mysore up to the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāt in the north. The suzerainty of Vijayanagar in the Karnāṭaka country had become rather an idea than a reality, after the short-lived success of Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma I at Hāssan (1674), so that Chikkadēvarāja, in November 1675, was actually in a position to claim to rule the kingdom of Mysore from the throne of the Karnāṭa Empire (*Karnāṭa-sāmrājya-simhāsana-mudārādhiḥ*), as the *Chāmarājanagar copper-plate grant* of that date testifies.³⁶ The year 1675 is thus a landmark in the political evolution of the kingdom of Mysore.

34. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 28-30, and III (1) Sr. 151, p. 119 (Text); *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 84-86; *Kamālā. Mahāt.*, I, 137-138, 140, 142; *Hastī. Mahāt.*, I, 80; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 59; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, II, 39; *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 56 and ff. 122; *C. Bt.*, p. 59, and *Gī. Gō.*, pp. 39, 70, see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II, 32, and *Annals*, I, 105.

35. *Ibid.*, ll. 30-32; Sr. 151, l.c., *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 83; *Kamālā. Mahāt.*, I, 141; *Hastī. Mahāt.*, I, 79; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, ff. 28; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 58; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, l.c.; *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 56 and ff. 122; *A. V. C.*, III, 44; *C. Bt.*, l.c., and *Gī. Gō.*, l.c., also p. 41, vv. 2-3, etc.

36. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 23-24.

By 1676 Ēkōji, after his conquest of Tanjore, had proceeded as far as Trichinopoly in the far south, and a war between Chokkannātha and Ēkōji was imminent.³⁷ The situation was critical for Mysore, exposed as she was to a much-expected attack from Bijāpur (to punish Ēkōji for his usurpation) on the one hand and, on the other, to trouble from the Mahrattas under Ēkōji, who were establishing themselves on her frontiers.³⁸ Indeed, the Jesuit letter of 1676³⁹ speaks of Mysore—during 1675-1676—as fortifying “the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura,” of her gathering fresh troops and “making grand preparations for war on the pretext of strengthening herself against the Muhammadans.” The letter even anticipates in these preparations an eventual attack of Mysore on Madura.⁴⁰ In reality, however, the attention of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar in 1676 was directed towards the consolidation of the southern conquests of his predecessor⁴¹ and the further acquisition of Bijāpur possessions in the north, in which direction he had proceeded already in 1675. In January 1676, Chikkadēvarāja came into possession of Jadakana-durga from Narasappa Woḍeyar, after a tough siege which lasted a period of nearly six months; in February, he took Doḍḍadēva-gaganagiri (a peak probably named after Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja) from Chikkappa-Gauḍa : and in April,

37. *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 169-171; also 279-280 (*Letter*).

38. *Ibid.*, p. 174; also 281 (*Letter*).

39. See in *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281. *La Mission Du Maduré*—Andrè Freire to Paul Oliva.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

41. See *I. M. P.*, I. 527, 551, Ch. 74 and 800. These records of Chikkadēvarāja, dated in 1676, come from Kumārapālayam and Satyamangalam, places in the possession of Mysore since 1667 (*vide* Ch. X). They merely point to the continued sway, and consolidation of the political position, of Chikkadēvarāja in those parts rather than the pursuit “of the aggressive policy of his predecessor,” as is held in the *Nayaks of Madura* (p. 171). For further particulars about these records, *vide* under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XIII.

he finally annexed Honnavalli from Jahāngīr Khān. Again, in January 1677, Bommasamudra (in Chikkadēvarāya-durga hōbli) was taken from Husain Khān, while in February, Toda-nādu (land of the Todavas or Tōḍas ?) in the south was acquired from Bhujangaiya, son of the Wodeyar of Ummattūr.⁴² Proceeding further, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar extended his victorious arms as far as Malabar (*Malayāchala, Kēraḷa*).⁴³ Indeed Dr. Fryer, writing about this time, makes mention of him (Chikkadēvarāja) as "the Raja of Saranpatam" (Serlingapatam) enjoying "a vast territory on the back of the Zamerbin" (Zamorin).⁴⁴ About the middle of 1677, there was absolute security for Mysore in all the directions excepting possibly the north-east.

For, by now the political equilibrium of the whole of Southern India was disturbed as it were by the sweeping current of Śivāji's expedition into the Karnāṭak.

Second Phase
1677-1690. *The*
Crises

Mahratta affairs,
1677-1680 Śivāji's
expedition to the
Karnāṭak, 1677.

As already indicated, Śivāji had become a force to reckon with in India by 1672, when he began to assert himself as the sworn opponent of Aurangzīb in the Deccan. Śivāji's coronation took place at Raigarh on June 6, 1674 and in the monsoon season of that year he was engaged against Bahadūr Khān, the Mughal general, in the Deccan. Śivāji was extending his warlike activities from Bijāpur and Gōlkonḍa up to the gates of Āgra and Delhi, when the political situation in Tanjore attracted his attention. The government of Tanjore ever since its conquest (1675) by Ēkōji, half-brother of Śivāji, had been far from satisfactory. Raghunāth-Pant, the able confidential

42. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II 31-33; *Annals*, I 105; see also *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 28; *Bhag. Gi. Ti.*, I, 54; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 133, *Hast. Mahāt.*, I, 78; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, II, 37; *E. C., Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Pn. 144 (1680), II. 33-34; cf. *Wilks*, I 225 (*List of conquests*).

43. *Bhag. Gi. Ti.*, I, 55; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, I c.

44. See *Travels in India*, Roe and Fryer, p. 396, also J. T. Wheeler, quoting in *Early Records*, p. 74. For Fryer's account of Mysorean warfare (17th century), vide Appendix IX.

minister of Shāhji—then in charge of Ēkōji's heritage in the Karnātak—wrote to Śivāji about Ēkōji's maladministration in Tanjore. Ēkōji received a letter of admonition from Śivāji but it was of no avail. Raghunāth-Pant, in disgust, began to work out plans to secure the kingdom of Tanjore for Śivāji, and, having entered into an understanding with some of the Karnātak chiefs—particularly the Bijāpur governor of Gingee—left for Satāra, to interview Śivāji and discuss with him the question of an expedition to the south. On his way, he concluded an alliance with the Sultān of Gōlkoṇḍa through the good offices of the latter's Hindu ministers, Akkanna and Mādaṇṇa. Raghunāth-Pant convinced Śivāji of the feasibility of his plan. Towards the close of 1676, Śivāji commenced his march towards the south with an army consisting, it is said, of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot. In February 1677, Śivāji was at Bhāganagar (Hyderabad in the Deccan) to complete his preparations with the help of Gōlkoṇḍa, to whom he is said to have promised one half of his conquests. Resuming the march, he entered the Karnātak in the direction of the Madras plains capturing Gingee in July. Here his brother Śāntaji, who was till then with Ēkōji, went over to him. After sending a considerable portion of his army to the siege of Vellore, Śivāji marched on to Tanjore. In July-August, an interview took place between him and Ēkōji at Tiruvaḍi on the Coleroon, which, despite the conflict among the authorities regarding details, left the latter practically master of Tanjore. In August, Śivāji retraced his steps to Vellore, annexing the territories north of the Coleroon and subjugating the refractory Pālegārs. He confirmed Śāntaji in the governorship of Gingee with a contingent of troops under Raghunāth-Pant and Haraji, and took the ancestral possessions of Ārṇi, Hoskōṭe, Bangalore, Baḷḷāpur (Doḍbaḷḷāpur) and Sira in the eastern, central and northern plateau of Mysore.

Early in November, alarmed by news of Aurangzib's campaign against him, he began his return journey, marching through Sira to Kopal, then to Gadag, Lakshmēśvar and Bankapur, finally arriving at Panhala through Belgaum about April 1678, in time to resume his activities against the Mughal.⁴⁵

About the middle of August 1677. Śivāji, on his way from Gingee to his ancestral possessions in the Karnāṭak, proceeded up to Seringapatam in southern Mysore.⁴⁶ A letter, dated August 24, 1677,⁴⁷ speaks of Śivāji's design "to take Bindroor [Bednur] and to join Canara to his own conquests." Further, some of Śivāji's parties are said⁴⁸ to have "plundered as far as Seringapatam" (in 1677) and Śivāji himself, after his march through Gingee, Tanjore and Valikondapuram, was believed⁴⁹ to have "robbed Seringapatam, and carried away great riches from there." We have also a reference⁵⁰ to the Mahrattas under Śivāji having "retired to their own country after having some bloody battles with the Nāik of Mysore." The contemporary Kannada works, however, invest this incident with a strong local colour. From them⁵¹ we learn that when Śivāji entered the country of

45. *Vide*, on this section, J. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 241-252, 275, 282-290, 366, 408, and *Aurangzeb*, IV. 138-149, 215-221; Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, I. 249-260; *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 174-178; also see and compare *Wilks*, I. 95-103.

46. See Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 400, f.n., citing Chitnis, 142. The details, however, are not given.

47. Quoted by Orme in *Historical Fragments*, Note XLVIII, p. 234. Bombay to Surat.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

49. *Vide* letter cited in f.n. 47 *supra*.

50. *Early Records*, p. 73.

51. See A. V. C., I, 30:

*Andivaninali bhayadinde manidrupa urpabnda manitum
bharadolondur veredolpim |
Sandhisi Shivajiganuvindoredu marma-manavandi-rodagudi
yavanandu kavadinam ||
Sandaniya kalagadolondinissu mumbariye banderagi pavugala
gondanade Vishnu |
Syandanada malkeyole kondu koleyadidalavinde Chika-
devanpanindu sogavalgum ||;*

the Kannaḍigas his attention towards Seringapatam was directed by the assemblage of local chiefs who had been subdued by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar; Śivāji, advancing at their head, surprised Chikkadēvarāja (probably in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam) offering a covert fight; Chikkadēvarāja withstood Śivāji and was able to repulse him, causing disorder and loss in his ranks. It would thus appear that Śivāji's progress was definitely arrested in southern Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. Accordingly, at the end of the skirmish, Śivāji seems to have found it expedient to content himself with securing some booty from Seringapatam and, after taking his ancestral possessions in the eastern, central and northern plateau of Mysore, left Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore to the south of the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāṭ.⁵²

Śivāji's irruption into Mysore was in the nature of things nothing more than a passing incident in the general course of Mahratta history, but it seems to have been regarded as an event of supreme significance from a local point of view. Indeed Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar is spoken of as having assumed the title *Apraṭima-Vīra* (unparalleled hero) after curbing the pride of the famous Śivāji who, it is said, had come swollen with the pomp

also *C. B.*, p. 2, v. 10; *Gi. G.*, p. 37, v. 57, quoting from *A. V. C. The C. Sap.* (pp. 266-268) specifically mentions Chikkadēvarāja's victory over Śivāji (*Śivājiya geddu*), and refers to his title *Kannaḍa-Rāja E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 116, l. 437, echoes Chikkadēvarāja's victory over the Mahratta leaders including Śivāji (*Śivāji-pramukha-prabala-Mahārāṣṭra-bhūpala-jāla-ripu-vijayaikalila*). See also passage from *C. B.* (p. 4), quoted in f.n. 53 *infra*. For further references on the subject, *vide f.n. Ibid.*

52 Wilks (I. 109) speaks of the Mughal lieutenants, the Shāhi kings of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and Śivāji, during the complicated transactions of the succeeding period (1677-1680), as having "found in each other opponents too powerful to admit of their attending in the manner that their importance required, to the gradual and skilful encroachments of Chick Deo Raj." Evidently Chikkadēvarāja was the master of the situation in Southern Karnāṭak in and after 1677, and this, as we shall see, is borne out by our sources also.

of tribute (from the rulers of the countries around Āgra, Delhi and Bhāganagar).⁵³ Evidently Chikkadēvarāja appears to have held himself out as the opponent of Śivāji in the southern Karnāṭak, having asserted his claims to rule from the throne of the Karnāṭaka Empire as early as 1675.⁵⁴ In any case, the event seemed to add considerably to the reputation of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the foremost ruler in the Karnāṭaka country, and the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* of Tirumalārya, we have referred to,⁵⁵ cannot but be regarded as conveying an eloquent indication of this position from the contemporary standpoint.

53. See *A. V. C.* (of Tirumalārya), III, 28

Mayanō Śambaranō Duśāśya-sutanō Mārīchanō embanam |
Bhayadindāgare Dhiḷli Bhāganagara pāntangalol-nāḍugar |
Jayajī-yendūdiruṭṭa kappadodacem pampēri bandā-Śivā- |
jya sorḥam muridakki-yapratima-vīrābhikhyeyam tūḷidam .

also *C. B.*, p. 1, v. 4; *Gi. Gō*, p. 20, v. 33; and *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 71-74, quoting from *A. V. C.* The title *Apratima-Vīra* occurs also in *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), l. 88; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115 (c. 1686-1690), ll. 439-440; *Mbh. Śānti*, col., and *Sachchu. Nir.*, ff. 122; and is found repeated in *C. B.*, p. 59, *Gi. Gō*, pp. 39 and 70, etc. (See also under *Chikkadēvarāja's* titles, in Ch. XVI.) Curiously enough, other contemporary writers like Chikkupādhyāya, Timma-Kavi and Mallikārjuna do not refer to this event in their works, though they wrote in the early part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (i.e., c. 1676-1680). Probably they were not so well informed of it as Tirumalārya who, as an intimate friend and councillor of Chikkadēvarāja, seems to have been in a better position to visualise and give eloquent expression to it along with other important events of the reign—when he wrote his *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700). Chikkadēvarāja's own works, the *C. B.* and *Gi. Gō*, cited above, quote from Tirumalārya, the *C. B.* (p. 4), in particular, alluding to the event in prose also thus.

Uttarādīśadolūḍvṛtta-charitra-nenisu aruvattum sāvram vāruvan-
galum lakkaḍenike-yurkālgaḷum berasu nāḍedu Dhiḷliya-nāḍananitumam
kolḷeyolam kaḷḷagāḷegadolam jaḷḷugeydu, Vijayapuradarasam jayisi,
avara nāḍu-biḍugalam koṇḍu, Gōlakonḍeyanavanam baṇḍugeydu,
avanitta kappamanoppugonḍu, ā sorḥinim gaḷḷane Kannada-nāḍam
pokka Śivāśyam ājraṅgadolūḷe geḷḷisi Literary flourishes apart, the passages quoted, besides reflecting Chikkadēvarāja's contact with Śivāji, point to the profound impression the latter had created on his contemporaries in Mysore by his achievements in Northern India—which endows his irruption into Mysore with a significance all its own.

54. *Vide* f.n. 36 *supra* and text thereto.

55. *Vide* f.n. 53 *supra*.

The retirement of Śivāji from South India was followed by an aggressive campaign, about November 1677, conducted by Ēkōji against Śāntaji who had fled from his protection and was in charge of the kingdom of Gingee. In the action which is said to have taken place at Valikōṇḍapuram, both sides put up a stout opposition and Ēkōji was obliged to retreat in great confusion to Tanjore, his plans frustrated. Meanwhile, news of Ēkōji's movements having reached Śivāji on his way home, he despatched the terms of a treaty—of nineteen clauses—to Ēkōji, making provision for the administration of Tanjore on improved lines. The treaty aimed a blow at the feudal obligations of Shāhji and his heirs to Bijāpur, and it was ratified by Ēkōji who reverted to the more humble rôle of ruler of Tanjore. Śāntaji, having settled everything according to Śivāji's instructions, marched on Vellore which was ultimately captured by Raghunāth-Pant about the middle of August 1678, after an investment of fourteen months. Vellore became a Mahratta possession and was strengthened against an expected attack of Aurangzīb. During these activities of the Mahrattas in the south, particularly during Ēkōji's war with Śāntaji, Chokkanātha Nāyaka led his army into Tanjore, but, before he could invest the place, Ēkōji retreated thither from Gingee. Weak and vacillating, Chokkanātha, instead of taking prompt action, negotiated with Śāntaji, promising him a large sum of money in return for the cession of Tanjore to him. Chokkanātha's expectations were foiled by the conclusion of the treaty between Ēkōji and Śāntaji about the end of 1677. He, therefore, returned in disgrace to Trichinopoly. He was in great straits and, as may be expected, added to the miseries and discontentment of his subjects. All these led to his deposition on the ground of insanity, and the temporary accession of his younger brother Muttuliṅga

South Indian
politics, 1677-1680.

Nāyaka (the "Mudalagawdry Naique" of the *Fort St. George Records*) to the kingdom of Madura in 1678. The latter's administration hardly improved the prevailing state of affairs, and was followed by the usurpation, for about two years, of Rustam Khān, a Muslim adventurer and influential cavalry officer commanding 2,000 horse.⁵⁶ Already by 1678 the Mahrattas had become a force in South India and between 1678-1680 were extending the sphere of their activities from the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt in the north up to Trichinopoly in the far south, leaving Aurangzib to carry on his struggle with Śivāji on the one side and Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa on the other, in the Deccan.

To Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, Mahratta affairs in Southern India, since Śivāji's departure in November 1677, had become a source of great concern, especially as regards the territorial integrity of the frontiers of Mysore in the south-east and the north and his own advance in those directions. Already there were signs of the beginnings of a contest for the mastery of the south as between Mysore and the Mahrattas, consequent on the gradual retirement of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa from the political arena of South India, while the shifting policy of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura was a contributory factor in the situation. In January 1678, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, probably taking advantage of the state of affairs in Madura, proceeded to the east and laid siege to and took possession (from Ghaṭṭa-Mudalār) of the forts of Andūr and Kuntūr, situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura.⁵⁷ Then he marched on to Ērōḍe, pursuing

56. *Vide*, on this section, *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 178-181, 261-265; also *Letters to Fort St. George* (1682), p. 23. "Mudalagawdry Naique" is "Muddu or Muttu Alagādri Nāyaka," another name of Muttulinga Nāyaka.

57. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II, 83; *Annals*, I, 106; see also *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 180-181; *Hastī. Mahāt.*, I, 77; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 48-49; *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 53 A. V. C., III, 8, etc., referring to these acquisitions. Cf. *Wilks*, I, 225.

and capturing its chief Akkā Redḍi, but subsequently pardoning him and accepting his submission.⁵⁸ Referring, perhaps, to this movement of Chikkadēvarāja, the Jesuit letter of 1678⁵⁹ speaks of him as having entered the dominions of the Nāyak of Madura “without striking a blow” and taken “possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north.” Again, in a letter to *Fort St. George*,⁶⁰ Chokkanātha himself states that “his brother not understanding how to govern the kingdom, did act in such a manner that the Naique of Misure [Mysore] took Madura, etc., places from us and gave Vollam [Vallam] castle to Eccojee [Ēkōji].”

After securing his foothold in the south, Chikkadēvarāja turned his attention towards the north, taking the forts of Chikkatōḷagere and Koratagere (in February-March 1678) and protecting the chiefs thereof, who submitted to him.⁶¹ This was followed by the siege of Māgaḍi and the settlement of contribution due by its chief Mummaḍi-Kempe-Gauḍa.⁶² Next Chikkadēvarāja proceeded to the Maddagiri-sīme, then in charge of chieftains by name Timmappa Gauḍa and Rāmappa Gauḍa. The impregnable and celebrated fort of Maddagiri was bombarded and taken, during May-June 1678. Then followed the siege and capitulation of Kudūr, Viranṇana-durga, the peak of Maddagiri (*Maddagiriya-kumbhi*) and Hosūr (in the neighbourhood of Sira), between June-July.⁶³ At Hosūr, Chikkadēvarāja

58. *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 132; *Hastī. Mahāt.*, l.c.; *Bhag. Gi. Tī.* I, 53.

59. See in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 284: André Freire to Paul Oliva.

60. *Letters to Fort St. George* (1682), p. 28: Letter dated March 8, 1682—Chokkanātha Nāyaka to William Gyfford (Governor of *Fort St. George*).

61. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 34; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 148; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 106.

62. *Annals*, I. 110-111.

63. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 83-86; cf. *Annals*, I. 106; see also *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 139, 143-146; *Hastī. Mahāt.*, I, 82-83; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, I, 40; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 50; *Saccheṣa. Nīr.*, I, 56, 59; *A. V. C.*, III, 82 (gloss); *C. Bi.*,

met with opposition from the Mahratta forces of Ēkōji, commanded by his Prime Minister Yaśavanta Rao (*Ēkōjiya Mahā-pradhānu-nenisuva Yaśavanta-Rāru*); the Mahrattas were, however, put to rout, Yaśavanta Rao himself sustaining the loss of his nose at the hands of the Mysoreans.⁶⁴ In August, Channarāya-durga and Manne-kōlāla, and in September-October 1678, the peak of Miḍagēśi (*Miḍagēśi-kumbhi*), Bijjavara, Guṇḍumale-durga and Bhūtīpura, were successively besieged and captured.⁶⁵ The acquisition of this chain of impregnable hill-forts made the sphere of influence of Mysore practically coterminous with Śivūji's ancestral possession of Sira in the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt.⁶⁶

Evidently, during 1679-1680, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was at the height of his power. A copper-plate grant,⁶⁷ dated in 1679, while incidentally repeating, and referring to, his conquests from the beginning of his reign up to 1678, speaks of him as wielding the sceptre of an Empire (*sāmvrājyam pratipādayan*). Another,⁶⁸

His position in
1679-1680.

p. 59; *Gi. Gō.*, pp. 39, 70, 37, vv. 55-56, 47, vv. 5-6, 52, vv. 1-2, *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 151 (1679), p. 119 (Text)—referring to Chikkadēvarāja's conquests and acquisitions during 1678. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 225-226; also 111, f.n. 1 (Editorial note), identifying "Mudgerry" of Wilks with Mūḍgere! In keeping with the context, the place Hosūr, referred to, has to be identified with the extant village of that name in the Sira taluk (see *List of Villages*, 69) and not with Hosūr in the present Salem district.

64. See *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 59, 61; *Trs. Tat.*, ff. 16, 18; *A. V. C.*, II, 13, III, 9, 65, 101, 114 and 123 (gloss), 166, 172, IV, 2, etc.; *C. Bi.*, p. 2, vv. 6-8, p. 4; *Gi. Gō.*, p. 63, v. 12, 65, v. 13; also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 69-70, and *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 90—echoing the event of 1678 in relation to Yaśavanta Rao's affair. According to these sources, Yaśavanta Rao (*Yaśavata*) was a deputy of Ēkōji at Hosūr in the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt, and Chikkadēvarāja's achievement of 1678 was a distinct success over the Adil Shah of Bijāpur in general and the Mahrattas and local Pāḷegārs in particular.

65. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 63 *supra*.

66. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 106. His view that the conquests of Chikkadēvarāja "present little interest or demand no particular explanation," is untenable in the light of the sources utilised here.

67. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 151, p. 119 (Text).

68. *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, ll. 18-22, 33-34, 98.

the *Garani copper-plate grant*, dated in 1680, refers, among other things, to Chikkadēvarāja's victory over all his enemies (*jita nikhila ripūn*), to his prowess on the field (*bhuja-vīryānala-mājirangakē*) and the dust caused by the march of his forces (*yatsēnādhūli pāṭi ghanatara patanaiḥ*) ; it does also echo Chikkadēvarāja's conquests in the north (in the Maddagiri-Bijjavara-sīme) and speaks of him as having been seated on the throne of Mysore in Seringapatam, bearing the burden of imperial sovereignty (. . . *Rangapuryām* . . . *Mahīśūra-simhāsanastha* . . . *sāmrajya-śriya-mārahan*). Other sources⁶⁹ point to his having performed the sixteen great gifts (*shōḍaśa-mahādānamangalam māḍi*) and to his having been secure in his claim to suzerainty as "Sultān of Hindu kings" (*Hindurāya-suratāṇam* or *suratrāṇam*) and "Emperor of the south and of the Karnāṭaka country" (*Dakṣiṇadik-Chakravartī, Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī, Dakṣiṇadikchakrāvanimaṇḍanam*), during c. 1676-1680. The imperial idea was a living force in the practical politics of the times and Mysore, under Chikkadēvarāja, was fast completing the process of giving adequate expression to it—a process which, as we have seen,⁷⁰ tended first to manifest itself as far back as 1663, if not as early as 1642.

On April 5, 1680, Śivāji died and was succeeded by his son Sambhāji (*Śambhu, Sāmbāji*) to the sovereignty of the Mahratta possessions in the Deccan and the Karnāṭak, with Haraji, the lieutenant of Śivāji, in charge of Gingee. Sambhāji soon found himself drawn into a struggle with the Siḍi of Jinjira, Aurangzīb and the English factors at Sūrat. Ēkōji continued as ruler of

69. *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 149, 152-154 ; *Ruk. Cha.*, col. ; *Yad. Mahāt.*, II, ff. 27 ; *Chikkadēvarāja-Vam.*, p. 26 ; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, II, 44-45 ; *C. Vam.*, 166 ; *C. Vt.*, IV, 51 ; *Mbh. Śanti* and *Śalya.*, col. ; *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 60 ; also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 63-65 ; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 83-85 and 483.

70. *Ante*, Chs. VIII and X.

Tanjore, retaining his hold on the distant *jahgīrs* of Bangalore, Hoskōṭe, Sīra and other places in the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālaghāt.⁷¹ Ikkēri, alarmed by the advance of Mysore in the south-east and the north and by the latter's claim to supremacy in the Karnātak, began her aggressions, taking Kaḍūr, Bānāvar, Hāssan and Bēlūr, and safeguarding her southern frontiers against further encroachments from Mysore, between 1680-1681 (*Raudri-Durmati*).⁷² These activities on the part of Ikkēri were facilitated to a considerable extent by the absence from Seringapatam of a major portion of the Mysore army under Daḷavāi Kumāraiya, engaged as the latter was before Trichinopoly in the distant south during the period.

Since 1678 Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura had been smarting under the tyranny of Rustam Khān, the usurper-commander. Mysore and the South, 1680-1686 Muttulinga Nāyaka, brother of Chokkanātha, having retired to the Tanjore country, Rustam Khān, we learn,⁷³ made himself so powerful that he began altogether to ignore the ruling family in Madura. Thereupon Chokkanātha made an attempt to shake off Rustam's yoke. Disappointed in his dealings with Śāntaji, he turned for help to the Maravas and Chikkadēvarāja of Mysore. He sent word to Kumāraiya, the Mysore general, about the middle of 1680.⁷⁴ This was doubtless a good opportunity for Mysore, having advanced up to Madura already by 1678. The objective of Mysore now became clear. Daḷavāi Kumāraiya, marching at the head of a strong

71. J. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 429, and *Aurangzeb*, IV. 281-282, 289-299, V. 52-58; also *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 180-182 and 285-290.

72. *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 184-185, v. 13 and f.n. 1 and 2, at p. 184.

73. *Letters to Fort St. George* (1682), cited in f.n. 60 *supra*.

74. *Ibid.* The letter refers to Kumāraiya as "general named Comarish." Though dated March 8, 1682, it actually reflects the affairs of the period 1680-1682.

army, attacked Trichinopoly.⁷⁵ Rustam Khān, says the Jesuit letter,⁷⁶ "enticed by the enemy, made an imprudent sally, fell into an ambuscade and lost nearly all cavalry in it." Rustam's inability to conduct the defence of Trichinopoly soon led to a plot among Chokkanātha's devoted friends, resulting in his (Rustam's) overthrow and massacre with his followers.⁷⁷ Dalāvāi Kumāraiya and the Maravas succeeded in quelling Rustam Khān's forces;⁷⁸ Chokkanātha was freed from the latter's tyranny and he was grateful to Mysore for his hard-won freedom. He jubilantly announced his liberation to the Governor and Council at Madras, stating (in his letter to *Fort St. George* dated March 8, 1682)⁷⁹ "Wee and the Naique of Misure [Mysore] are now good friends."

Chokkanātha was, however, it would appear, entirely mistaken in his belief. Dalāvāi Kumāraiya would not so easily let go his hold on him as he seemed to imagine. Indeed, since 1680 Kumāraiya had been steadily pressing his demand for the arrears of contribution due by Madura to Mysore,⁸⁰ and, according to a family manuscript,⁸¹ he is stated to have made a vow not to appear before Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar until he had taken Trichinopoly. About the end of March 1682, Chokkanātha, having

Trichinopoly, the objective of southern advance of Mysore, its siege, c. March-May, 1682.

75. See *Annals*, I. 118. According to this source, the Mysore army under Dalāvāi Kumāraiya and other generals of repute was before Trichinopoly during 1680-1682, for the collection of arrears of contribution from Madura (due since 1667-1668). In the light of the *Fort St. George* letter above referred to, Chokkanātha's requisition for help from Mysore in 1680 seemed to offer a tempting chance for the realization of Chikkadēvarāja's ambition. See also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 28, referring to the Mysorean expedition to Trichinopoly. For a critical notice of the actual date of the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly, vide f.n. 82 *infra*.

76. See in *Nāyaks of Madura*, pp. 286-287: André Freire to Paul Oliva, 1682.

77. *Ibid*; also pp. 181-182.

78. *Ibid* f.n. 73 *supra*.

79. *Ibid*.

80. *Ibid* f.n. 75 *supra*.

81. Referred to by *Wilks*, I. 114-115. But there is no evidence in support of Wilks's dating of Dalāvāi Kumāraiya's siege of Trichinopoly in 1696—vide, on this point, f.n. 82 *infra*; also Appendix VI—(1).

realised the gravity of the situation, turned for help to the Mahrattas and found himself surrounded by four large armies led, respectively, by Daḷavāi Kumāraīya, the Maravas, Haraji (Araśumalai), the general of Sambhāji, and Ēkōji.⁸²

The southern advance of Mysore as far as Madura and Trichinopoly during 1678-1680 had become a source of considerable alarm to the Mahrattas, threatening as it did the safety of their possessions in the Karnāṭak and South India. Already between 1680-1681, a combination of the Mahrattas under Haraji, Dādaji, Jantaji and other generals had laid siege to the fort of Dharmapurī (in the east of Mysore) for a period of eight months and, being repulsed by the Mysoreans, had raised the siege and been forced to retire southwards, taking their stand in Samyamīnīpaṭṭaṇam (southern Dharmapurī).⁸³ Early in 1682, Haraji and Ēkōji had greater cause for anxiety, Kumāraīya having stood before the walls of Trichinopoly itself. They were, therefore, obliged to proceed thither on pretence of helping Chokkanātha, but their real motive was "to repulse the army of Mysore whose

82. *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 287 (*Letter*), see also p. 182. Satyanatha Aiyar places the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly about 1680 (*Ibid.*, p. 181). In the light of the Jesuit letter of 1682 (*Ibid.*, pp. 287-288), read with reference to the *Letter to Fort St. George* (*vide* f.n. 60 *supra*), the siege seems to have taken place subsequent to March 1682. Although Kumāraīya was before Trichinopoly in 1680 (*vide* f.n. 75 *supra*), the interval of about two years between 1680-1682 was, as we have seen (*vide* f.n. 74 *supra*), occupied by diplomatic relations between Madura and Mysore. So that we may approximately place the actual date of the Mysorean siege of Trichinopoly between c. March-May 1682. Cf. J. Sarkar, referring to the siege in March 1683 (*Aurangzib*, V. 53)—which requires revision. S. K. Aiyangar, in the *Sources* (p. 312, f.n.), cites Nelson's *Manual of Madura* referring, on the authority of a *Mackenzie Ms.*, to the siege of Trichinopoly by Daḷavāi Kumāraīya of Mysore along with Śivāji and Venkōji, and to Kumāraīya's defeat and forced retirement to Mysore at the hands of Śivāji. It is difficult to accept Nelson's authority being apparently a later and erroneous version. The siege, as we have shown, actually took place in 1682, i.e., about two years after Śivāji's death (1680).

83. See *A. V. C.*, III, 97 (with gloss) and *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 59; also see f.n. 94 *infra*, for details about the Mahratta generals.

proximity they feared, and take possession of all the dominions of Madura.”⁸⁴ Trichinopoly thus became a bone of contention as between Mysore and the Mahrattas, the Maravas taking part in the struggle only “to get their share of pillage.”⁸⁵

Before commencing hostilities, however, Daḷavāi Kumāraiya's negotiations. Kumāraiya, “realizing that it was impossible for him to resist such armies

(a) With Chokkanātha. with troops so inferior in number,” says the Jesuit letter,⁸⁶ “offered peace

to the Nāyak, promising to preserve his kingdom for him and re-establish the successors of the ancient Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingi.” Whatever might have been the ulterior motive of the Daḷavāi in making these proposals, the wisest course for Chokkanātha “would undoubtedly have been to make a league with the king of Mysore” against the Mahrattas.⁸⁷ Instead, he only joined the latter “to fight and destroy the allies whom he had called to his help.”⁸⁸ Chokkanātha, however, could neither count on the support of the Mahrattas nor was he capable himself of “a project which required courage and noble determination.”⁸⁹ Indeed the situation seemed to demand prompt action on his part but “he was pleased to remain idle spectator of a struggle which must decide as to who among these competitors would be his master and the possessor of his dominions.”⁹⁰

Kumāraiya's negotiations with Chokkanātha having thus proved futile, he made in turn overtures to Haraji, the Mahratta general, offering him “large sums of money to corrupt his fidelity and pledge him to retire to Gingi.”⁹¹ Obviously he hoped, by these negotiations, to gain time to enable Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in Seringa-

84. *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 287 (Letter cited in f.n. 76 *supra*).

85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

patani "to send him help which he had applied for," but his letters "fell into the hands of his rivals, who, sacrificing the interests and glory of the prince and of their country to their personal jealousy, had kept away these despatches to ruin the general."⁹²

Meanwhile, in or about April 1682,⁹³ a section of the Mahratta cavalry led by Dādaji, Jistaji and Nimbāji among others, taking advantage of the absence of the Mysore army from Seringapatam and of the serious predicament of Daḷavāi Kumārāya at Trichinopoly, moved on from the east and the north of Mysore.⁹⁴ Entering the interior of the country (*oḷa-nāḍam pokka*), they encamped in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, on the fields of Kottatti and Honnalagere (*Kottattisimāntarē, Ponnalagere-prāntē*), and, by their predatory activities, plunged the countryside in abject terror and confusion, threatening the safety of the capital city itself.⁹⁵ It was a trying situation. At a moment when Daḷavāi Kumārāya was himself in absolute need of reinforcements, an express message from Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was received at Trichinopoly, directing his officers, as a temporary measure, to dispatch a major

92. *Ibid*

93. *Vide* Appendix VI --(1), for a detailed notice of the evidence in support of this date as against Wilks's date, 1696.

94. See *Annals*, I 113-114. *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 29, also texts cited in f.n. 95 and 99 *infra*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 114. The names of the Mahratta generals are found variously mentioned in these local sources as *Dādaji, Dadōji, Dādaji-Kakade, Jistaji, Jistaji-Kāṭaka, Jistaji-Kakade, Jistaji-Ghaṭ, Jeṣṭ-Ghaṭ, Jayaji-Ghaṭ, Nimbāji-Ghaṭ, Nimbāji-Ghaṭ*, etc. *Wilks* (l.c.) mentions only two of these generals as "Jugdeo Ghautkee" and "Nimbajee Ghautkee." We, however, refer to them by their actual names, leaving aside the suffixes. Dādaji, Jistaji and Nimbāji were some of Śivāji's cavalry officers (*Śivāji-vāji-sēnādhipa, sēnānigal*), who had lately succeeded to the leadership of Sambhājī's army (*Sambhājī-mukhya-sēnāni*)—see *Mhh. Śānti.*, col.; *Sachchū. Nir.*, ff. 121; *C. B.*, pp. 4, 68; *G. G.*, pp. 38, 69.

95. *A. V. C.*, IV, 8 (with gloss); *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 69; also *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.* (c. 1714-1720), p. 8. See also and compare *Annals*, I. 114, and *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, l.c. Kottatti and Honnalagere are two extant villages in the Maṇḍya taluk—see *List of Villages*, 92.

portion of the Mysore army under Dodḍaiya (nephew of Kumāraiya) and other deputies to the relief of Seringapatam leaving only a handful of troops with Kumāraiya to push through the siege of Trichinopoly.⁹⁶ Forthwith a strong detachment, commanded by Dodḍaiya, left for Mysore, marching rapidly through the Kāvēripuram passes.⁹⁷ Dodḍaiya, under special instructions from Chikkadēvarāja, proceeded against the Mahrattas, making a surprise night-attack on their camp and stupefying them by means of the illumination of torches carefully fastened to the horns of the oxen of the transport corps (two to three thousand in number) under him. The Mahrattas found themselves placed in an unfavourable situation and could do nothing as the animals were being scattered against them in all the directions by their opponents who were joined by fresh parties from Seringapatam. Unable, further, to cope with the Mysoreans advancing from behind the array of the oxen, they began to take to flight in utter panic.⁹⁸ A thick fight followed. The Mahrattas were put to utter rout amidst great loss in their ranks; their camp was plundered of its all—horses, elephants, treasures, insignias and other belongings; Dādaji, Jataji and Nimbāji were themselves captured and slain on the battle-field, their noses, ears and limbs being cut off; the head of Dādaji was paraded in the army (*mandiyol mercyisi*) and those of Jaitaji and Nimbāji were presented as trophies before Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and later displayed on the Mysore Gate of the fort of Seringapatam.⁹⁹

96. *Annals*, l.c.; cf. *Wilks*, I. 114-115. *Wilks* (I. 115) speaks of Dodḍaiya as the "son" of Kumāraiya. The *Annals* (l.c.) loosely refers to him as *maga*, which literally means "son," but Dodḍaiya was actually a nephew of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya, i.e., second son of Muppina-Kāntaiya of Kalale, a cousin brother of Kumāraiya—*vide* section on *Domestic life*, in Ch. XVI; also Table XIII.

97. *Ibid*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 115. 98. *Ibid*, I. 114-115; cf. *Wilks*, I. 115-117.

99. *Ibid*, I. 115; *Mys. Rāj. Cha*, l.c.; also *Mbh. Śānti.*, col.; *Sachchā. Nir.*, I, 59-61; *Tri. Tat.*, ff. 17-18; *A.V.C.*, I, 22-23, II, 11, 12, 14, 19-20, III, 5, 34, 56, 57, 59, 73, 86, 133, 180, 183-184, IV, 4, 8 (with gloss), 11, etc.; *C.Bi.*



The Mesore Gate of the Seringapatam Fort - A front view

Almost simultaneously the position of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya at Trichinopoly was becoming critical in the extreme. With limited resources at his command and "receiving neither reinforcements nor reply to his letters," he was, we learn,¹⁰⁰ "obliged to seek safety in honourable retreat." Accordingly, says the Jesuit letter,¹⁰¹ "He ordered the cavalry corps to feign a movement to attract the attention of the enemies, to engage them as long as possible, and then flee with full speed towards Mysore; while he himself would take advantage of this diversion to escape, with his infantry, in an opposite direction and thus save his army. But the Moghuls [Here read Mahrattas] would not allow themselves to be put on the wrong scent; for a long time past their self-conceit and audacity had been increasing by the inaction of Kumāra Kāya [Kumārāya], which revealed to them his weakness and their strength; they kept close to his army and none of his actions could escape them. Thus, when the cavalry effected its movement, they followed it very calmly without inviting

Kumārāya's
retreat from Trichi-
nopoly, c. May 1682.

p. 2, v. 6 and pp. 4, 58, *Gi Gō*, p. 63, v. 12, pp. 38, 69, *Sakala-Vaid Sam*, pp. 2-4, *E C*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), II 65-67, 69-70, *Mys Dist Suppl. Vol.*, Mys. 115 (c. 1686-1690), II. 86-88, 90-92; III (1) Sr. 61 (1722), II 75-76—referring to and echoing the details of the exploit Cf. *Wilks*, I 117. The actual expressions used in the inscriptions (I c.) are

*Rāmātmanā-yadajayat Khara-Dāshanādyaṃ
Rakṣaḥ kulam tadupakṛpta Marāṭa-varṣman ;
Dādāji-Jatāji-mukham nannu Panchavajyāḥ
Prāptam nihanti saharis-Chikadēva-mūrtih ||*

*Dādāji-bhūti-Jatāji . . sarvaṅga-nāsāchidi
Śrī-vīrē Chikadēvarāja-nṛpatau yuddhāya buddhādari ||*

In the highly figurative poetical language of these texts, Chikka-deva-rāja Wodeyar's achievement over the Mahratta generals at Kottattū and Honnalagere is treated on an epic footing, being aptly compared to Rāma's exploits over Khara and Dūṣaṇa at Panchavaṇi. This is evidently an index of the profound impression the event had left on Chikka-deva-rāja's contemporaries.

100. *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 288 (*Letter*); see also pp. 182-183. Cf. authorities cited in f.n. 82 *supra*.

101. *Ibid.*

a combat, reserving all their strength to crush the body of the army ; besides, this cavalry, demoralized by its sad position, could properly execute only the last part of the orders it had received ; it did that wonderfully well, and with all the more facility, that the Moghuls [Mahrattas] did not wish to waste time in pursuit. Then, they fell on the infantry, and the combat was only a horrible butchery ; they found rich booty, the result of several years' pillage, and made a large number of prisoners, among whom was Kumāra Rāya [Kumāraiya] himself. The defeat and capture of this general, till then invincible, completed the joy and pride of Araśumalai [Haraji]. Taking advantage of his glorious victory, he extended his conquests by driving the Mysoreans from all the provinces and from nearly all the citadels, which they had taken from the Nāyak of Madura "

These reverses were too much for Daḷavāi Kumāraiya —then in his old age—to bear. The Jesuit letter is silent as to what happened to him after his capture at the hands of the Mahrattas. The probabilities are that he managed to obtain his release and returned to Seringapatam. For, on May 26, 1682 (*Dundubhi, Vaiśākha* ba. 30), we note,¹⁰² he retired from the office of Daḷavāi and was succeeded for a short while (May 27-June 9, 1682) by Dēvaiya, and later by his nephew Doḍḍaiya (June 10, 1682-June 11, 1690).

Chikkadēvarāja's victory over the Mahrattas near Seringapatam, however, appeared to counterbalance Daḷavāi Kumāraiya's reverses at Trichinopoly. Indeed, while the latter meant a serious, though temporary, set-

Kumāraiya's retirement, May 26, 1682

Review of the events of c. April-May 1682.

102. *Annals*, I. 116 ; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 68 ; see also under *Dalavāis*, in Ch. XII Very little is known of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya subsequent to his retirement in May 1682. It appears probable that he died shortly after. For details about the *Kaḷale Family*, vide section on *Domestic life* in Ch. XVI.

back to the progress of Mysore in the south, the former tended to prevent the Mahrattas from having a permanent foothold in and near Mysore, and seemed not only to ensure the eventual sovereignty of the Karnāṭaka country to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar but also to add to his prestige as the ruler of Mysore.¹⁰³

No sooner was the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam overcome than another trouble appeared to engross Chikkadēvarāja's attention. The success of Chikkadēvarāja in distant Madura (down to 1682) had induced a combination of those opposed to him. Ikkēri and Gōlkoṇḍa joined Sambhāji in contesting his aims and ambitions in the south. Accordingly Chikkadēvarāja was, early in June 1682, obliged to proceed in the north-west of Mysore to safeguard the frontiers against Ikkēri, whose activities during 1680-1681 had given him cause for alarm. At Bāṇāvar (*Bāṇapura*) he met with a powerful combination against him, headed by Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri, the Qutb Shah of Gōlkoṇḍa and Sambhāji,¹⁰⁴ the last then on his way to the south to join Ēkōji and other Mahratta generals.¹⁰⁵ In the action that followed (at

103 See *A V C.*, III, 136, 139 (with gloss), also *Sakala-Vard Sam*, p. 4 *Karnāṭaka-dīśamam Vijayalakshmi-nāṭaka-pradīśa-venisula*, referring to the Karnāṭaka country as the stage left open to the Goddess of Victory in the hands of Chikkadēvarāja at the end of the exploit against the Mahrattas; *Sangī. Gaṇḍ.*, ff. 9 and 10 *Anyaschakra Mahātīrā-rājyamakulom Karnāṭakiyam punah*, etc., where Kāśīpati-Paṇḍita, a mid-eighteenth century commentator, interprets (Daśavāi) Doḍḍaya's victory over the Mahrattas (under Jaitaji and others) as implying the restoration of the sovereignty of Mysore in the Karnāṭaka country.

104. *A. V. C.*, III, 21; also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 67-69 and 72-74, echoing the events of 1682. For textual details, *vide* f.n. 106 *infra*.

105. See *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 289 (*Letter*), from which it would seem that Sambhāji was in South India by the middle of 1682. See also J. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV. 281, referring to Sambhāji's predatory incursions in 1682 after the unfinished siege of Jinjira. Also text in f.n. 106 *infra*.

Bāṇavar), we glean,¹⁰⁶ Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar achieved a distinct victory over his opponents.

Foiled in his attempt against Mysore from the north-west, Sambhāji proceeded towards the east and south, taking possession of all the places conquered by his general, Haraji, who still continued to chase the Mysoreans. He was soon before Trichinopoly itself, attacking Chokkanātha Nāyaka in his fortress. About June 16, 1682, Chokkanātha died in a fit of melancholy, "frustrated in all his hopes" of re-establishment by the Mahrattas, "dispossessed of his dominions and all his treasures, abandoned by his troops and deprived of all resources" In July 1682, he was succeeded by his son Muttu-Vīrappa Nāyaka III (1682-1689), then aged fifteen.¹⁰⁷ From about July-August, the general political situation in South India, caused by Sambhāji's movements, was rather unfavourable for Mysore. In the fight for supremacy in the south, the scale had turned in favour of Sambhāji for the time being. The kingdom of Madura had been considerably reduced in extent; Mysore had lost all her fortresses in the east and the south except some, including that of Madura, which she was striving to maintain with the help of the Maravas; Ēkōji

106. A V.C., I c. *Idirānta Sambu-Basavara | maḍuvuṣṣidanandu Bāṇapura-dolupēndram*; also E. C., III (1) Sr. 14, 1 c :

Śambhustambhita-vikramah Kutuba-sāhō-sau-hatāsō haṭhā-dikkēri-Basavopu dhikkrti-magādēkōji-rēkōjams |

Vēṣṭantē-bata-Śambhu-Sāha-Basavā bhītā yadā līkanē Sōyam Śrī-Chikkadēvarāja-nrpati-sākshā-nrreṣmāhikrtāḥ ||.

Among other sources mentioning Chikkadēvarāja's exploit over Sambhāji are Tr. Tāt., ff 13-14, vv 2-3 *Kūde idirāda Basavana naravane geḍisi; kūde moreddadu Śambhuva muridu mungeḍisi*; C. Sup., pp. 187-188, vv. 2-3; C. Br., p. 1, v. 5 *Śivāya-suta Śambhuji yilgeya-nurbu-korbumam teḷḷanegarda-nadhbhuta-parākramadim Chikkadēva-Bhūvaram*; p 4 *Śambhōjyam bhayārnavaḍol mulungissi*; and p. 59, G. Gō, p. 19, v 32, pp. 39, 70; also *Sachchā. Nr.*, I, 61-62; E C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My 115 (c. 1686-1690), ll. 74-75, 88-90, 94-95, repeating from Sr. 14.

107. *Nāyaks of Madura*, 1 c.; also pp. 190-191.

was continuing his despotic rule in Tanjore ; Gingee had come under Sambhāji ; Sambhāji had become an important factor in the south of India, pursuing, as the Jesuit letter puts it, " his conquests against Mysore, not only in the kingdom of Madura, but even in the northern provinces, where he has taken several of its fortresses, all the province of Dharmapuri, and other neighbouring territories " ; Gōlkonḍa and Ikkēri continued to be his allies, having both " united against (the king of) Mysore (who is) regarded as the common enemy " ¹⁰⁸ This shows the success that Mysore had attained thus far in the Madura country (down to 1682). The advance of Sambhāji proved the signal for a combination against Chikkadēvarāja. And the fight for supremacy as between Mysore and the Mahrattas was fast becoming a live issue in the politics of Southern India. Chikkadēvarāja, on his part, put up a persistent opposition to the pretensions of Sambhāji in the south. perhaps he also found it expedient to keep himself in touch with Aurangzīb, the Mughal Emperor, with a view eventually to frustrate the combination against Mysore. Indeed, Aurangzīb, who was at Aurangābād since March 1682, ¹⁰⁹ had, we learn, ¹¹⁰ already been much impressed with the news of the defeat inflicted by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar on the Mahratta generals near Seringapatam (c. April 1682). Further, the Jesuit letter (of 1682) even speaks of the Mughal (Aurangzīb) as having been on the point

108. *Ibid.*, p. 290 (*Letter*). The reference here is to the triple alliance of Sambhāji, Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri and Qutb Shah against Mysore, which was defeated by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar early in June 1682.

109 J. Sarkar, *Aurangzīb*, IV. 256.

110 See *Sukala-Vaid. Sam.*, p. 4. *Murātarol prusādharāgūṛda Jēṛē Ghāṭi muntāda mahā-sūrarum kaḍiḍu . . . Karnātaka-dēśamam Vijaya-lakshmi-nāṭaka-pradēśa-venisīda jaya-vārteyam kēḷavarangajēbu-Pādushāha muntāda bhūmīśvara-rellarum bhāpu-bhāpendu kaṛṇṇetti koṇḍāduttire*, referring to Emperor Aurangzīb and other monarchs as having showered their encomiums on Chikkadēvarāja at the news of his exploit over the celebrated Mahratta generals, i.e., Dādaji, Jaitaji, Nimbāji and others. See also *Annals*, I. 115.

of "sending a formidable army against Sambogi [Sambhāji] at the request of Mysore."¹¹¹

The proffered or expected help, however, never came, involved as Aurangzīb was in his struggle with Bijāpur.¹¹² Aurangzīb thus lost a great opportunity of actively befriending one who had proved so useful an ally in the realization of his own aims and ambitions against the Mahrattas and that without so much as asking for it. A timely pact with Chikkadēvarāja would have helped him as much as it would have paved the way for a friendly adjustment between the Imperial Mughal as the ruler of the north and Chikkadēvarāja as the ruler of the south. But Aurangzīb's character and state-craft were such that high political achievement was as far from him as the sky in the heavens is to the man on mother Earth below. By about the end of 1682 the war between Madura and Mysore had come to an end, but in 1683 Sambhāji's presence in the south contributed to a continuance of disturbed conditions in it. The kingdom of Madura was parcelled out into five portions occupied, respectively, by the Nāyak of Madura, the king of Mysore, the Maravas, Sambhāji and Ēkōji.¹¹³ And Sambhāji, it would seem, was the foremost to take advantage of this state of affairs to dispute, in particular, the claim of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar for supremacy in South India. With that end in view he began to wage a systematic war of aggression against Mysore, from the east and the south. About the close of 1683, Chikkadēvarāja's political position in these directions was at a low ebb. The Jesuit letter of that year thus sums up the then situation.¹¹⁴ "The power of the king of Mysore in Madura begins to grow weak, because, violently attacked in his own dominions by the troops of Sambogi,

111. *Nayaks of Madura*, l.c.

112. Sarkar, *o. c.*, IV. 300-303.

113. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 291: Jean de Britto to Paul Oliva, 1683; also pp. 193-194.

114. *Ibid.*

he cannot sustain and reinforce the armies he had sent to those countries. The provinces he had conquered there shake off his yoke gradually to claim their independence, or become attached to some one of the princes who have partitioned the shreds of the kingdom, once so flourishing, among themselves." The letter shows that Chikkadēvarāja was unable to consolidate his conquests in the south. The position of ascendancy gained in Madura—as its protector—against the Mahrattas was in great jeopardy, especially with the advent of Sambhāji. The vassals of Madura, subdued at great cost by Chikkadēvarāja, were breaking away from allegiance and the gains made were slipping out of his hands. The position grew worse between 1683-1686. "In the south, the petty *rājas*, once vassals of Madura," says a Jesuit letter,¹¹⁵ "continue to shake off the yoke of Mysore, too weak to preserve her conquests; the Thieves (*i.e.*, Kallans) and the Maravas make a war of brigandage against the troops of Ekoji; Sambogī mercilessly conducts war against the king of Mysore, whose dominions he is invading, and is strongly helped by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign." Chikkadēvarāja found that while the subjugated vassals of Madura were breaking away from him, Sambhāji's invasion had caused difficulties for him nearer home. No doubt the Maravas and Kallans kept Ēkōji's forces at bay, but they cared more for plunder than for keeping the enemy off their master's territories. According to the Jesuit letter above quoted, it would seem that Chikkadēvarāja, "to provide for the expenses of the war,"¹¹⁶ had tried to augment his revenue and adopted steps which brought him into conflict with his subjects "in the eastern provinces of his dominions."¹¹⁷ What followed will be found treated in the sequel,¹¹⁸ and it will suffice here to state that the lack of

115. *Ibid.*, p. 292. Louis de Mello to Noyelle, 1686.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *Ibid.*

118. *Vide* Ch. XV below.

resources in men and money came in the way, for the time being, of the realization of his hopes in the south. He, however, appears to have made a supreme effort to raise the treasure required to replenish his war-chest. The measures he was advised to take were evidently such as not merely to help him to attain the objective he aimed at but also to give occasion to his Minister resorting to means for giving effect to them, which proved both unpopular and impolitic. This apart, soon there was a change in the tide of affairs. About July 1686, the mutual interests of Chikkadēvarāja and Sambhāji seem to have demanded a political adjustment. Hard pressed in their homelands by the Mughal Emperor, the Mahrattas in the south were ready to agree to any terms. Their chronic need was money and a little of that rare, but valuable, commodity was enough to induce Sambhāji to retire¹¹⁹ The Mahrattas indeed made a virtue of their necessity. Their withdrawal, though a timely one for Chikkadēvarāja, was forced on them by the pressure of Mughal arms on the Deccan. Since 1684, Aurangzib had been busy mobilising his resources to crush the Shāhi states of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa on the one side and the Mahrattas on the other. On September 12, 1686, he succeeded in reducing Bijāpur, and the Mughal arms were preparing to penetrate the country south of the Krishṇa as far as the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt.¹²⁰

Meanwhile Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was rapidly recovering from the effects of the disastrous wars with Sambhāji. Those wars had, it is true, considerably

Political position of
Chikkadēvarāja,
1686.

119. C. B., p. 4: *Mattama Śambhōjige kappavittum kūṭamam kaḷipī*. Here *kappa* cannot be literally taken to mean tribute. In keeping with the protracted political relations between Mysore and the Mahrattas during 1682-1686, some diplomacy must be understood to have been at work, which resulted in the Mahrattas being ultimately bought off by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to ensure peace and security in the country. Hence the expressions.

120. J. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV. 286-299, 303-323, 340-352, V. 54, 56; also *Wilks*, I. 109.

diminished his authority and prestige in the south and the east of Mysore, but they had hardly affected his claims to supremacy in the Karnāṭak ever since the defeat he had inflicted on Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri (June 1682). Indeed, as Orme observes,¹²¹ he was, in 1684, looked upon as the "most ancient and considerable" of the several Rājās in the country of Mysore. About the close of 1686, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar had become not only firm in his position as the sovereign of Mysore but also an imperial authority in the south. The *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate grant* (dated November 19, 1686)¹²² seems to echo this fact when it gives him imperial titles and speaks of him as ruling in peace from the capital city of Seringapatam.

The Mughal, however, soon tried to take the place of the Mahratta in the south. The respite which Mysore enjoyed therefore proved only a short one. In March 1687, a detachment of the Mughal army under Khāsīm Khān marched by way of Penukoṇḍa towards Tumkūr.¹²³ At this news, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar proceeded thither. Tumkūr was promptly prevented from falling into the hands of the Mughals and, during April-May, Chikkadēvarāja succeeded in taking from Ēkōji Chiknāyakana-halli, Kanḍikere and Tyānagoṇḍlu¹²⁴—places which appear to have been lost to Mysore during the warfare of 1682-1686. These acquisitions doubtless meant the dwindling of Ēkōji's power in the Karnāṭak-Bijāpur-Bālagḥāt while they helped to strengthen the position of

121. *Historical Fragments*, p. 141.

122. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 86-90. *Birudentambaragunḍa lōkaska-vira Śrīman-mahārājadhīrāja-rājaparamēśvara praudhupratāpa-napratīma-vira-narapati Śrī-Chikkadēva-Maharāja Oḍeyarayyanavaru Śrīranga-paṭṇadallu ratna-nmhāsanārūḍharagu sukhadim prithvi-sāmrajjam gaiyyuttirālu* . . .

123. See Sarker, *o.c.*, V. 54, 56, referring to the beginnings of Mughal penetration into the Karnāṭak in 1687; also *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, II. 36-37; cf. *Annals*, I. 106-107; *Wilks*, I. 226.

124. *Mys. Dho. Pār.*, l.c.; see also and compare *Annals* and *Wilks*, l.c.

Mysore as a serious competitor with the Mughals for the remaining possessions of Bijāpur in that region.

With the increasing influence and power of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, Ēkōji found it exceedingly difficult, about this time, to maintain his *jahgīr* of Bangalore from distant Tanjore. He accordingly proposed to sell it to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar for rupees three lakhs. A *vakīl* was sent from the court of Tanjore to Seringapatam to conduct the negotiations. Chikkadēvarāja, having completed the transaction, was about to take possession of Bangalore.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, Khāsīm Khān, advancing with the Mughal detachment, had occupied the place, finally hoisting the imperial flag over the fort on July 10, 1687.¹²⁶ Almost simultaneously the Mahrattas, with a detachment under Haraji (Governor of Gingee), Keśava-Triyambak-Pant and Śāntaji (Generals of Saimbhāji), were also on their way thither but, on finding that they had been forestalled by Khāsīm Khān, retired without opposition to the Karnāṭak.¹²⁷ At this juncture, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar stood before the walls of Bangalore. A fight took place between the forces of Mysore and the Mughal troops, in which the latter were thoroughly put to rout.¹²⁸

125. *Annals*, I. 110; see also and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 482 (referring to the transaction without, however, mentioning the date), and *Wilks*, I 109-110. Also see f.n. 131 *infra*.

126. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 38 *Prabhava, Nija-Āshādha* 11; see also *Annals*, I. c. Orme (*Historical Fragments*, pp. 155-156) places the surrender of Bangalore to Khāsīm Khān, early in August 1687; *Wilks* (I. 110), about July 1687; *Sarkar* (o. c., V. 54-55, f. n.) would fix it on June 10, or July 10, 1687. The authority of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr* is preferred here as the more specific. Again, in the light of other sources we have here referred to, it is rather hard to accept the meaning of the text of the Persian Ms., suggested by *Sarkar* (*Ibid.*, 55-56, f. n.), viz., that in the surrender of Bangalore "the Mughal General was aided by the chief of Seringapatam, the enemy of Shivāji's house."

127. Orme, I. c.; *Wilks*, I. c.; *Sarkar*, o. c., V. 55-56 (compared).

128. *Annals*, I. 110; see also references cited in f. n. 130 *infra*; cf. *Wilks*, I. 110-111, referring to Chikkadēvarāja's final acquisition of Bangalore by purchase from Khāsīm Khān, for which there is no evidence—*vide* also f. n. 131 *infra*.

and Chikkadēvarāja took possession of Bangalore on July 14.¹²⁹ Indeed we have the unanimous testimony of the contemporary texts,¹³⁰ significantly pointing to this repulse of the Mughals by Chikkadēvarāja and his wresting of Bangalore from them. The ultimate delivery of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, however, it would seem,¹³¹ effected by Khāsīm Khān under an amicable arrangement, by which, while Chikkadēvarāja was for all practical purposes recognised as the legitimate owner of the place, Khāsīm Khān himself, relieved from the necessity of maintaining a large detachment for its occupation, secured its use as a point of communication for Mughal arms in South India. On the completion of this arrangement, Khāsīm Khān retired to Sīra, where he remained as the Mughal Governor (*Faujdar*).¹³² Thus, with the acquisition of Bangalore, the kingdom of

129. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, l.c. *Prabhava, Nija-Āshādha* su. 15; see also *Annals*, l.c.; of *Wilks* (I 111), placing the delivery of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja in July 1687.

130. *A. V. C.*, III, 118, 130, 180 and 184 (with gloss) *Moqalar* . . . *savari sade baḍidu, manādar Moqalar; ḡḍidu Moqalara paḍeyam, Mogala-Marāṭarganjyava perarāyar rāyaraltu, avaram jayisvṛpa Chiku dēvarāyane Rāyan*, also *Sachchā Nṛ*, ff 122, *C. B.*, p. 59, *Gi. G.*, pp. 39, 70 *Sāhaji-mukha-Marāṭanṛpa-rājadhānikṛtā-bhangura-Bengalār-haraṇa*—referring to Chikkadēvarāja's acquisition by force of arms of Bangalore, the capital of Shāhji (*Sāhaji*), the Mahratta. Evidently, after his purchase of Bangalore from Ēkōji, Chikkadēvarāja had the full right to possess it against all possible competitors. Viewed on this footing, his occupation of Bangalore from the Mughals acquires considerable significance. Compare *Wilks* in f.n. 131 *infra*.

131. According to *Wilks* (I. 110), Chikkadēvarāja's transactions with Ēkōji for the purchase of Bangalore were not complete when the place surrendered to Khāsīm Khān. Further, he speaks of Khāsīm Khān as delivering Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar after "accepting the price which the Raja was still willing to pay," and points to an "amicable arrangement" concluded by him (Khāsīm Khān) with the latter (I. 110-111). There is no evidence in support of *Wilks's* position, for, as we have seen (*vide* f.n. 125 *supra* and text thereto), Ēkōji's sale of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja was an accomplished fact already about the time the place yielded to Khāsīm Khān. The probabilities are, therefore, more in favour of the view that Khāsīm Khān, at the end of a fight put up by Chikkadēvarāja's troops (*vide* f.n. 128 and 180 *supra* and text thereto), found it expedient to deliver Bangalore to its legitimate owner (*i.e.*, Chikkadēvarāja) under an amicable arrangement for the greater security of Mughal interests in South India.

Mysore became practically coterminous with the Mughal sphere of influence in the Karnātak-Bijāpur-Bālaghat.

On September 21, 1687, Aurangzīb succeeded in reducing Gōlkonḍa. His attention was next directed in an increasing measure towards subjugating the Mahrattas, then predominantly strong in the Karnātak.¹³³ At the same time the fortunes of Sambhāji in South India were being seriously jeopardised. For Ēkōji had lost all interest in the larger questions of Mahratta policy, being engrossed in the immediate preoccupations of the hour in Tanjore. On his death about 1688, he was succeeded by his son Shāhji II to the throne of Tanjore.¹³⁴ In January 1689, Sambhāji himself was captured by the Mughals, and executed on March 11.¹³⁵ In September, Haraji, Sambhāji's lieutenant in the Karnātak, died.¹³⁶ In the same year Muttu-Virappa Nāyaka III of Madura also died, and was succeeded by Mangammāl (1689-1706), the dowager queen of Chokkanātha Nāyaka.¹³⁷ About the same time the Mughal arms were in process of penetrating into the Karnātak.¹³⁸

All through this period Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was steadily and systematically recovering the lost ground by his lost ground from the Mahrattas. Already by about 1687-1688, his political position had become strong and secure. Indeed, referring to Chikkadēvarāja's achievements over his

132. *Wilks*, I. 110 (f.n. 2), 291; *Sarkar*, o.c., V. 103, 110.

133. *Sarkar*, o.c., IV. 356-382, V. 57-62.

134. *Sarkar* (o.c., V. 53, f.n.) refers to Ēkōji's death in January 1685 and the succession in that year of his son Shāhji II. But Orme speaks of Ēkōji as ruling Tanjore in August 1687 (see *Historical Fragments*, p. 154), and *Wilks* and the local sources mention him as having been alive in July 1687 (*vide* f.n. 125 and 126 *supra*). Again, an inscription of 1686 (see *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 361, No. 193) refers to Shāhji's conquest of the Pudukōṭa country, possibly during his father's rule. In the absence of decisive evidence, Ēkōji's death may be set down to about 1688, subsequent to his sale of Bangalore to Chikkadēvarāja (1687).

135. *Sarkar*, o.c., IV. 401-403.

136. *Sarkar*, o.c., V. 62.

137. *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 208-204. 138. *Sarkar*, o.c., V. 58-61.

enemies (including the Shāhi kingdoms of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and the Mahrattas) and the fall of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa, contemporary Kannāḍa works¹³⁰ testify to the unassailable prowess of Chikkadēvarāja (*abhēdya-vikramanena*), perhaps indicating that he was for Aurangzīb yet a power to reckon with in the south. In June 1688, Chikkaīya, agent (*Gurikār*) of Chikkadēvarāja at Śankhagiri, took possession of Āvaṇiperur, Araśaravāṇi and Hoskōṭe. This was followed by Chikkadēvarāja's acquisition of Manugōṇḍe-durga, Mannārguḍi and Vāmalūr in November, and of Dhārmapurī in January 1689. In May, Paramattī was retaken after a bombardment; in July, Gurikār Lingarājaiya, another agent of Chikkadēvarāja at Coimbatore, took Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam, in September, Kuntūr-durga (*Kunnattūr*) was re-acquired and, finally, in January 1690, Anantagiri under an agreement (*kaulu*) concluded by Haraji.¹⁴⁰ Among other acquisitions from the Mahrattas during the period were the forts of Kengēri, Bēvuhaḷḷi and Bairanetta.¹⁴¹ About February 1690, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar had not only come into full possession of most of the places lost during Sambhājī's wars (1682-1686) but had also been in a position to reiterate his claim to supremacy as Emperor of the Karnāṭaka country (*Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī*).¹⁴²

139. See *C. Bt.*, p. 2, vv. 6-9; *Gi. Gō*, p. 63, vv. 11-12, p. 65, vv. 13-14; also *A. V. C.*, I, 8, III, 57.

140. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II, 38-42; see also *Sachchū. Nir.*, ff. 121; *C. Bt.*, pp. 58-59, and *Gi. Gō*, pp. 38-39, 69 (*vide* text quoted *infra*), cf. *Annals*, I, 107-108; *Wilks*, I, 112, 225-227, also see and compare Capt. Alexander Read in *Bāramahal Records* (1792), I, 189, mentioning some of these conquests.

141. See *Sachchū. Nir.*, *C. Bt.* and *Gi. Gō*, l. c. *Gambhīrōddhata-parighāvarana-bhishana-sataghni-satasankulamatta Māvali-sīnāvali-varmata-Dharmapurī-prasabhākramaṇa-travaṇa-nirjanikṛta Kengēri Vāmalūru Bēvuhaḷḷi Bairanetta Kunnattūr mukhyādurga-varga-nirāyāsākramaṇa-nirvṛta-nijasaṇika-samūhanam*. See also f.n. 140 *supra* and text thereto.

142. See *Sachchū. Nir.*, ff. 122; *C. Bt.*, p. 59; *Gi. Gō*, pp. 39, 70; also *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 432—pointing to *Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī* as one of the distinctive titles of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar about 1690.

In truth he had been securely established in the northern frontiers of Mysore at the end of his protracted struggle with the Mahrattas, as the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* seems significantly to testify.¹⁴³

Meanwhile, Ikkēri, in the north-west of Mysore, had been rising to prominence under Channammāji, under the influence of the general course of Mahratta and Mughal affairs in the Deccan. On the death of Sambhāji in March 1689, Rājārām, his younger brother, succeeded as Regent during the minority of Sāhu (afterwards Śivājī II), the six-year old son of Sambhāji. Rājārām's accession was followed by the fall of Raigarh and other forts into the hands of the Mughals under Zūlfikar Khān. Rājārām escaped from Panhala to the Karnāṭak by way of Ikkēri. Channammāji not only afforded him shelter and protection but also, about June 1689, successfully repulsed a Mughal contingent under Jān Nisar Khān (*Jānsara-Khāna*) who, on her refusal to hand over the fugitive, prepared to lay siege to Bednūr, her capital. Rājārām, having left Ikkēri under a safe escort, passed through Bangalore and Vellore and ultimately arrived at the fort of Gingee in the Karnāṭak (November 1689).¹⁴⁴ Channammāji's success over the Mughals, however, seemed to add considerably to her reputation and prestige among the feudatories (*manneyarkaḷoḷ parama-khyātiyam paḍedu*), and, shortly after the event, she left Bednūr on a pilgrimage to Subrahmanya.¹⁴⁵

About April 1690 Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, to justify as it were his title of *Karnāṭaka-Chakravarti*, turned his attention to the recovering of the places lost by

Mysore and Ikkēri,
1690.

143. I, 8. *Kaḍidu Marāṭara paḍeyam | poḍaviya balporeya-nīṭipi baṇṇige-raḍēvar ||*

144. Sarkar, *o c.*, V. 22-23, 62; *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 161-163, 166; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 113-114.

145. *Ke. N. V.*, IX. 166-167, vv. 89-90.

him (during 1674-1681) in the direction of Ikkēri. Early in April he succeeded in wresting Bāgaḍi from the Pālegār of that place,¹⁴⁶ and this was followed by the acquisition of Hāranahallī and Bāṇāvar from Ikkēri in April-May.¹⁴⁷ In June Dalavāi Doḍḍaiya was succeeded by Timmappaiya of Kōlāla,¹⁴⁸ and the latter resumed the activities against Ikkēri, taking in rapid succession Kaḍūr, Sakrepaṭṇa and Vastāre between June and August, Chikīnagaḷūr and Mahārājana-durga in August, and Hāssan and Grāma in September, the last two places, in particular, being acquired from Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr.¹⁴⁹

We may now return to the general course of Mahratta and Mughal affairs.¹⁵⁰ The government of Gingee passed into the hands of Rājārām shortly after his arrival there in November 1689. The Mahrattas began their activities under his officers, Prahlād-Nirāji, Morēśvar-Pingle and others. In the same year, Aurangzīb, determined to crush the Mahrattas, sent an army under Zūlfikar Khān, with instructions to reduce Gingee. On reaching the place in April 1691, Zūlfikar Khān found that his resources were too inadequate for the purpose. He, therefore, sought reinforcements from the Mughal and, pending their arrival, marched on towards the Southern Karnāṭak. He proceeded as far as Trichinopoly and Tanjore, levying contributions from the Zamindārs of those tracts. In 1692-1693, he

146. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 43, *Annals*, I. 108, cf. *Wilks*, I. 227.

147. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

148. *Annals*, I. 116; see also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 69. The *Annals* (l c) refers to the successor of Dalavāi Doḍḍaiya as Timmappaiya of Kollīgāl, which is apparently a scribal error for Kōlāla in the light of the earlier Ms., i.e., *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* See also under *Dalavāis*, in Ch. XII.

149. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 43-45; *Annals*, I. 108; see also *Tri. Tāt.*, ff. 19; *O. Sap.*, pp. 189-190, and *A. V. C.*, III, 71, 79, 143 (referring to the loss of Vastāre by Ikkēri); cf. *Wilks*, I. 227-228.

150. For the general references on this section, vide *Sarkar, o. c.*, V. 62-127, 180-185; see also and compare *Wilks*, I. 114, 117 (f.n. 1), 229 and 232.

renewed the siege of Gingee, with reinforcements under Asad Khān, Prince Kām Bakhsh and Khāsīm Khān, but with little success. In 1694, he attempted a diversion of the Mughal arms for reducing Tanjore. Between 1695-1697 there was no peace in the Karnāṭak, disturbed as it was by the "roving parties of the Moratta and Mogull armies and Polligars."¹⁵¹ In particular, in October and November 1695, the country was raided by the Mahrattas under Śāntaji-Ghōrpaḍe and the Mughal Deccan dotted over with Mahratta chieftains. The progress of Zulfikar Khān at Gingee during the period was definitely arrested. The Mahratta incursions under Śāntaji added to the Emperor's worries. And he despatched a contingent from his camp at Islāmpurī, to assist Khāsīm Khān in intercepting the raiders. Khāsīm Khān was attacked by the Mahrattas (under Śāntaji) near Doddēri, a village in the Chitaldrug district, and defeated: to avoid disgrace, however, he took poison and died (December 1695). Śāntaji became a terror in the Karnāṭak. In December 1696, Aurangzīb again sent out fresh reinforcements under Bīdar Bakht (the "Bīdar bux" of the *Fort St George Records*¹⁵²) to Gingee, ordering Zūlfikar Khān "to follow after Santogee in the Mizore [Mysore] countrey."¹⁵³ Zūlfikar Khān proceeded as far as Penukoṇḍa and renewed with vigour the siege of Gingee, while pursuing his activities against Śāntaji. Luckily, in June 1697, Śāntaji was slain at the hands of an assassin. At last Zūlfikar Khān, with the help of Daud Khān and Dalpat Rao, succeeded in reducing Gingee in January 1698. Rājārām had, however, in the meanwhile, made good his escape to Satāra. The reduction of Gingee, till then regarded as the "Troy of the East,"

151. *Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book* (1694), p. 148.

152. *Ibid Ibid* (1696), p. 166; also *Letters from Fort St George* (1698), No. 93, p. 75.

153. *Ibid: Ibid*, l.c.

proved a landmark in the history of Mughal advance on South India. But Aurangzib's troubles were not over. Hereafter he began personally to take the lead against the Mahrattas.

In striking contrast with this trend of Mahratta and Mughal affairs, was the policy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar during 1691-1694. These years were years of peace and quiet in Mysore. It was in the interests of the kingdom of Mysore that Chikkadēvarāja, during this period, seems to have found it expedient not only to abstain from conquests in the directions where Mughal interests tended to predominate, but also to maintain friendly relations with Khāsīm Khān, the Mughal Governor at Sira. This was, perhaps, the reason why the Mughal army under Zūlfikar Khān hardly came into conflict with Mysore, particularly on its march to Trichinopoly and Tanjore (1691-1694). The Mughal acted as the friend of Mysore, and Mysore seems to have tacitly appreciated the friendly attitude

At the same time, however, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was free to pursue his activities in the direction of Ikkēri—west and north-west of Mysore—outside the Mughal sphere of influence. About the close of 1694, Channammāji, on her return from Subrahmaṇya, appears to have retaliated against Mysore.¹⁵⁴ Among those leading the army of Ikkēri were Daḷavāi Channabasava Seṭṭi, Sabnis Bommarasāya (*Bommaṭṭi*) of Kōḷivāḍa, Yākūb Khān (*Kūpu Khān*), Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr and the Bēḍa chiefs of Chintanakal (Chitaldrug) and other places.¹⁵⁵

154. The *Ke. N. V.*, as we shall see, is only to be understood to refer to a subsequent victory of Ikkēri over Mysore (c. February 1696). Naturally it maintains a discreet silence over the course of events during c. 1694-1695, evidenced by other sources of information—*vide* f.n. 155-160 *infra*.

155. See *A. V. C.*, II, 21, III, 80, 140, 146, 169, IV, 5 (with gloss), etc.; also f.n. 156-159 *infra*.

There were also, we note,¹⁵⁶ levies of the Mahrattas and Muhammadans in the ranks of Ikkēri. These were evidently irregulars who fought in their own interests and not as units aiding Channammāji from their respective sovereigns. The combined forces marched on towards Mysore and laid siege to Arkalgūḍ which had been taken by Chikkadēvarāja in 1674 from its chief Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aīgūr. Meanwhile, the Mysore army under Daḷavāi Timunappaiya of Kōlāla proceeded thither. About January 1695, an

Action at Hebbāle,
c. January 1695.

action took place on the field overlooking the town of Hebbāle (*Perbāle-yūra mundana vayaloḷ*), in the neighbourhood of Arkalgūḍ.¹⁵⁷ Both sides, we glean,¹⁵⁸ began with a regular volley of arrows (*bāna*), the Mysore elephant *Bēṇṭerāja* and the Ikkēri elephant *Rāmabānu* taking a leading part in the encounter. Suddenly, however, in the thick of the fight, the troops of Ikkēri began to feign a retreat, only to find themselves overpowered by the Mysoreans. Yet Channabasava Seṭṭi and Yākūb Khān, seated on an elephant (*āneyēri barpinam*), turned against their opponents: a bullet-shot from the Mysore side, however, struck Yākūb Khān, in consequence of which he fell dead on the field of battle while Channabasava, in panic, alighted the elephant and began to take to flight (*Mahisūra-bhaṭaritta guṇḍu tāki Kūpkhānam bīḷvina-maḷki Chennabasavam dummikkaleḷasi . . . palāyanam*), losing a tooth in the struggle (*pallam muridu*). The flight of Channabasava was followed by general disorder in his ranks. The Ikkēri army was

156. *Ibid.*, III, 182.

157. *Ibid.*, III, 48. For *Perbāle* read *Perbāle*. *Perbāle*, Haḷagannaḍa form of Hebbāle, is to be identified with Hebbāle, an extant *sarva-mānya* village in the Arkalgūḍ taluk (see *List of Villages*, 181).

158. *Ibid.*, III, 33, 53, 55, 62, 84, 89, 90-93, 95-96, 104, 108-109, 111, 114, 117, 125, 128-129, 134, 140-141, 146-147, 150, 153, 157-158, 160-164, 168-171, 173-174, 177, IV, 1, 9, 19 (with gloss); also references cited in f.n. 155-157 *supra*.

broken (*Keladiya paḍe muridu*) and thoroughly put to rout amidst great slaughter and mutilation of noses; *Rāmabāṇa* and other elephants and horses in their camp were captured by the Mysoreans; Bommarasaṣya of Ikkēri made good his escape from the field; and Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr lay dead on the ground, fighting against odds. It was thus a distinct victory for Mysore. Though it has been represented¹⁵⁰ that the victory was only rendered possible by the discord between Channabasava Seṭṭi and Sabnis Bommarasaṣya and by the treachery on the part of the latter to bring about the former's destruction by making the Ikkēri army feign retreat under the effect of a trickish palm-leaf letter (*kaḷḷōle*), there is no reason to believe that Mysore did not utilize every point of vantage to her own benefit.

The defeat and repulse of the Ikkēri forces was followed by the siege and acquisition of Arkalgūd by Chikkadēvarāja between January and February 1695, and of Aigūr, Saklēśpur and Koḍlipet, 1695. Saklēśpur and Koḍlipet (from Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr) between March and April.¹⁶⁰ These acquisitions confirmed Chikkadēvarāja in the sovereignty of the western part of Mysore while they effectively checked the pretensions to all authority, in that direction, of Channanmāji and Basappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri.

In or about February 1696, however, hostilities between Ikkēri and Mysore seem to have been renewed.¹⁶¹ Channanmāji, we are told,¹⁶² despatched her forces

159. *Ibid.*, III, 163 (with gloss).

160. *Mys. Dho. Pār*, II 46-47; *Annals*, I. 108. Cf. *Wilks* (I. 112, 228) assigning these acquisitions and the peace with Ikkēri to 1694. As we shall see, Ikkēri does not seem to have concluded peace with Mysore till about 1700.

161. *Vide* f.n. 162 *infra*.

162. *Ke. N. V.*, IX, 167, vv. 91-93. Significantly enough, on the Mysore side there is no reference to this event which seems to have taken place not later than February 1696, since we know that the successor of Dajavai Timmappaiya in Mysore was appointed in February 1696—*vide* f.n. 163 *infra* and text thereto.

at the head of Sabnis Bommarasaiya of Kōḷivāḍa. In the action that followed, Bommarasaiya won a distinct victory over the Mysore army. Daḷavāi Timmappaiya, the Mysore general, was slain and his son Krishṇappa taken prisoner (but later released).

In February 1696, Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (younger brother of Daḷavāi Dodḍaiya) was appointed Daḷavāi of Mysore in succession to Timmappaiya. He held that office till August 1698 and was followed first by Virarājaiya of Nilasōge (August 1698-December 1702), and then by Dāsarājaiya of Dēvarāya-durga (December 1702-1704).¹⁶³ During March-April 1697, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar completed the chain of his conquests in the eastern part of Mysore by the re-acquisition of Salem, Śādamangalam, Paramattī, Nāmakal and Tammanabattī.¹⁶⁴

By 1698, Chikkadēvarāja had succeeded in regaining his position in the eastern and western parts of Mysore and in subduing the local Pālegārs, most of whom, it would seem,¹⁶⁵ had by then sought his protection and friendship. Owing to the presence of Mughal arms in the Karnāṭak during the period (1691-1698), he had wisely refrained from continuing to push up his conquests in the south of Mysore, particularly in the direction of Madura and Trichinopoly, although he never seems to have ceased actively reiterating his claim to sovereignty over it (*Tenkāṇa-Rāya*).¹⁶⁶ Within the limits of the Karnāṭaka

Chikkadēvarāja's
political position,
1698

163. *Annals*, I. 116; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 69-70, see also under Daḷavāis in Ch. XII; for details about the Kaḷale Family, *vide* section on *Domestic life* in Ch. XVI and Table XIII.

164. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II 48; *Annals*, I. 109. See also and compare Capt. Read in *Bāramahal Records* (1792), I. 139. Wilks's list (I. 225-228) is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to the re-acquisitions in 1697.

165. See *A. V. C.*, III, 52, 85, 150-152, 154, IV, 20, etc. (with gloss).

166. See *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 29. There is no evidence in support of Wilks's dating of the siege of Trichinopoly by Mysore (under Chikkadēvarāja), and the Mahratta attack on Seringapatam, in 1696 (I. 112-117). These events, as has been shown above, took place in 1692. See also Appendix VI—(1), for a detailed examination of Wilks's position, etc.

country, however, he had become well established, and he was, we learn,¹⁶⁷ looked upon with awe by the contemporary powers of Tanjore, Madura, Gingee and Sira. He seems to have succeeded also in enforcing his claim to supremacy as the sovereign of the *Karnāṭak* (*Karnāṭaka-bhūmaṇḍalādhīśa*).¹⁶⁸ Indeed contemporary texts, from about this time, testify to his right to enjoy the undivided sovereignty of the Empire (*akhaṇḍa-dharaṇī-maṇḍalapati*) as an unparalleled monarch.¹⁶⁹ In fine, at a time when Aurangzib in the north was being continually harassed in his struggle with the Mahrattas, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, alone among the South Indian powers, was at the zenith of his power in Mysore—apparently a factor of considerable alarm to the Mughal.

At the end of a long period of political struggle and expansion extending over two decades from his accession, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar had had breathing time to devote his attention in an increasing measure, not only to the consolidation of his power but also to the solution of problems of socio-economic import.¹⁷⁰ The years 1698-1704 accordingly mark an important phase in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

Almost simultaneously, the death of Channammāji of Ikkēri (July 22, 1697)¹⁷¹ had removed one great luminary from the political firmament of the *Karnāṭak* and helped

General political situation in South India.

167. See *A. V. C.*, III, 69, also IV, 18. *Anjavarupratimangā-Tanjāvūr-Madhure Chenṇa Śreya doregal*.

168. See *Sachchū. Nṛ.*, ff. 120; *C. B.*, p. 58, and *Gi Gō.*, pp. 38, 69, referring to *Karnāṭaka-bhūmaṇḍalādhīśa* as a distinctive claim of Chikkadēvarāja already about 1690. Evidently, by his subsequent achievements he seems to have succeeded in enforcing that claim by 1698.

169. See *A. V. C.*, III, 112, also p. 2 (prose passage), III, 151 (at p. 103), 184, IV, 17, 23 (with gloss), etc., and *C. B.*, p. 8. Among other textual expressions in these sources are: *Sāmrājya-geyyuttire*; *sāmrājya-vālgum*; *sāmrājya-dīkṣheyam taḷedu*.

170. *Vide* Ch. XII, for a detailed exposition.

171. *Kc. N. V.*, IX. 169: *Iḍvara, Śrāvaṇa śu* 14.

to add not a little to the reputation of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the sovereign of the Karnāṭaka country. Channammāji had been succeeded by her adopted son Basappa Nāyaka as Hiriya-Basappa Nāyaka I, and he persisted in his hostility towards Mysore.¹⁷³ Mangammāl continued as the ruler of Madura in the distant south; the Mahratta power in Mysore was no longer active; and Mughal influence continued to prevail from the *subāh* of Sira. The death of Khāsīm Khān, the first *Faujdar* of Sira, in 1695, seemed seriously to affect the position of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in relation to the Mughal Empire, particularly in and after 1698, for, so long as Khāsīm Khān was alive, Chikkadēvarāja could, under the amicable arrangement above referred to, probably count on his support for a favourable representation of his cause and interests at the court of the Mughal.¹⁷³ The only cause for alarm for Chikkadēvarāja from 1698 onwards was, therefore, the possibility of an invasion of his dominions by Aurangzib. Indeed, a letter from *Fort St. George*, dated June 16, 1698,¹⁷⁴ speaks of Aurangzib ordering "Dulpatrow and Daud Cawn to remove to Bollegol and Adonee and the Nabob to assist Didar bux [Bidar Bakht] coming against Misore [Mysore]." A Mughal invasion of Mysore, following the reduction of Gingee in the Karnāṭak, appears thus to have been in the air as the crowning achievement of their advance south of the Krishna. Moreover, the recent victories and annexations of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, far from quieting down the Pāḷegārs, had, it is said,¹⁷⁵ been exciting in them feelings of jealousy and hatred against him. Ostensibly to

172. *Ibid.*, X. 170-177; see also f.n. 179 *infra* and text thereto.

173. See also *Wilks*, I. 111, for a similar reference to this position.

174. *Letters from Fort St. George* (1698), No. 98, p. 76: Nathaniel Higginson and others to William Hatsell (Governor of *Fort St. George*). The reference to the Nawāb in the letter is to Zūlfikar Khān, first Nawāb of the Karnāṭak Pāyanghāt, c. 1690-1700—*vide* Table XVIII.

175. *Annals*, I. 142; cf. *Wilks*, I. 117-118.

safeguard the kingdom against the much-expected Mughal invasion but really to further overawe the turbulent local chieftains and thereby increase his own reputation and status, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, it would seem, found it expedient, in or about 1699, to despatch an embassy to Aurangzib, who was then holding court at Ahmदनagar.

The embassy, we are told,¹⁷⁶ was led by Karaṇika Lingannaia, one of the councillors of Chikkadēvarāja, appointed *Vakil* to represent Mysore at the court of the Mughal. Lingannaia presented the Pādshah with rich *khillats*, and met with a favourable reception at his hands. Aurangzib, in turn, while theoretically seeking to press a claim to suzerainty over Seringapatam, became so thoroughly impressed with the amicable disposition of Chikkadēvarāja and the valuable services lately rendered by him in putting down the Mahrattas (under Jaitaji, Nimbāji and others), that he conferred on him the great title "*Rājā-Jagadēv*" ("King of the World"), a seal engraved in Persian characters, with the words "*Rājā-Chikkadēvarāj-Muhammad-Shāyi*," and numerous insignias (such as the red ensign, the *Hanuma*, *Garuḍa*, *Makara*, *Gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa*, *Dharaṇi-Varāha* and other emblems of sovereignty), and sent him costly presents with a friendly letter recognizing Chikkadēvarāja's right to hold *Durbār* seated on the "*celebrated throne of the Pāṇḍavas*." Karaṇika Lingannaia was also duly honoured by the Grand Mughal with suitable gifts.

The embassy returned to Seringapatam in 1700 (*Vikrama*) and, it is added,¹⁷⁷ was accorded a reception befitting the *khillats* and insignias from the imperial

Chikkadēvarāja's
embassy to Aurang-
zib, c. 1699

176. *Annals*, I. 142-145; see also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 29-30. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 118. For a further notice of Wilks's position in regard to the details of the embassy, *vide* f.n. 178 *infra*.

177. *Ibid.*, I. 145-146.

court, these being taken in solemn procession in the public streets of the capital city.

Although we have so far no independent evidence confirmatory of this account, there

Its implications. seems nothing inherently improbable in it, if we are to judge it with reference

to the actual political position of Chikkadēvarāja at the time. We ought also to remember that already, as far back as 1682, there were indications of the establishment of friendly relations between Mysore and Aurangzīb, as the Jesuit letter of that year would seem to signify. Whatever might have been Aurangzīb's attitude towards the embassy, its successful termination, according to the local narrative, had its own obvious implications so far as Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was concerned. It meant the triumph of Chikkadēvarāja's statesmanship, just at a time when a bold stroke of diplomacy was needed to benefit by the existing situation; secondly, it meant no commitment on his side—it neither signified submission nor an offensive and defensive alliance, being more in the nature of a partnership in which each partner was enabled to pursue his own ends without making the other lose the benefits of his own endeavours; thirdly, it served to enhance the power and prestige of Chikkadēvarāja from a local point of view, particularly in his dealings with the turbulent local Pāḷegārs who saw Chikkadēvarāja triumph while the Mahrattas—not so long ago victorious and vigilant everywhere—had to flee the country; fourthly, it seemed to mark the culmination of a long process in the political evolution of Mysore as a power at once independent of and friendly with the Imperial Mughal and secure from any troubles, internal or external; and fifthly and lastly, it tended to confirm, though tacitly, and bring into bold relief, Chikkadēvarāja's claim to be regarded as Emperor of the Karnāṭaka, a claim which he, as we have seen, consistently and

strenuously enforced and fought for from the early years of his reign ¹⁷⁸

Among other political activities during c. 1698-1700 were the retaking of Arkalgūd from Mysore by Ikkēri and its eventual restoration, with Aigūr and Saklēppur, to the sons of Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Aigūr; the advance of Mysore arms as far as Coorg and Malabar and their encounter with Garajina-Basavappa-Dēvaru of Ikkēri; the restitution of Vastāre to Ikkēri and the ultimate conclusion of an advantageous peace with Mysore by Hiriya-Basappa Nāyaka (of Ikkēri) through Niyōgi Śarajā-Nāgappaiya, by means of a deed of assurance (*bhāshā-patrike*).¹⁷⁹ About the close of 1700, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is

178 Cf. *Wilks*, I 118-119. Referring to the embassy, Wilks speaks of its splendour as having not "made much impression at the imperial court," of its scant reception and of the public assumption by Chikkadēvarāja of the high honours said to have been conferred on him by the Mughal, among them "the new dignity alleged to have been conferred by the emperor of being seated on an ivory throne." Wilks hardly specifies his authority for his statements. Indeed, it is open to question whether he has correctly interpreted the local sources of information (to which he might have had access), especially on points of detail. Whatever might have been Aurangzib's attitude towards the embassy, it is difficult to accept Wilks's position in regard to the "throne," which implies there was no throne at all in Mysore before 1699-1700. That Chikkadēvarāja and his predecessors—from the time of Rāja Wodeyar's conquest of Seringapatam in 1610—were ruling in Seringapatam seated on the "jewelled throne" (*ratna-simhāsana*), is amply borne out by the epigraphical and literary records we have frequently cited (*vide* Chs. V, VI, IX and X). The object of Chikkadēvarāja's embassy to Aurangzib was not so much to obtain the Mughal's sanction to sit on his throne as to make him get reconciled to the position attained and asserted by Chikkadēvarāja as the Emperor of the South. The authorities available thus lead us to a conclusion which is opposite to the one adumbrated by Wilks. [Wilks's position is adopted by Rice in *Mys. Gaz.*, I, 369, and by S. K. Aiyangar in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 198, fn. 24. Messrs. M. A. Srinivasachar (in his *Note* in the *C. Vam.*, pp. 9-10) and B. Puttāya (in his article, 'A note on the Mysore Throne,' in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 261-266) attempt an examination of Wilks's position regarding the "Mysore Throne."]

179. *Annals*, I. 111; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 47 (compared); *Ke. N. V.*, X. 174, vv. 7, 10.

said¹⁸⁰ to have succeeded in overawing the chiefs of Coorg and Malabar, obtaining rich spoils from their camps (consisting of elephants, horses and valuables) and arranging for the regular payment of annual tributes by them. In keeping with this, the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*,¹⁸¹ referring to Chikkadēvarāja's universal conquests about this time (*eṇdesegeldu*), testifies to his generals guarding the frontier-forts in the west, east and south, to his victory over the army of the chiefs of the respective coastal regions, and to his exaction of tribute from them; the *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam*¹⁸² refers to his (Chikkadēvarāja's) signal victory over the chiefs of Coorg, Malabar, Morasa, Tigula and Malnāḍ countries, who, it is said, had proceeded against him depending on the Mahratta alliance; the *Munivamśābhyaḍaya*¹⁸³ speaks of Chikkadēvarāja having accepted the submission of Kongu, Coorg and Malabar kingdoms and become distinguished as *Śringāra-Karnāṭa-Chakri* (Emperor adorning the beautiful Karnāṭa country); while another contemporary work,¹⁸⁴ dated in 1703 (*Svabhānu*), mentions Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar as securely protecting the chiefs of Pālghāṭ after crushing the warriors of Calicut. Obviously, during 1698-1700, a combination of local

180. *Annals*, l.c

181. I, 9; also 7.

Paḍuvana mūḍana tenkaṇa |
Gaḍi-gūṇṭeya kūpugonḍa paḍevalarā yā ||
Kaḍeya kaḍaltaḍi-doregaḷa |
Paḍeyam geldarpininde kappam-gombar ||

182. P. 4: *Mattama-Maraṣa-rāṣṭrapamam nambi mumbaridu eḍabala-dolṇisirisum poṇārda Morasa-Tigula-Koḍaga-Malayaḷa-nāḍa munneyaram bannam-baḍisi, iteradolṇdeseyam gelāu.*

183. II, 85 :

Kongu-Koḍagu-Malaya[ḷa]di rāṇyangaḷa-nangikarisi-yāḷutirdu |
Śringāra-Karnāṭa-Chakri yemba beḍangina vesarānte nṛpati ||

184. *Chikkadēva-Kempadēvammanavara-mēḷana-kāḍugaḷu* (a collection of contemporary songs on Chikkadēvarāja and his queen Kempadēvamma), ff. 180 :

Pālakaḍavanugaḷa paḍu[ḍim] kāydu |
Kōlu-kōṭeya-bhaṭara tōḷugaḷadu . . . ||

powers, headed by the chiefs of Morasa, Tigulā, Kodaga (Coorg), Maleyāḷa (Malabar) and Malnāḍ (Ikkēri) territories, seems to have been actively at work, contesting the claims to supremacy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, backed up by the slender resources of the Mahrattas in the Karnāṭak at the time. The slackening of the Mahratta power in Mysore since 1687, no less their activity against Aurangzīb in their home province (Deccan) since 1698, appears to have eventually enabled Chikkadēvarāja to effectively subdue all opposition against his authority. This paved the way in no small measure to the despatch of the embassy to the Grand Mughal and the profound impression it seems to have created on him (c. 1699-1700).

The years 1700-1704 were, on the whole, years of peaceful and settled government in Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

Period of peace, 1700-1704:

Political position of Mysore, 1704. In 1704, the last year of his reign, the political position of the kingdom of Mysore was as follows: in the north, it had been extended up to Bangalore and parts of Tumkūr districts, coterminous with Sira, the head-quarters of the Mughal Deccan; in the west and the north-west, up to Hāssan and Kaḍūr districts, as far as Chikmagalūr and Sakrēpaṭṇa, coterminous with the kingdom of Ikkēri; and in the east and the south, up to and inclusive of parts of Salem-Bārāmahal and Coimbatore districts, with a distinct tendency to advance further in the direction of Trichinopoly in the far south and Coorg and Malabar in the west and the south-west respectively. A vigorous offshoot, and a living representative, of the ancient but decadent Empire of Vijayanagar, Mysore had become a secure and independent kingdom south of the Krishṇa, attracting the attention of contemporaries, almost at a time when the fortunes of Aurangzīb in the north were at a low ebb. No wonder, with the disappearance of

Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and of the Nāyaks of Madura Tanjore and Gingee and the momentary eclipse of the Mahrattas in the south, Chikkadēvarāja shone forth as the "Emperor of the South" as the inscriptions and literary works portray him to us, a status too which Aurangzīb was forced formally to recognize as much in his own personal interests as in the political interests of an Empire which was fast slipping away from him.

CHAPTER XII

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WOḌEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

Chikkadevaraja's Rule General features--The Council of Ministers. (a) 1673-1686--(b) 1686-1704--**Dalavais**, 1673-1704--Officers, officials, etc. Administrative measures 1673-1686--1. Strengthening of the army and the fort of Seringapatam--2. Coinage and Currency--3. Reorganization and administration of the local units. The *qadi*, unit of administration--General administration of the *qadi*: i. The executive staff, ii. The postal system, iii. The subordinate staff, iv. The *Kandachar* service, v. Administration of domesne lands, vi. Criteria and emoluments of appointments; vii. Law and order *a* The conveying of criminal intelligence, *b* The Police system--4. Fiscal reforms: i. The village as the fiscal unit; The *Barabaluti* system--ii. The land-tax. Its organization and administration--iii. Tax on fruit trees, etc.--iv. Revenue collections--5. Weights and Measures--6. Industries, trade and commerce--7. Miscellaneous measures--The working of the fiscal reforms, Revision of taxes--Administrative measures, 1686-1704--Organization of the eighteen departments--Reflections.

SIDE by side with the course of political events we have thus far sketched, two distinct landmarks are noticeable in the form of civil government evolved by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, the first covering the period of the ministry of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit (1673-1686) and the second that of Tirumalaiyangār (1686-1704). Throughout the period 1673-1704, the influence of Chikkadēvarāja's personality made itself felt on every aspect of the administration, to an extent so far unprecedented in the history of the country. Inscriptions

Chikkadēvarāja's
Rule. General
features

and literary sources invariably point to his rule over Mysore seated on the "jewelled throne of Karnāṭa" in Seringapatam.¹ His was an absolute government conducted as usual along traditional lines, with due regard to the *dharma* (*dharmatō dharātalam praśāsati; rājadharmā tappadante; mahā-rājadharmanum*),² the changing conditions of the time and the happiness and well-being of his subjects. In the actual work of government he was assisted by ministers (*sachivar, mantribhiḥ*), the Daḷavāi and officers (such as *karaṇika, kārya-karta*, etc.). His ministers, according to a contemporary work,³ were adepts in all matters of policy (*sarvatantrajnarāda mantrigaḷum*) and his financiers proficient in mathematics, *śāstras* and *āgamas* (*sakala gaṇita-śāstrāgama kōvidarappa karaṇikurum*). There was as yet no clear differentiation of functions, the king being regarded as the fountain-head of all power and authority, civil and military, political and religious.

Chikkadēvarāja's early training and education enabled him to discern the importance of a strong executive to manage the affairs of a growing kingdom under the troubled conditions of his time. Accordingly, immediately on his accession, he formed a Council of Ministers (*mantrālōchana-sabhe*)—a sort of cabinet—and chose suitable persons to it. These were Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, Tirumalaiyangār, Shaḍaksharaiya,

The Council of Ministers:

(a) 1678-1686.

1. See *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 23-24; III (1) Sr. 14, l. 74; 94, ll. 6-7, and 151, p. 119 (Text); *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn. 144, l. 20; *Had. Dhar.*, I. p. 2, v. 11; *Mbh. Śānti.*, ff. 3 (col. to ch. I); *A. V. O.*, I. p. 2 (prose passage), p. 7, v. 25; *C. B.*, p. 3, etc. Among the actual expressions used are: *Śrīrangapaṭṭanaḍol ratna-simhāsana-rūdhanagi; ratna-simhāsana-sthiti; Paścīmaranga-nagari ratna-simhāsana-rōhana*, etc.; cf. *Wilks* in Ch. XI, l.n. 178.
2. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, l. 118; *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 26; *Paśc. Mahat.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 48; *Had. Dhar.*, l.c., also IX, 60; *A. V. O.*, III, 151 (p. 108), IV, 23, etc. For particulars about these and other works (of Chikkadēvarāja's period of reign) cited in this Ch., vide Ch. XIV.
3. *Śrī. Mahat.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I. ff. 2 (prose passage).

Chikkupādhyāya and Karaṇika Līṅgaṇṇaiya. Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit was the Prime Minister leading the cabinet. He was, we learn,⁴ a Jaina Brāhman of Yelandūr, son of Bommarasa-Paṇḍit and Summāmbikā. Early in his life he had developed precocious habits, and mastered the *Jinastuti*, studying the *sāstras*, penetrating into the fundamentals of all faiths and acquiring an unrivalled knowledge of the Jaina religion and philosophy.⁵ As the minister-in-chief (*mahāmātya*) of Chikkadēvarāja, he wielded considerable influence at the latter's court and was reputed as much for his intelligence and efficiency as for his learning.⁶ Tradition says he was a playmate of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and kept company with him during his stay at Hangaḷa. Among his services, during his period of ministership, to the cause of Jainism in Mysore were⁷ the erection of a *chaityālaya* to the last Tirthankara in Seringapatam ;

4. *Bel. Go. Cha.* (c. 1780) of Ananta-Kavi (Ms. No. A. 202—P; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), VI, 7.

Yaḷadūra Bommarasana savi Summāmbikeya garbhadolū |

Sommina suta Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍita-nemba yimmai-sirvantanogodū ||
see also *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 387, XII. 474.

5. *Ibid.*, 8-9

Kaḷitanu Jina-stutiyānu todalnudiyole chālūda namārgavaiḍidu |
Ōḍuḷa sakala sūtrava-nūrmōḍalolē bhēḍisi sakala matuvānū |
Āḍiyu-Śrī-Jnamatakeṇeyallendu vū[bū]ḍiḍānu lōkavanū ||

6. *Ibid.*, 10-18.

ā pura (Śrīrangapaṭṭana)-pati Chikkadēvarājendra . . .
araviṅge muntriyaḍānu lōkasantāpahara Viśālākṣhā |
. . . silānu duṣṭāngraḥa tuṣṭapratipāla lālita budha-juna-jāla |
. . . mantra-kulāgraṇi āṇi saṁhita mitavāni |
jāṇinim jagava vōḷpa sadguna mahimāni mahāmātya nrpaḅe ||

also *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 474), where Dēvachandra refers to Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit as an accomplished man of letters (*Viśālākṣham sāhityabhārati yomsidam*).

7. *Ibid.*, 19-26:

Śrīrangapuradolū kaḍeyu Tirthēṭṭe rārājipu chaityagrhaḅa |
vōraṇṭe māḍisi . . . ||
Tannarasina rājyadolū || a Jinagrha-vannuddharisi svāstyavanū |
sannutamāgi bēḍisi . . . ||
Beḷaguḷa-tirthadolārhaḅ-vaiḍbhava-mōḷedōri yeḷeya bēkendā |
vilasita rathavanu māḍisi . . . |
Arhan-matake kaṇṭakaraḅirutirda nere pāshanḍi-vargavanū |
doreyṇḍa negottī . . . ||

the conservation of Jaina monuments in the kingdom by making grants of rent-free lands thereto; the effective curbing of all opposition to the religion of Arhat; the endowment of a glittering car (*ratha*) to God Gōmaṭēśvara at Śravaṇa-Belāgola and the grand performance, with the approval of his master, of the head-anointing ceremony (*Mastaka-pūje*) in honour of that shrine, on March 5, 1677. From a lithic record dated in 1685,⁸ we further learn that he was familiarly known as "*Dodḍa-Paṇḍita of Yeḷandūr.*" Tīrumanalāyaṅgār (Tirumalārya), councillor next in importance to Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, was a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhman of Kauśika-gōtra and Āpastambha-sūtra, the eldest son of Paurāṇika Aḷasingarāya (Singarayāṅgār II or Nṛsinhasūri) by Singamma.⁹ Born in 1645 (*Pārthiva*), about the same time as Chikḱadēvarāja, he was, as depicted in his own works,¹⁰ brought up, and was intimately connected, with the latter as his co-student and colleague from his boyhood (*oḍane . . . nuḍe-nuḍiyam kalu . . . oḍanōdi . . . oḍanāḍi, dharma-sachiva, karma-sachiva, narma-sachiva*). He was also a leading scholar at the court of Chikḱadēvarāja, enjoying his favour.¹¹ Although, curiously enough, the extant literary productions of Tirumalāyaṅgār nowhere

* *Dēva-Dōrbalagubhishikava mālpulli bhavadolunkuradōri |*
. . . bhūvaranappaneyindā ||
. . . Mastaka-pūje chandadinḍādu-dēnembe |
Sale śaka sāvuraḍarunūṛāqirḍa Nala-samvatsara Phālgunadā |
beḷupakṣhaḍēḷādasi-yoḷagabhiṣhēka . . . ||

The śaka date (1600) does not tally with Nala, Phālguna śu 11, which actually corresponds to s. 1598, i.e., March 5, 1677, Monday (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 166). Accordingly the data of the cyclic year are preferred here as the correct data.

8. *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 41, ll. 8-9; see also under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.

9. *Vide* Table in Appendix II—(4).

10. *C. Fam.*, 163-166, 170-172; *C. Vl.*, IV, 19, 87-88, V, 97-104.

11. *Vide* colophons to ch. in the *C. Vl.* *Śrī-Chikḱadēva-mahārāja kṛpā-paripālita Śrī-Tirumalayārya*; see also under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

directly refer to his actual position as minister under Chikkadēvarāja, there is enough data in them pointing to his political, diplomatic and administrative knowledge,¹² while in the *Chāmarājanagar Plate* (1675)¹³ he specifically refers to himself as having been "like Brihaspati in the council of Chikkadēvarāja." Shadāksharaiya (Shadāksharadēva or Shadākshara-svāmi) was, we note,¹⁴ a Vīra-Śaiva (Ārādhyā) Brāhman of Rēṇukāchārya-gōtra and disciple of Chikka-Vīra-Dēśika, head of the Vīra-Śaiva *maṭh* at Dhanagūr, Maḷavallī taluk, where he is said to have been born. Descended from a family well-versed in all branches of Śaiva lore, he was at first preceptor to the family of Mudda-Bhūpa (Muddarāja Urs) of Yeḷandūr (*Bālēndupura*).¹⁵ Shadākshari's connection with Chikkadēvarāja, however, began, as indicated already, during the latter's stay at Hangūla (c. 1668-1673). He was, further, a celebrated poet.¹⁶ Of him it is said¹⁷ that, during the greater part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, he was residing in Yeḷandūr as head of the *maṭh* built for him by Mudda-Bhūpa, where he ultimately attained deification. At any rate, Shadākshari's service as a councillor of Chikkadēvarāja seems to have been generally more of a literary and religious character than political or administrative. Chikkupādhyāya, the next minister of Chikkadēvarāja, was another Śrī-Vaiṣṇava

12. See, for instance, *C. Vi.*, VI p. 164 (prose passage hinting at Tirumaliyaṅgar's dealings with ambassadors from foreign courts), and references to political events in *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A. V. C.*, cited in f.n. to Chs. V, VI, VIII, X and XI; also f.n. 71 *infra*.

13. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 105-107. . . . *Gururiva . . . Chikka-dēvarāja-nṛpatē sabhā sudharmā-mvādhyāstē . . . Tirumalayōgyō.*

14. See *Bhaktādhyāya-Ratnāvalī*, col. on p. 66 (with Preface) quoted in f.n. 15 *infra*; also *Vṛshabhendra-Vijaya*, ff. 153, v. 90; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 442.

15. *Ibid.*: . . . *nikhila nṛgamāgama-purāṇādy prapīṇḍita vimala-Vīra-Śāva-Brāhmana-kula-sambhūta Śrīmad-Rēṇukāchārya-gōtrāmr-tārṇava . . . Śrī-Bālēndupuravarādhisā Mudda-Bhūmipa-kulaguru Śrī-Shadākshara-Svāmi* Cf. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 474, and *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

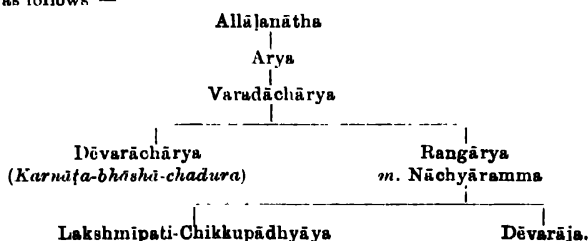
16. See under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

17. *Vide* Preface to *Bhaktādhyāya-Ratnāvalī*; also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

Brāhman, of Purukutsa-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajus-śākhā.¹⁸ He belonged, as he tells us,¹⁹ to the Paṭṭūr family of learned Vēdic scholars and poets, tracing descent from Allājanātha, whose tutelary deity was God Varadarāja of Kāñchīpuram. The elder of the twin sons of Nāchyāramma by Rangāchārya (Ranga-Paṇḍita) of Terakāṇambi (great grandson of Allājanātha), Chikkupādhyāya was a disciple of Kaḍāmbi Singarāchārya. He had mastered the sacred lore and was, besides, a poet, philosopher and expert mathematician (*ganita-śāstra-viśāradanāgi*).²⁰ In his earlier years, he seems to have practised the profession of teaching.²¹ Indeed, in keeping with this is the tradition that he was a teacher of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself during the latter's boyhood.²² His actual name, however, was Lakshmīpati or Lakshmīśa,²³ and he styles himself in some of his writings²⁴ as *Lakshmīpati-Chikkupādhyāya*, the suffix *Chikkupādhyāya* obviously indicating his earlier position

18. See *Śrī Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 41-42; also references *infra*.

19. *Ibid.*, 48-50, also *Kamala Māhāt.*, III, 77, *Haṣṭi Māhāt.*, I, 104, *Yād Māhāt.*, I, 18, II, 3, 9, *Paśch. Māhāt.*, col., *Śu. Sap.*, I, 21; *Div. Śū. Cha.*, I, 92; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 467-468, 490. The genealogy of Chikkupādhyāya's family, according to *Śrī. Māhāt.* (l.c.), was as follows —



20. *Ibid.*, 51-52; see also under *Literary activity*, in Ch. XIV.

21. *Ibid.*, 50. *Chikkupādhyāyam poreyal buddhigāḷanūsuraḍu lōkade jānamam*

22. *Annals*, I, 105.

23. See *Śrī. Māhāt.*, I, 50; *Kamala. Māhāt.*, III, 78; *Śeṣha-Dharma*, ff. 1, col., etc. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 1) to the *Div. Śū. Cha.* but see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 468.

24. *Yād Māhāt* (verse at the end of col. to each ch.); *Paśch. Māhāt.*, l.c.; *Nīti-Śataka-Saṅgatyā*, ff. 99; *Kāmand. Nī.*, col., etc.

as a junior teacher of Chikkadēvarāja, which probably accounts for his subsequent rise to eminence as one of the latter's most trusted and influential councillors.²⁵ As a minister of Chikkadēvarāja, he was reputed for his thorough knowledge of politics and diplomacy, and finance and accounts.²⁶ Karaṇika Iṅgaṇṇaiya was a Smārtha Brāhman. As the councillor in charge of the public accounts of the country (*sīme-karaṇikatana*),²⁷ he appears to have wielded considerable influence over the administration of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

The Council, thus composed, was a powerful advisory body actively assisting Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in all his administrative measures. Its position and status seem to have been hardly affected by the assassination of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit in 1686.

During the next period (1686-1704), Tirumalaiyaṅgār, as Prime Minister in succession to

(b) 1686-1704 Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, rose high in the favour of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.²⁸

In 1695, it is said,²⁹ he obtained Chikkadēvarāja's

25. *Śrī Māhāt*, I, 51, *Venkata Māhāt*, col., also col. to *Sū Sap.*, *Haṣṭi Māhāt*, *Div Sū Cha*, *Sāṅgatyas* and *Bhaḡ Gī Ti.*, *Haṣṭi Māhāt*, I, 103; *Yād Māhāt*, I, 18, etc., cf. *Editorial Introduction* (l.c.) to *Div. Sū. Cha*. Among the expressions used in the texts are: *Chikkadēvarājendra-datta-sakalatantra-svatantranūgi*, *Chikkadēvarāja-mukhyāmatya*; *Mantri-sikhāmaṇi*; *Sachiva-nichaya-tilaka*, *Chikkadeva-mahārāja-prasādakāstraya*, *Olapu vetta*; *Kṛpālabdha*, *Kṛpāparipālita*; *Chikkadēvarāyāntaranga Chikupādhyāya*; *Paramāptam sut-pradhānam*; *Chikkadēva-mahārāja-samasta-kārya-durandhara-mantri-vadhya*; *Puti-kāryeka-pradhānōttamam*, etc.

26. *Śrī. Māhāt*, I, 40, 51-52; *Venkata. Māhāt*, I, 19; *Haṣṭi. Māhāt*, l.c.; *Sakala-tantraṇṇanāda*; *Sakalam-niti-viśāradam*; *Chaturōpāya-samartham*; *Karaṇkāgrēsaranūgi*.

27. *Annals*, I, 105.

28. See *A. V. C.*, I, 13.

Tanna sri tanna sēvan |
tannoḷ geḷe tanna bhāgyam Chikkadēvē |
nḍrannēmavitta-nendola |
vinniravisi Tirumalārya-nunnativettam ||;

also *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 13: *atyunnatar*.

29. See *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 2-3) to the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A. V. C.* Tirumalaiyaṅgār's visit to Madurai is echoed in the *Śrīśailārya-dinacharya* of the *Y. N. Stavāḡ*, etc., noticed in Ch. XIV of this work.

permission and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Śrīrangam and other places. He paid a visit to Madura also, whose ruler Mangammāl (1689-1706) made him a grant of villages and lands, desiring him to stay at her court as her minister. Apprised of this, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, it is added,³⁰ sent him a *nirūpa*, directing him to return. Accordingly, in 1698, Tirumalaiyaṅgār came back to Seringapatam and resumed his office of Prime Minister. During 1686-1704 he was on the whole not only at the height of his power as the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja,³¹ but also attained considerable celebrity as an author and Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher, profoundly influencing the religious and philosophical outlook of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.³² Of the remaining members of council during the period little is known, except the rise to prominence of Karaṇika Lingaṇṇaiya after his return from the embassy to the court of Aurangzīb (1700)

Among the Dalavāis of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar we have referred to,³³ Kumārāiṃ of Dalavāis, 1673-1704. Kaḷale was his father-in-law. He continued in office during the first nine years of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (1673-1682), retiring voluntarily on the ground of old age in May 1682. He was succeeded temporarily, for a period of fifteen days, by Dēvaiya (May-June 1682) and later by his nephew Doḍḍaiya (June 1682-June 1690). Doḍḍaiya was followed in succession by Timmappaiya of Kōlāla

30 *Ibid.*

31. See Mitra, *Gō.*, p. 2 (prose passage, third line from the bottom) · Śrī-Chikkadēva-mārāyaṃ niriḡe-vādeda kuḷu-nēhakkō nelevaneyum; also *Gō.*, p. 50 (prose passage, first two lines from the top) · . . . obmegam . . . neravigam nēhakkam nalmegam nambugegam nelevidenis—referring to Tirumalārya.

32. *Vide* sections on *Religion, social life and literary activity*, in Chs. XIII and XIV.

33. *Ante*, Ch. XI · see also *Annals*, I. 115-116; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 68-70. For details about the Kaḷale Family, *vide* section on *Domestic life* in Ch. XVI.

(June 1690-February 1696), Mallarājaiya of Kaḷale (February 1696-August 1698), Virarājaiya of Nilasōge (August 1698-December 1702) and Dāsarājaiya of Dēvarāya-durga (December 1702-1704). The *Mysūru-Rājara-Charitre*³⁴ speaks of Daḷavāis Kumārāiya and Doḍḍaiya of Kaḷale as having been sincere establishers of the Mysore Royal House (*Mysūru dhoregaḷige vamsōddhāraḱarāda*), a claim perhaps fully justified by the meritorious services rendered by them in extending the kingdom of Mysore in all directions, particularly in withstanding the Mahratta incursions and recovering the lost ground for Mysore during the earlier part of Chikka-dēvarāja's reign (i.e., 1673-1690). Daḷavāi Timmappaiya and his successors were also of considerable assistance to Chikkadēvarāja in extending the sphere of influence of Mysore in the direction of Ikkēri, Coorg and Malabar and in crushing all local combinations against his authority during the latter part of the reign (i.e. 1690-1704)³⁵ Some of the inscriptions of the period³⁶ point also to the active interest the Daḷavāis evinced in the civil government of the kingdom.

As the main-stay of day-to-day administration, the mint and the treasury received due
 Officers, officials, etc. attention at the hands of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. At first these seem to have been under the management of Chikkupādhyāya (as *kōśādhikārī*) and his colleagues, one of whom was familiarly known as Bokkasada Narasaiya.³⁷ At a subsequent date, probably after 1686, we note,³⁸ Appaiya, son of Javana Setṭi, a Jain, succeeded to the charge of the mint and connected offices (*ṭenkasāle mantādādhīpatya*). In administering the treasures of the State, he discharged

34. P. 28.

35. *Ante*, Ch. XI.36. See under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.37. See *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamma* (cited in Ch. XI, f.n. 184), ff. 130.38. *Bel. Go. Cha.*, VI, 27-30.

his duties so assiduously that he rose in the favour and estimation of Chikkadēvarāja and eventually got constructed in the latter's name, at great cost and labour, a pond in Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa (*Śrī-Chikkadēvēndra-mahāsvāmiyavara kalyāṇi*), which is still in existence.³⁹

The administration of important places in the interior of the country, of newly acquired or conquered tracts and of frontier posts was, as usual, in the hands of not only agents (*kārya-karta*) but also civil and military officials of varying degrees of status (such as *Gurikārs*, *Pārupatyagārs*, etc.), directly responsible to the central government. Thus, Siddarājaiya of Talakāḍ was an agent of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar at Kuṇigal; Koṭṭūraiya was another at Talakāḍ; and Hampaiya was an officer in charge of the revenue establishment (*aṭhavaṇe*) at Arkalgūḍ. At Śankhagiri, Tiruchchengōḍu taluk, Muddaiya represented Nanjanāthaiya for Chikkadēvarāja; at Tārāmangalam, Vāmalūr (Ōmalūr) taluk, Kempaiya, son of Chāmaiya (Śāmaiya), was another agent of his; and at Avanāśi, Mallaiya was his *Gurikār* (lit. a headman of armed peons). Dāsarājaiya, son of Biḷuguli Kemparājaiya, was in charge of the Nijagal-durga-sīme, Nelamangala taluk; [Daḷavāi] Dāsarājaiya-Timmapparājaiya, son of Krishṇaiya and grandson of Biḷuguli Timmarājaiya, was administering the Dēvarāyadurga-sīme; and Doḍḍaiya, son of Sangaiya and grandson of Channa-Viraiya, was looking after the Maddagiri-sīme. Dāsaiya was the agent for affairs (*pārupatyagāra*) in charge of Nāgamangala, and Dēvaiya was entrusted with the management of Hangala-sīme in Dēvanagara hōbḷi. Among other officials of Chikkadēvarāja, Appūrāya-Hebbāruva was an agent for the collection of customs dues (*sunkada-kartarāda*); Chāmaiya was a supervisor

39. *Ibid.*, 31-37 [According to this poem (*Ibid.*, 33-34), the construction of the pond was actually completed after Chikkadēvarāja's death]; *E. O.*, II SB. 365; see also and compare *Rāj. Kath.*, XI. 390, XII. 490-491.

of *Maṇēgārs* and *Kōlukārs* ; Lingaiya was another official in charge of customs, being familiarly known as Sunkada-Linga, while Abhāṇi Venkaṭāchārya of Kauśika-gōtra and Bhānōji-Paṇḍita were among diplomatic agents (*niyōgi*) stationed abroad.⁴⁰

In the early part of his reign (1673-1686), particularly during 1673-1678 and 1682-1686, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, as we have seen,⁴¹ found himself engaged in wars with Madura and Ikkēri, Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa, the local country powers and the Mahrattas. The administration of the country during these periods of war interspersed by short intervals of peace was, ordinarily, conducted by the Council of Ministers under his general supervision. The years 1679-1681 and 1686 were, however, generally years of peace and security in Mysore. It was during and, at different intervals, after this period that Chikkadēvarāja, at the height of his power, appears to have found sufficient time and leisure to personally attend to the solution of problems of administration necessitated by the conditions of the times.⁴²

Defence was naturally the most important item demanding the serious attention of Chikkadēvarāja in the early years of his reign—particularly in and after 1675. Although he was on the whole able to hold his own against the contending factors during 1673-1674, the experience of these years seems to have brought home to him the importance of a larger and well-equipped army as an effective instrument in working out his ambitious scheme of conquests and annexations. Accordingly, having acquainted himself with the state of his finances, he increased the numerical strength of his army by an addition of 12,000 horse and 100,000 foot, with the rest of the equipment that war necessitates.

40. *Vide* references cited under *Grants and other records*, in Ch. XIII.

41. *Ante*, Ch. XI.

42. Cf. Wilks and Dēvachandra in Ch. XV below.

Thus the fort of Seringapatam was strengthened by the mounting of 44 additional cannons on the bastions and the inner and outer fort-walls.⁴³

About the same time, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar also struck a new type of gold coins (2. Coinage and Currency. *varaha*) known as *Tāṇḍava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Dēvarāya*.⁴⁴ Though only an administrative event, this was a landmark of considerable significance, particularly from the political and religious points of view. Politically it was, as already indicated, an index of his achievement over Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura in 1673. Indeed the *Toṇḍanūr copper-plate grant* (1722)⁴⁵ does seem to echo this position when it speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having “emulated the sports of Krishṇa in conquering the lord of Madhura” (Madura). And this was, perhaps, the reason why the actual designation of the coin itself associates his name with Krishṇa represented in the dancing posture on its obverse.⁴⁶ From the religious point of view, the striking of this type of coin, as we shall see,⁴⁷ testifies to Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as the personal religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

The next series of administrative measures was, as already indicated, introduced by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar during and after 1679-1681. These measures relate, respectively, to the reorganization and administration of local units and the inauguration of fiscal reforms.

The total number of administrative units or divisions (*gaḍi*) up to the time of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, it

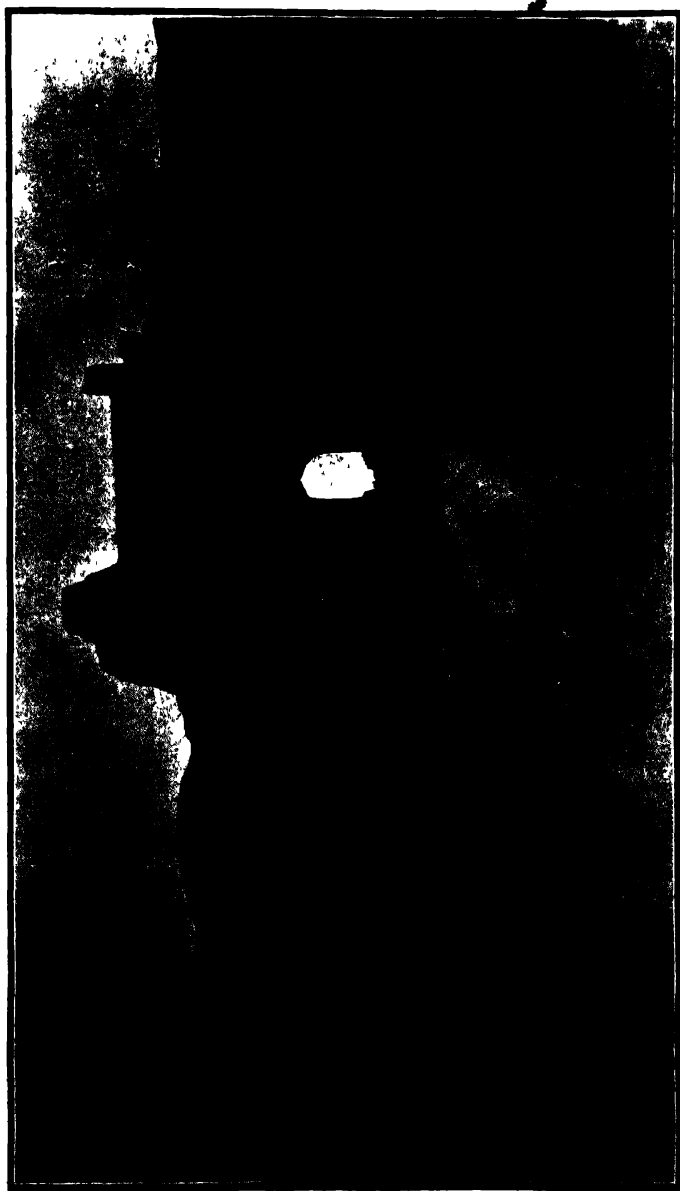
43. *Annals*, I. 111-112; see also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 31-32. For details of weapons of warfare, etc., of the period, *vide* Appendix IX.

44. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 54-55: *Tāṇḍava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Dēvarāya nānyavannu haksī*.

45. *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 61-62: *Madhurēśana geldu puravrajangalam seledēyādugum khalara śikshipa Krishṇana ilēyante vōl*.

46. *Vide* Appendix VI—(2) Specimens of the coin are still known.

47. *Vide* under *Religion*, in Ch. XIII.



The Eastern Gate of the Srirangapatna Fort

would seem,⁴⁸ 72. Fresh acquisitions had, however, been made by him since 1673. The first important step, therefore, taken by Chikkadēvarāja was the amalgamation of all the conquests and annexations of the rulers of Mysore since Rāja Wodeyar's time and the splitting up of the same into 84 fresh units (*gaḍi*) after granting rent-free lands (*umbali*) to some Pālegārs and settling the contributions (*khaṇḍane*) due by others. Each unit was subdivided into *hōbli*s, the groups of minor villages thereunder (ranging from 8 to 16) being absorbed in major ones and the *hōbli* itself being named after a major village.⁴⁹

At the head of the administration of each unit was placed a *Subādā*. Under him were posted an assistant (*chikka-pārupatya-gāra*), three scroll-writers (*aṭṭavanage-prati*), six accountants (*gumāsteyaru*) and one scribe (*rāyasadavannu*). A net-work of postal system was established, a news-carrier (*anche-harikāra*) being stationed over each division. It was his duty to look after the transmission of letters from place to place and to report on matters coming within his direct knowledge. Among the subordinate staff of each unit, whose number varied in proportion to its size and status, were the head-peon (*dafēdāra*), menials (*kālūḷigadavaru*), treasury attenders (*hastāntri*, *golla*), two watchmen (*chāvaḍi-kāvalugāraru*) and a torch-bearer (*dīvaṭigeya-jana*). Besides, the local militia (*kandāchāra*) in each unit was placed on a sound footing, a *Thāṇādār*, a *Gurikār*,

48. The *Śrī. Māhat.* of Mallikārjuna (1678) speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having been served by 72 functionaries or agents in his court (II, 66): *eppatteraḍu niyōgam dappadesevipudarinda-mōlage-mesegum*. These functionaries perhaps represented 72 *gaḍis* or administrative units about 1678. Cf. Capt. Read in *Bārāmahal Records* (1792), I. 139, para 9, referring to the number of units as 73.

49. *Annals*, I. 116-117; see also *Bārāmahal Records*, I. c.

three *Śirastēdārs*, three *Gumāstas*, *Hōbḷidārs*, *Dafēdārs*, *Ōlekārs*, the bugler and the drummer (*kombinavanu*, *tamaṭeyavanu*) being suitably posted. The number of *Ōlekārs* varied from 100 to 400 according to the size of the unit. Over six *Ōlekārs* was placed a *Dafēdār* and over 50 *Dafēdārs* a *Hōbḷidār*. Ordinarily it was the duty of the staff of the militia to patrol the unit and safeguard the local treasury (*hastāntrada kāvalu-katṭale*). In times of war they were required to be ready with arms and ammunition.⁵⁰ The militia seems thus to have occupied an important place in the civil and military governance of the country, useful alike in times of war and peace and analogous to what we correspondingly find in the Mughal and Mahratta systems of administration of the period.

A special *Subādār* was appointed to be in charge of demesne lands situated in different units. It was his duty to see to the increase of yield from those lands and to supervise the raising of crops therefrom. Under him was posted a civil establishment (consisting of *Śirastēdār*, accountants and scribes) to maintain regular accounts of receipts in cash and in kind, and a military establishment (*i.e.*, *Kandāchār*, headed by the *Killēdār*, *Thāṇādār* and others) to keep watch and ward.

Intelligence, honesty and efficiency were the criteria of all appointments, particular care being taken to see that bribery and corruption were not fostered and that economy prevailed among the officials. The salary of the superior executive staff (like the *Subādār*, *Śirastēdār*, *Killēdār* and others) was fixed in proportion to the relative

v Administration
of demesne lands

vi. Criteria and
emoluments of appo-
intments.

50. *Ibid*, 117. Cf. *Wells* (I. 106), referring to the establishment of the post and the secret service (intelligence department), and commenting on it as the "new and terrible instrument of despotism." There was nothing peculiar in this institution. It was necessitated by the conditions of the times. The contemporary Mughal Empire had an active news service (see J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 97-101). See also f.n. 51 *infra*.

responsibilities of the appointments, half the amount being usually paid in cash and the other half in kind. The pay of the *Īlekārs* of the *Kandāchār* service was fixed at rates varying from half *varaha* to one *varaha*, half the amount being paid in cash and the other half in kind, which was met out of the produce of lands granted to them. To make the *Kandāchār* service attractive, all the *Īlekārs* were exempted from forced labour (*hittu-bittu*) and from payment of dues such as presents, benevolences and house-tax (*kāṇuke*, *kaḍḍāya*, *maneterige*).⁵¹

Special attention was bestowed on the maintenance of law and order in the country. A regular service for conveying criminal intelligence was established. The *Īlekārs* were required to report on the character and conduct of people in several parts of the kingdom and promptly communicate to the central government all occurrences in the interior of the country and on the road-side. In important places and at the head-quarters of the units, a special staff, consisting of *Kotwāl*, *Śānabhōgs* (then number varying from 1 to 3 according to the size of the locality), *Pēṭe-Setṭi*, *Yajamān*, local accountant (*dēśada-śānabhōg*), the criers (*chalavādi* . . . *daṇḍiyavanu*), the bugler, the drummer, detectives (*kaḷḷa-baṇṭaru*) and menials (*ūḷigadavaru*), was entrusted with important duties.

51. *Ibid.*, 117-118; also 136-137. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 218. His reference to the exemption of the soldiery from the payment of certain imposts as being intended to "neutralise" their opposition to Chikkaḍēvarāja's measures, is based on an unfounded assumption. Such an exemption, however, seems to have been justified both on grounds of policy and established custom (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2462). Traces of Mughal and Mahratta influence are noticeable in the organization of the *gaḍi* (*subah*), the police system and criminal intelligence service, termed "espionage" by the older writers. Compare, for instance, Sarkar, *o.c.*, pp. 80-101, describing the duties of the *Subahdār*, *Faujdār*, *Kotwāl*, *Thānādār* and news-reporters including the *Harkārah*, and referring to the *Subahdār's schbands* (*sibbands*), troops (*retainers*), etc. The parallel is interesting.

These officials had to see that the different classes and sections of the local populace (such as the *Baṇajigas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Pāñchālas*) did not transgress their caste injunctions, to prevent thefts, to see that the merchants carried on their dealings according to prescribed rules and regulations, and to bring the different classes of offenders to book. Also, during nights they had to conduct a regular patrol of the locality and prevent the commission of crimes. Further, the *Kotwāl*, *Pēte-Setṭi* and *Yajamān* were empowered to inquire into local cases and fine those whose guilt was comparatively light and to report to the king all serious offences demanding deterrent punishment at his hands.⁵²

In the scheme of fiscal reforms introduced by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, the village as the fiscal unit received his foremost attention. In each village, the time-honoured system of rural economy was revived, and placed on a secure foundation, under the designation of *Bārābalūti*, which denotes the carrying of rural administration by the following twelve elements of the village hierarchy: the headman (*gauḍa*), accountant (*sānabhōg*)—number varying from 1 to 3—, Brāhman astrologer (*pañchāṅgada-brāhmaṇa*), blacksmith (*kabbiṇaḍa-kelasadavanu*), goldsmith (*akkasāle*), potter (*kumbāra*), washerman (*agasa*), barber (*kelasi*), scavenger (*tōṭi*), watchman (*taḷavāra*), regulator of tank sluices (*kere-nirugaṇṭi*) and carpenter (*ōjaravanu*). The fees (*rusum*) of these officials, under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, varied according to their respective rights, being usually paid in kind (*solige-guḍḍe-āya*, i.e., a measure of capacity equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *baḷḷa* or $\frac{1}{4}$ a *seer*), the headman and the accountant, in particular, being entitled to an additional share

52. *Ibid.*, 125-126; see also f.n. 51 *supra*.

from the crops raised by the villagers (*sānāya-mudre*). The headman was further exempted from house-tax (*mane-terige*), forced labour (*hittu-bittu*) and presents and benevolences (*kāṇike, kaḍḍāya*). Half the pay of the village accountant was to be paid in cash and the other half in kind, he being permitted to receive from the ryots, annually, an additional fee (varying from $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 *haṇa* per head, according to the status of the ryot) for making entries of land revenue receipts in the village accounts (*kaḍatuda kāṇikeya haṇa*). The carpenter, barber, potter, washerman, scavenger, blacksmith, watchman and others were allowed the right of receiving a bundle of grass (laden with ears of corn) and a measure (*koḷaga*) of grain from individual cultivators. The village officials other than the scavenger and the watchman were permitted to receive from each ryot a fixed quantity of grain as an annual allowance (*haḍade*), calculated on the basis of the numerical strength of the ryot's family. In addition to all these perquisites, the Brāhman astrologer, accountant, scavenger, watchman and the regulator of tank sluices were granted, for their maintenance, rent-free lands (*māṇya-bhūmi*) varying in revenue value from 1 to 6 *varahas* according to their respective status. Other officials, like those in charge of government channels (*kāluve-manēgār*) and of accounts of crops (*hasuge-manēgār, sānabhōg*), were each to receive a bundle of grass (laden with ears of corn) and a measure (*koḷaga*) of grain out of the landlord's half share of the agricultural produce (*vārada hutṭuvaliyalli*).⁵³

The revenue system next received a due share of attention at the hands of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Land-tax being the main-stay of finance, elaborate rules

53. *Ibid.*, 119-120 Compare the exaction of perquisites (*abwabs*) by revenue officials in contemporary Mughal India (Sarkar, *o. c.*, pp. 112-114).

and regulations were drawn up for its organization and administration. As already indicated, a distinction was made between demesne lands and public lands, separate officers being appointed to look after each of them. The principle of State landlordism was the prime feature of the reforming tendencies of the time, and every effort was made to adjust it to the changing conditions of the times and the needs of a growing kingdom. At first, it was laid down that half the share of produce (*ardha-vāra*), such as paddy sugar-cane and other staple crops, from lands irrigated by canals in the *Aṣṭagrām* and other divisions, should be credited to government. The subjects, however, represented that this measure would hardly enable them to maintain themselves after meeting the necessary expenses of cultivation (*muṭṭuvali*). Accordingly, at the harvest, an enquiry was instituted, and it being found that the estimated income from and expenditure on production during the year were nearly balanced, the yield was divided into three portions, one portion being set off against the cost of production incurred by the ryots, another being allowed for their maintenance and the third being ordered to be taken by the government. This procedure, it was ordered, was to be followed only for a year or two, after which the ryots were to make over to the government an equal share of the gross produce (*sama-vāra*). In lands irrigated by tank water, it was ruled that paddy and other crops were to be raised during years of good rains and half the produce credited to government, while during years of drought the cultivator was to be allowed to raise only dry crops (*beddalu pairu*) and pay the government the assessment usually levied on dry lands (*beddalu kandāya*). To facilitate the discharge of water from the canals and embankments (*kālve, kaṭṭe*) and the cultivation of crops thereunder, a *Maṇēgār*, a *Śānabhōg*, menials and regulators

Its organization
and administration

of sluices (their number varying from 2 to 4 according to the condition of the canal and the status of the village) were appointed. To supervise the raising of crops from demesne lands, the required officials (*hasuge-manēgār*, *hasuge-sānabhōg*, *kālūḷigaḍa-jana*) were likewise posted. As regards waste and unserviceable lands covered with rank vegetation, revenue concessions were granted with a view to their reclamation. In the case of lands of this class yielding a gross produce of 12 *haṇas*, only one-third was to be received as the government share for a period of five years; in the case of middle class lands yielding 16 *haṇas*, one-fourth was to be collected for a similar period, after which the usual half was to be taken. In places where ryots were few and waste lands innumerable, a partial remission of land revenue (*hisse kandāya*) was allowed, to enable them to reclaim such lands. The ryots in certain parts of the country having represented their inability to pay the fixed cash assessment (*kandāya*), it was ruled that in such cases only half the produce actually raised (*vāra*) was to be taken from them and stored in the principal granary at the capital city, an order to this effect being issued also to the *Subādārs* of the units.

The land-tax, under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, seems thus to have varied from $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the gross produce, collected in cash as well as in kind. It must be taken to have been a distinct improvement on what obtained in South India under the Chōlas, Vijayanagar sovereigns and rulers of Madura and Tanjore, whose maximum share of land revenue varied in actual practice from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$, or 50 to 80 per cent, of the gross produce, against the $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ permitted by the Hindu law-givers. The settlement effected by Chikkadēvarāja was, again, conspicuous by the absence of farming of revenues and its concomitant evils, oppression and rack-renting, of which we have evidence already in the Vijayanagar period. The heaviness of the land-tax under Chikkadēva,

compared with the lightness of the burden at present (*i.e.*, about 6 per cent. or $\frac{1}{17}$ of the gross produce), was, it has to be conceded, in keeping with the high purchasing power of the *pagōḍa* in the seventeenth century. And whatever may be said against payment in kind, it has to be set down that this system has its own advantages during periods of depression accompanied by a severe fall in prices.⁵⁴

Land-tax apart, a system of taxing fruit trees in garden lands was brought into being. Thus, it was laid down, cocoanut trees were to be assessed on the basis of yield of fruits, at rates varying from 15, 18, 25, 28 to 30 *varahas* per 1,000 trees. In certain parts of the country where garden lands were for long immune from assessment, half the gross produce of both areca and cocoanut trees was fixed as the government share of revenue, while in places where taxation of cocoanut trees was the custom, areca trees also were to be subjected to a levy according to local usage. The tax on tamarind and jack trees in dry lands was likewise based on the yield, and varied from 1 to 2 *haṇas* per tree (*maravaḷi kandāya*). As regards garden lands (situated behind tanks in the neighbourhood of canals) leased out for fresh areca and cocoanut plantations, a tax of 3 *haṇas* was at first to be levied on every 100 plantain stumps (*bāḷeya buḍa*) required for raising the plantations, and, as soon as the areca and cocoanut plants yielded a harvest, the tax on plantain trees was to be remitted, either one half (*vāra*) of the major produce or an equivalent cash assessment

54. *Vide*, on this section, *Ibid*, 118-119, 122-123. For details about *Early South Indian Finance*, see article on the subject in the *I. A.*, Vol. XL, pp. 265-289. Cf. *Wilks*, according to whom "the sixth was the lawful share of the crop for which the Raja received his equivalent in money" and forced the ryot to agree to "a voluntary increase of the landed assessment," etc., for which there is no evidence—*vide* Ch. XV of this work, for a detailed critical notice of Wilks's position; also f.n. 69 *infra*.

(*kandāya*) being ordered to be collected from the proprietors.⁵⁵

Land revenue dues from the administrative units, under the reforms of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, were to be annually collected in full in three instalments and transmitted to the central exchequer at Seringapatam. Besides, the *Subādār* of each unit was required to execute a bond (*muchchali*) to the effect that he would increase the revenue yield from different sources (such as *pairu*, *pachche*, etc.). The annual net revenue receipts from the 84 units after deducting the necessary expenses of the civil and military establishments (*aṭhavaṇe*, *kandāchāra*) and religious endowments (*dēradāya*, *brahmadāya*), amounted on an average to 7,20,000 *varahas* (or twenty-one lakhs and sixty-thousand rupees, taking one *varaha* at Rs. 3). And it was so ordained that every day a minimum of two bags containing 1,000 *varahas* each was to be received from the local parts and deposited in the treasury at Seringapatam at the time of the king's observance of the *Nāmatūtham* in the Palace. So strict indeed was this ordinance that, it is said, if there was delay on any day in the remittance of the amount to the treasury, the king would devote his time that day to the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and would not break his fast until he had personally seen the bags and sent them for deposit to the treasury.⁵⁶ As for that, no modern Government can or would fail to collect its revenue at the proper time except at the risk of failing in its duty towards itself. The precision

55. *Ibid.*, 122-123.

56. *Ibid.*, 126; see also and compare Wilks, I. 120-121; S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 302-303. Wilks's observation (l.c.) that Chikkadēvarāja, "by a course of rigid economy and order, and by a widely extended and well-organized system of securing for himself the great mass of plunder obtained by his conquests, had accumulated a treasure," etc., hardly takes into account either the actual conditions under which Chikkadēva worked or the historical precedents or the accepted canons of public finance, as explained in the text above.

with which revenue is collected to-day in every civilized country shows that that great duty cannot be abandoned or laid aside, for that would be striking at the very root of its existence. And Chikkadēva's government was not a mere tax-gathering one; it cared for the political, social and spiritual welfare of its people. Further, according to the Hindu science of politics, a well-filled treasury is a necessity to a king and Chikkadēva, considering the times he lived in, would have committed a serious blunder if he had not made adequate arrangements for keeping his finances in order.⁵⁷ Even in Europe, the policy of forming public treasures or other reserves, in order to provide for the necessities of the State in times of emergency, is well known. The system of public treasures, indeed, can lay claim to high antiquity. Thus, the Athenians before the Peloponnesian War had accumulated a large sum. The Persian kings likewise had collected the tribute of their provinces in the shape of precious metals, large portions of which Alexander took hold of. The Romans followed the same system of hoarding. In the medieval period, the practice was continued. It was usual on the death of the king for his successor to gain possession of the treasure. Several

57. According to the *Amara-kōśa*, *Rājyānga* consists of the following seven constituents *Svāmyamātya suhṛikkōśa rāṣṭra durga balāni*, king, minister, friend, treasury, kingdom, fortress and army. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* (i-iv) likewise says.

Svāmyamātyancha rāṣṭramcha durgam kōśē balam śrūt |
Purasparōpakāridam saptaṅgam rāja muchyate ||

The *Mahābhārata* adds citizens as forming the eighth constituent. The importance of the *kōśa* (treasury) is thus stressed by one authority :

Kōśo mahīpatēr jīvō natu prāṇāḥ kathanchana |
Dravyam hi rājabhūjasya na śarīramiti sthithiḥ ||
Dharmahētō sukhārthāya dhṛityānām bharaṇāyacha |
Āpadarthamcha samrakṣyah kōśaḥ kōśavatā sadā ||

(*Yuktikalpataru*, as quoted under *kōśaḥ* in *Rāja Rādhākānta Dēv's Śabdakalpadruma*). According to this authority, the treasury is, apart from his life, the king's soul; it is the wealth of the sovereign and shows his condition, apart from his body. This wealth is for enabling him to perform his *Dharma* and for securing his happiness. It is also intended to support those dependent on him; also to preserve him from dangers; that which has all this stored in itself is *kōśa*.

instances can be quoted in support of this statement from the histories of England and France. The treasure and the kingdom, in fact, went together, each being looked on as equally a form of property. In England, Henry VIII dissipated the treasure left by his wise father. In France, Henry IV, who was guided by Sully, his celebrated minister, in this matter, was the last sovereign to maintain a treasure, though the practice fell into desuetude by the time of Adam Smith. He notes that it continued to exist in the canton of Bern and in Prussia. Frederick the Great (1740-1786) continued the system in the latter country, and the late German Empire stuck to it tenaciously to the end. "The reasons which induced so many states," as one authority puts it, "to accumulate treasure are to be found in the conditions of society existing at the time." A primitive community has no need of a store of money, provisions and weapons would be more useful in its case. With the introduction of money dealings, the convenience of having a universally desired article on hand would be too plain to be forgotten. "The efficient maintenance of an army in the field depends in a great degree on the supply of what is so often called the 'sinews of war'." Cases are not unknown where expeditions failed altogether from want of this indispensable auxiliary." Where credit was undeveloped and taxes were occasional and uncertain expedients, a State that had no treasure was in a dangerous situation, unprepared either for attack or defence. The treasure came to be looked upon, as Bastable has justly remarked, as a species of property owned by the sovereign "serving a particular purpose and completing the public economy." The change to the modern economic organization wherein the method of incurring debt (through a well-organized banking system) takes the place of the older system of storing up treasure or other disposable wealth for a time of need, is not yet universal even in Europe. The policy

of building up of reserves for meeting military necessities has been long defended in Germany, while in India the state-treasure policy has not been entirely superseded by a well-organized system of banking.⁵⁸

The next item which engaged the attention of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was the standardisation of weights and measures. The *koḷaga* was the common unit of measure used for determining the quantity of corn. Its measuring capacity, however, varied in different parts of the country, according to local custom. Thus, there were *koḷagas* measuring from 8, 12, 15 to 16 *seers* each. Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar allowed this usage to be continued all over the country, introducing a change only in respect of the seals to be used by the local officials for impressing the prevailing units of measure with. The signets (*mudreya ungura*) which were in vogue in different localities since the Pāḷegār regime were examined, and, as the estampages thereon were found to vary considerably, a new system was introduced, aiming at uniformity throughout. On the gold signet of each of the 84 administrative units, the name of the unit, together with the figures of the Sun and the Moon on either side and the monogram "Dē" in the middle—standing for the king's name—was engraved, and the principal local officer of the unit (*Subādār*) ordered to be entrusted with the charge of the seal thus formed. Another type of signet made of silver, with the monogram "Dē" likewise engraved thereon, was, it was further laid down, to be placed in charge of the subordinate executive staff (namely, *Aṭhavaṇe-chikka-pārupatyagāra*, *Killēdārs*, *hōbbi* and village officials and collectors of taxes such as *sunka*, *pommu*, *samayāchāra*, etc.), for current use by them. Further, the village officials (like the *tōṭi*, *taḷavār* and *nīruganṭi*) were to be provided with

58. See as to the maintenance of State treasure in Europe generally, Bastable, *Public Finance*, 535-540.

wooden planks, and the village forum (*chāvaḍi*) with a staff, impressed as usual with the monogram "Dē" in the middle and the figures of the Sun and the Moon on either side, for use by them under the direction of their chief (*grāmada pārupatyagāra*), especially while attaching the properties of delinquents and claiming the government share of produce from lands. Besides, the managers of temples (*dēvasthānada pārupatyagāra*) in the local parts were to be in charge of the seals thereof, engraved with the names of the respective shrines. Similarly, the general units of weights and measures all over the country, namely, the maund (*maṇa*), $\frac{1}{2}$ maund (*daḍeya*), $\frac{1}{4}$ maund (*pañchēru*), *koḷaga* (measuring 8 seers), *balla* (measuring 2 seers), *seer*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *seer*, $\frac{1}{4}$ *seer*, $\frac{1}{8}$ *seer* and $\frac{1}{16}$ *seer*, were to be suitably impressed with the royal seal, and it was ruled that all commercial transactions were to be conducted only by means of stamped measures. At the same time, the standard weight of 3 *Kanṭhīrāyī-haṇams* being recognised as equivalent to that of 1 *duḍḍu*, the other corresponding denominations were regulated as under; 1 *duḍḍu*—1 *tola*, 24 *duḍḍu*—1 *kachcha seer*; 10 *seers*—1 *daḍeya* ($\frac{1}{2}$ maund); 4 *daḍeya*—1 small maund (*maṇa* of 40 *seers*); 44 to 46 *seers*—1 big maund (*maṇa*). Both in the Palace stores and in the market-places, grains, jaggery, areca, turmeric, tamarind, pepper, chillies and miscellaneous spices were to be measured by the big weight (*i.e.*, at 44 to 46 *seers* per maund) while purchasing them, and by the small weight (*i.e.*, at 40 *seers* per maund) while distributing them for consumption.⁵⁹

Other important measures Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is credited with, generally during c. 1673-1690, were of an economic character, and relate in the main to industries,

6. Industries, trade and commerce.

59. *Ibid.*, 120-122; see also under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XIII, for the reference to "Dē" (Chikkadēvarāja's monogram) as found on boundary stones. On p. 121 of the *Annals*, for 3 *Kanṭhīrāyī-varahas*, read 3 *Kanṭhīrāyī-haṇams*.

trade and commerce. Manufacture and sale of iron goods seems to have been a normal feature of governmental activities during the reign. The professional classes, such as dyers (*baṇṇagāra*), weavers (*dēvāṅga*), tailors (*chippiga*), artisans (*śilpi*), plasterers (*gārekelasadavaru*), day-labourers (*kāmāṭi*) and basket-makers (*mēdaru*), were, under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, to be enabled to ply their respective callings in accordance with their time-honoured traditions.⁶⁰ In particular, on the acquisition of Bangalore by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in July 1687, we learn,⁶¹ not only merchants but also 12,000 families of weavers were securely established there, agreements (*kaulu-karāru*) were entered into with them and facilities afforded for the passage of bales of cloth to various parts of the country and, particularly, to Seringapatam. Trade and commerce were, ordinarily, in the hands of *Setṭis* of the *Vaiśya* and *Baṇajiga* communities. Trade routes were controlled by associations of merchants of various places in different parts of the country (*dēśa-dēśada-mahā-nāḍavartakaru*) and transport of articles was being conducted by means of pack-bullocks (*gōṇi-hēru*). Articles of commerce were liable to local tolls (*sthaḷa-sunka*) and import and export duties (*oḷavāru*, *horavāru*) on the basis of loads, the rates varying according to the nature of the commodity. The systematic expansion of the kingdom of Mysore since 1610 appears to have naturally brought in its train problems of its own for solution at the hands of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, particularly in respect of trade and commerce. Special attention was paid to the strengthening of the forts and bastions of places acquired from the Pāḷegārs, and to the laying out, on an extensive scale, of market-places (*pēṭe*) in those localities. The merchants having, it is said,⁶² represented to Chikkadēvarāja the necessity of bringing together the

60. *Ibid.*, 120.61. *Ibid.*, 110.62. *Ibid.*, 124.

different products—grown on a large scale in various parts of the country—to a prominent trade-centre (*doḍḍa-pēṭe*) for purposes of evaluation (*karagapaḍi*), large scales (*chintālu*) were fixed up in Bangalore, Gubbi, Turuvēkere and other places, where cotton, areca-nut and other articles of trade were to be brought and weighed and later taken to local markets for sale. A sort of trade-emporium for the distribution of economic products over different areas seems thus to have been brought into being. Besides, arrangements were made not only for the export and import of grains, spices, cloth and other things to and from the market-places (*pēṭe*) of the 84 administrative units, but also for the determination of their value and the levy of tolls (*sunka*) on different commodities according to the nature of the stock. The customs department (*sunkada-chāvaḍi*) was reorganized, salaried servants, namely, a *Maṇēgār*, *Śānabhōg* (number not exceeding 3) and *Kōlukārs*, being appointed to look after the same. Similarly officials were posted in suitable numbers to the charge of toll-gates (*ukkaḍa*) on the road-side in the interior of the country. Collections from customs dues were to be accumulated in the cash-chests (*gōlaka*) of the respective administrative units, and merchants in local parts were to be required to set apart a portion of their wares, at rates varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ to one *seer* per load (*hēru*), as contribution (*rusum*) to local deities and allowances to Brāhmins and others.⁶³

Among measures of a miscellaneous character, recorded

7. Miscellaneous
measures.

to have been introduced by Chikka-
dēvarāja Wodeyar during the period
(1673-1686), were⁶⁴ the arrangements
made for the storing and disposal of agricultural produce
(from demesne lands and public lands) and other articles of
every day utility in the principal granary (*doḍḍa-ugraṇa*)

63. *Ibid.*, 126, 142.

64. *Ibid.*, 126-128.

and the newly established minor stores (*chikka-ugrāṇa*) at Seringapatam, and the appointment of stores officials, such as supervisors (*gurikārs*), writers (*karaṇīkaru*), clerks (*gumāstas*), accountants (*śānabhōgs*), measurers (*alāteyavaru*, *tūkadavaru*), guards (*pahareyavaru*), etc., their pay being fixed in cash and in kind according to the nature of their respective duties; the extension of the armoury and the magazine (*jāna-śāle*, *alagūna-chāvaḍi*, *maddina-mane*) in Seringapatam and the storing therein of fireworks of various descriptions (required for use during the *Navarātri* and other festive occasions), together with arrangements for the manufacture on a large scale of weapons of warfare and powder and shot, and for the maintenance of accounts relating to them by a special establishment consisting of *Gurikārs*, *Śānabhōgs* and others.

Although the administrative measures sketched thus far were on the whole attended with a fair measure of success, it appears not improbable, if we are to view things in the light of the Jesuit letter of 1686 already referred to,⁶⁵ that the working of the fiscal reforms, in particular, was hampered by the political crisis of 1682-1686, resulting in a friction between the government and the subjects, especially in the eastern parts of the kingdom of Mysore. One account⁶⁶ has it that despite the facilities afforded, and concessions granted, by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, certain well-to-do and proud ryots organised a stout opposition to the government refusing to pay the revenue dues and openly disobeying the rules and regulations. The agitation, according to this authority, was thus purely fiscal in character. The evidence available, however, seems to indicate that almost simultaneously, during 1682-1686, there was a

65. *Ante*, Ch. XI, f.n. 116-117; *vide* also Ch. XV, for details.

66. *Annals*, I. 123-124.

clash of interests, political and economic. In any case, the troubles were successfully overcome.⁶⁷ And, towards the close of 1686, the levy of house-tax and other imposts, altogether 19 in number, was

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systematised.⁶⁸ These may be classified under two main heads: (1) Local and (2) Communal. Under local were included such items as *Mane-terige* (house-tax), *Hullu-haṇa* (tax on straw from fields), *Dēvarāya-vatṭa* (difference of exchange on defective coins—a currency discount), *Ēru-sunka* (plough-tax), *Guḷuvina-pommu* (tax on plough-share), *Angaḍi-vasara* (tax on moveable booths in the bazaar streets), *Angaḍi-pattāḍi* (tax on workshop attached to a warehouse), *Maggada-kandāya* (loom-tax), *Pāṣavāru* (tax on fishery), *Uppina-mōḷe* (tax on local manufacture of salt from saline earth), *Dana-karu-māruddakke-sunka* (tax on cattle sold), *Kuri-terige* (tax on flocks of sheep), *Giḍa-kāvalu* (tax on pasturage in forest tracts, resorted to by the ryots), *Ubbe-kāṇike* (tax on kettles used by washermen for the boiling and bleaching of cloths) and *Kaudi-terige* (tax on bullock saddles, *i.e.*, on bullocks for hire). Under communal were *Samayāchāra* (dues on conventional practices or usages observed by the folk), *Kūṭāchāra* (dues on corporate rights), *Jāti-mānya* (dues on caste privileges) and *Maduve-terige* (marriage-tax).⁶⁹

67. See Ch. XV below, for details.

68. *Annals*, I. 124. Cf. *Wilks*, according to whom the imposts were levied very early in Chikkadēvarāja's reign and became the *root cause* of the revolt of the Jangamas. Even Dēvachandra, the local traditionalist, hardly supports Wilks, for, according to him, the levy of imposts, about the middle of the reign (*i.e.*, in 1686), was a *consequence* of the Jangama agitation—*vide* Ch. XV, for a detailed critical notice of these authorities.

69. *Ibid*; see also and compare Wilks's list (I. 218-219, *f.n.*) and Rice's list (I. 592, *f.n.*). Most of the imposts, referred to, were common in the Karnāṭaka country in ancient times (see Ch. XV) and in contemporary Mughal India (see Sarkar, *o.c.*, pp. 119-128), though forms seem to have differed. Chikkadēvarāja's revival of them as effective weapons for keeping at bay the turbulent elements, appears to have been justified from the conditions of the times. Wilks's statement (I. 217) that Chikkadēvarāja "had recourse to the law of the *Sasters*, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes," is neither well-founded nor does it sufficiently take into account the actual conditions under which Chikkadēvarāja ruled—*vide* Ch. XV, for a detailed critical notice.

Officials were appointed for the administration and collection of these imposts, a *Maṇēgār*, a *Śānabhōg* and a *Kōlukār* being generally held responsible for each item. Usually all these items of revenue were leased out (*guttigege kottu*), the annual realisations therefrom being ordered to be added on to the aggregate annual land revenue receipts of the respective villages. These imposts, again, were subject to enhancement according to the condition and status of the individual ryot, and it was ordained that the revenue from this source was to be remitted to the central exchequer at Seringapatam along with the local land revenue collections (*sīmc-kandāya*).⁷⁰

With the exception of certain portions of the years 1687-1690, 1695-1697 and 1698-1700, the latter part of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*i.e.*, 1686-1704) might generally be described as a period of peace and settled government, accompanied by systematic consolidation of conquered tracts—especially of those recovered from the Mahrattas. The earlier administrative measures, particularly those relating to land revenue, were enforced, with rigour and discipline, though with due regard to the general well-being of the people. A good harvest to the ryot was the criterion of happiness and prosperity of the subjects and we have contemporary testimony⁷¹ as to how, in keeping with that criterion, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was quite averse to taking from the ryots anything more

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *A. V. C.*, III, 148 (with gloss): *Kannaḍa-nāḍol beḷasugalenitu perchidolan prajegaḷ perchuvār, Chikadēva-mahārāyam satyasandhanādudarim mum mitṛegyaḍa kandāyamanallade peratondū kāsuvīsamānollanu . . .*; see also *C. B.*, p. 4 (prose passage, para 2), testifying to peace in the country, happiness and well-being of the subjects, and blessings of Providence in respect of good rains and crops in the State, during the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign (*enḍeseya prajegaḷaṇḍāṇḍudarim prajegaḷge rājīkabhayamilladeyumu, dēvatāpramādaḍim maḷe-beḷegaḷuṇḍāḍudarim daivikabhayamilladeyumu-mirpudarim, prajegaḷanibarum ihaḍol sogavāḍapar*).

than the standardised share of land revenue dues. So carefully were the resources of the kingdom managed under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja that, towards the close of his reign, it is said,⁷² he was able to leave in his treasury a credit balance of nine crores in the shape of cash and effects, whence he came to be familiarly known as *Navakōṭi-Nārāyaṇa* (Lord of nine crores).

The period 1686-1704 was thus marked by the successful working of the earlier administrative measures of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Though there were no additions or alterations as regards these measures during this period, he is credited with having introduced certain developments in the administrative machinery in and after 1700, shortly after the return of his embassy to the court of Aurangzīb.⁷³ These developments, it is added, had their origin in the Mughal system of the time, and relate to the organization of the following eighteen departments (*chāvaḍi*)⁷⁴ (1) *Nirūpada-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the recording of petitions from the officials to the king and with the disposal of the same in the form of orders (*nirūpa*) duly authenticated by the latter; (2) *Āyakattina-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with accounts—civil and military—of the 84 administrative units (*gaḍigaḷa simeya ādāya-vyayada lekka, sainyada lekka*), of the central exchequer (*Tōshikhāne lekka*) and the king's household (*Kartara khāsā ādāya-vyayada lekka*); (3) *Mysūru-hōbaḷi-vichārada-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the affairs of administrative units south of the Cauvery; (4) *Paṭṭaṇada-hōbaḷi-vichārada-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the affairs of administrative units north of the Cauvery; (5) *Simeya-kandāchārada-chāvaḍi*:

72. *Annals*, I. 151; cf. *Wilks*, I. 120; see also f.n. 56 *supra*.

73. *Ibid.*, 146.

74. *Ibid.*, 146-150; cf. Capt. Read in *Bāramahal Records* (1792), I. 189, para 10; also *Wilks*, I. 119-122, f.n. (including Sir Murray Hammick's list from the *India Office*, on. p. 122, f.n.), and Rice, I. 590-591.

department dealing with accounts of civil and military establishments in the administrative units and of arms, ammunition and stores required for the equipment of the respective units; (6) *Bāgila-kandāchārada-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with accounts relating to the military and civil officials on the Huzūr establishment and the Pāḷegārs; (7) *Sunkada-chāvaḍi*: customs department for the maintenance of consolidated accounts of road-tolls on goods, collected all over the country under the regulations of Chikkadēvarāja, and of import and export duties; (8) *Pommina-chāvaḍi*: a special department intended exclusively for the collection at one-half the scheduled rates, of duties on commodities purchased or disposed of by certain classes of people such as beneficiaries, Brāhmins and officials; (9) *Toḍāyada-chāvaḍi*: a similar department intended for the collection of duties at half the scheduled rates [from certain classes of people] in Seringapatam only; (10) *Paṭṭanada-hōbaḷi-aṣṭagrāmada-chāvaḍi*: department having jurisdiction over the eight *hōbḷis* newly formed under the *Chikkadēvarāja-sāgara* channel; (11) *Mysūru-hōbaḷi-aṣṭagrāmada-chāvaḍi*: department having jurisdiction over the eight *hōbḷis* newly formed under the *Dēva-nālā* (channel)—these two departments being required to attend to the repairs of dams and canals under the Cauvery and the Hēmāvatī and to maintain regular accounts of half the government share of produce from lands irrigated thereunder; (12) *Benṇeya-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the management of Palace cattle, daily collection and disposal of dairy products and the maintenance of accounts relating thereto; (13) *Paṭṭanada-chāvaḍi*: department entrusted with the upkeep of the Palace, fort, bastions, stores and magazine, and the maintenance of law and order, in the capital city of Seringapatam; (14) *Bēhina-chāvaḍi*: department of intelligence—dealing with the speedy

transmission by couriers (*anche-harikāra*) of reports of events from the administrative units to the capital, and with the communication of royal orders (*nirūpa*) thereon to the local parts; (15) *Summukhada-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the maintenance of accounts relating to the members of the Royal Family and the subordinate staff on the various establishments of the king's household—a department which was to be administered by Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya under the direct supervision of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar; (16) *Dēvasthānada-chāvaḍi*: department pertaining to the management of temples all over the kingdom and to the supervision of their budgets; (17) *Kabbināda-chāvaḍi*: department dealing with the purchase of raw iron and manufacture and sale of goods therefrom; and (18) *Hogesoppina-chāvaḍi*: department concerned with the purchase and sale of tobacco in Seringapatam.

Over each department thus organized, a supervisor (*gottugāra*), three record-keepers (*daftaradavaru*), accountants (*gumāsteyaru*), writers (*rāyasadavaru*), a head-peon (*dafēdāra*), menials (*ūligadavaru*), attender (*golla*), watchman (*kāvalugāra*) and torch-bearer (*divaṭigeyavanu*), among others, were appointed. Their pay was fixed in proportion to their relative responsibilities, one half being, as usual, ordered to be paid in cash and the other half in kind. These officials, it was further laid down, were to diligently discharge their duties, safeguarding the interests of government and reporting personally to the king every morning particulars of administration relating to their respective departments. Arrangements were also made for the prompt communication to him of important matters (such as daily occurrences, watch and ward, maintenance of discipline, etc.) pertaining to these departments, to enable him to set right any palpable defect or disorder in the working of the system.⁷⁵

75. *Ibid.*, 150-151.

The changes described thus far may be taken to reflect the mature political and administrative wisdom of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. In any case they cannot be set down as an attempt at merely imitating the standards of the Mughal-Mahratta systems of the time. The idea of eighteen departments (*Aṭhārā-cuchēri*) may have been borrowed from Mughal administrative practice and procedure but the details of the departments, as worked out by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, were essentially indigenous and adapted to local requirements. They also seem to evidence a strong tendency on his part to improve the old institutions and adjust them to the conditions of his own times along more definite and up-to-date lines. He thus systematised the governmental machinery, centralizing much of the power at headquarters while leaving to local officials as much authority as they can be expected safely to discharge. It is significant that this administrative achievement of 1700-1704, which followed closely on the political development attained in Chikkadēvarāja's reign, is yet, in its fundamental features, the basis of the government of to-day.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(cont'd.)

Religion: Sri-Vaishnavism, General tendencies—Sri-Vaishnavism, personal faith of Chikkadevaraja—Principal stages in its development—*First stage*: 1673-1680—*Second stage*: 1680-1696—*Third stage*: 1696-1704—Religio-philosophical convictions of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar—Religious toleration—Gifts, etc.—An irrigation scheme c. 1700-1701; contemporary Jesuit testimony—Grants and other records: (a) 1673-1680—(b) 1681-1695—(c) 1698-1704—Statue of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar—Social life: General features—Cities and towns 1. Srirangapatam—2. Mysore—3. Melkote, etc.—The social order: General culture—Court culture: 1. The Durbar Hall, 2. The King; 3. The courtiers—4. The programme of the Durbar: (a) Music and dancing—(b) Other items—Feasts, festivals, etc.—Position of women—Social legislation: (a) Relating to *Sudras*: The *Sachchudrachara-Nirṇaya*—Its aims and objects—(b) Relating to *Arasu* families—The other side of the shield.

THE period of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's rule (1673-1704) witnessed an important development in the evolution of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, generally as the prevailing creed in the south of India and more particularly as the professed faith of the Mysore Royal Family. Indeed, as we have seen in the earlier chapters, the rapid strides Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism made in Southern India since the memorable battle of *Raksas-Tagḍi* (1565) were coeval with its steady progress as the religion of the Ruling House of Mysore and the development of Vaishnava tradition relating to the origin of the dynasty. Further, we have indications that the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence—ever active in the viceroyalty of

Religion
Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism
General tendencies.

Seringapatam—began to make itself felt on the court life of Mysore, especially on the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Wodeyar in 1610. That influence, however, became more and more pronounced during the subsequent years, consequent on the gradual decline of the Vijayanagar Empire and the rise to prominence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava families of repute, accompanied by the migration of some of their members from the court of the Āraṇiḍu Emperors to that of the Wodeyars of Mysore. Mēlkōṭe and Seringapatam, among others, became the strongholds of rejuvenated Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Mysore. Singarayangār I was closely connected with the Mysore Royal Family as the teacher of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar (younger brother of Rāja Wodeyar and father of Kaṇṭhīravanarasarāja Wodeyar) ; Aḷasingarārya (Singarayangār II), grandson of Singarayangār I and father of Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyangār), became celebrated as the Paurāṇika, friend, philosopher and guide of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar; and Aḷasingarārya and his son Tirumalārya were also important Śrī-Vaiṣṇava celebrities at the court of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (uncle of Chikkadēvarāja). Again, Venkaṭa-Varadāchārya of Eṭṭūr, son of Kōṭṭikanyādānam-Lakshmīkumāra-Tātāchārya of Śrīsaila-vamśa, from the court of Vijayanagar, became the preceptor of Dēvarāja Wodeyar himself. So widespread, indeed, was the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence at the court of Mysore that within half a century from the conquest of Seringapatam, *i.e.*, about the close of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (1659-1673), it showed a tendency to become the chief religion in the State.

At a very early period in his life—particularly during his term of office as Yuvarāja under Dēvarāja Wodeyar, down to about 1668—Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar showed a predilection for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal

Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism,
personal faith of
Chikkadēvarāja.

faith.¹ The influence of education and the training he had received at the hands of his teachers; the strong Śrī-Vaiṣṇava leanings of his own grandfather (Muppina-Dēvarājā Wodeyar) and father (Doḍḍadēvarājā Wodeyar), the latter under the teaching and inspiration of Aḷasingarāya; lastly, the living example of Tirumalāya, companion and colleague of Chikkadēvarājā—these were perhaps factors contributing to that result.² The foundations of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as the personal creed of Chikkadēva had thus been laid long before his accession to the throne of Mysore in 1673. So that, during the period of his actual rule, he was, as he is depicted to us,³ an ardent devotee at the feet of deities like Apratīma-Rājagōpāla of Haradanahalli (*Haradunapurī*), Paravāsudēva of Dēvanagara on the banks of the Kaunḍinī, Gōpāla of Kanjagiri (Gōpālasvāmi hill), Rangēśa of Paśchimaraṅga (Seringapatam) and Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe), among others. Equally devoted was he to Śrī-Krishna, as is borne out by the striking by him of gold coins in the latter's name about 1675, as already mentioned. Further, the *Chāmarāja-nagar Plate* (November 1675)⁴ speaks of him as having brought from Śrī-Mushna the image of Śvēta-Varāhasvāmi (which had been, it is said, lost during the Yavana invasion) and worshipped it with devotion in

1. See, for instance, *C. Vi.*, V, 113-152, depicting Chikkadēvarājā's devotion to God Paravāsudēva, adoption of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks (*Ūrdhva-pundra*), daily worship of Viṣṇu, performance of gifts, acceptance of holy water, etc., during Dēvarājā's reign. Cf. Wilks and other authorities as set out in Ch. XV.
2. See *C. Vam.*, 104-160, 166-184: *C. Vi.*, III and IV; also Ch. X of this work, under *Domestic life*.
3. See *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 96, vv. 2-4, p. 100, v. 3; col. to *Kamālā. Mahāt.*, *Paśch. Mahāt.*, *Yad. Mahāt.*, *Śrī. Mahāt.*, *Su. Sap.*, *Mbh. Śānti* and *Śalya Parva* and *C. Vi.*; also *Sachchū. Nv.*, I, 63; *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 74-75, etc. The *Kamālā. Mahāt.* (III, 80-83) contains also an elaborate account of Chikkadēvarājā's visit to Dēvanagara on the banks of the Kaunḍinī (c. 1677-1678), and of his devotion to God Paravāsudēva there.
4. *E. C.*, IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 32-34; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 139.

Seringapatam. Another record⁵ mentions him as the *Śrī-Vaishṇava-mata-pratiṣṭhāpaka* (establisher of the religion of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas). Others⁶ likewise point to his adoption of Śrī-Vaishṇavism as his personal faith. In keeping with this, we have a picture of the daily routine of his religious avocations (*nitya-vihita-karma*), which, we are told,⁷ used to consist of the following items rising at dawn; contemplation of Viṣṇu; ablutions; wearing ceremonial clothes and besmearing the body with sandal paste; observance of the *Nāmatīrtham*, i.e., putting the *Ūrdhvaṇḍam* and the *Tikā* (Śrī-Vaishṇava marks) on the forehead; performance of the *sandhyā* and *japam* (morning rites); worship of Viṣṇu, reciting His thousand names; acceptance of the holy water and offerings (*tīrtha-prasādam*); offering of oblations (*hōma*, *ājyā-huti*) to fire and bestowal of gifts (of cows, cash, etc.) on pious and deserving Brāhmanas. At the end of this round of religious duties, he would receive the benedictions of Brāhmanas and seat himself on the throne (*hari-pīṭha*) and listen to the exposition by learned scholars of topics of religious merit (like the *Gītā*, the Epics, etc.), after which he would attend to the day's business of state.⁸ Chikkadēvarāja, we learn,⁹ also paid particular attention to the observance of the fast day (*Ēkādaśī*) and the bestowing of gifts on Brāhmanas on the day following, when the breaking of the fast (*Dvādaśī*) came

5 *Ibid*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 432-433, also l. 149

6 *Ibid*, IV (2) Ch. 92; III (1) Sr. 151, My. 7, etc.; see also under *Grants and other records* cited below.

7 *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 88, 91; *Sū. Sap.*, I, 12-13; *Dv. Sū. Cha.*, I, 84-85; *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 80-83; *Bhag. Gī. Tī.*, I, 63-66; *Hast. Māhāt.*, I, 92-97; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, III, 8-15, *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 52-55; *Puṣk. Māhāt.*, I, 48-49; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 63-64, 67-68; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 46, 118-119; *Sachchā. Nīr.*, I, 47-49; also *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 59-63; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 79-83; III (1) Sr. 64, ll. 87-90 (repeating Sr. 14), etc.

8 *Ibid*; cf. Wilks and Dēvachandra as set out in Ch. XV

9 See *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 86-89, 98; *Yād. Māhāt*, ff. 102; *Dv. Sū. Cha.*, I, 90; *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 110-112; also *Annals*, I. 151; *vide* also under *Gifts*, etc., below.

off; visited important places of pilgrimage and bathing-ghāṭs (*sapta-kshētrāṣṭa-tīrthangaḷa darśanam gaidu*), was fond of listening to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava sacred lore; and gave prominence to the *Vajra-makuti* (*Vaira-muḍi*) festival and the *Gajēndrōtsavam* of Śrī-Nārāyaṇa, the famous deity presiding over Mēlkōṭe

The religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, thus described, was evolved during the period of his rule (1673-1704), side by side with the systematic, though mutual and complementary, development of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in general in Mysore.

Three distinct stages are, accordingly, noticeable in this connection. The first stage (1673-1680) may be conveniently regarded as the stage of initiation and preparation; the second (1680-1696) as the stage of expansion; and the third as the stage of culmination. It would be of interest to trace the course of development during each of these stages.

Despite the indications of a promising future for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Mysore by about 1673 and the early leanings of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar towards it, there seems little doubt that other religions like Jainism and Vira-Śaivism were equally active at the court of Mysore during the first part of his reign. The extent of influence of these religions—particularly of Jainism—on Chikkadēvarāja is found much exaggerated in later writings.¹⁰ The truth, however, appears to be, as we shall see, that while Chikkadēva seemed to encourage and even openly tolerate, as became an impartial ruler, other forms of religion that prevailed at his court, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism held its own and kept up a steady and vigorous propaganda against its rivals, systematically initiating him into its

10. See, for instance, the accounts of Dēvachandra and Wilks as set out in Ch. XV of this work.

religious and philosophical subtleties and preparing the ground for its further development. Perhaps one strong point in support of this position is the remarkable output of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature, produced under the direct patronage of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself during this period.¹¹ Another was the influence that was being continually exerted on him and his court by learned Śrī-Vaiṣṇava leaders like Aḷasingarāya and Tirumalāya, and, more markedly, by Chikkupādhyāya.¹² Thus, not only was the religious outlook of Chikkadēvarāja definitely moulded in favour of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism from 1673 onwards but he had also become a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava both by faith and profession by about 1680.

Alongside of this development, Jaina and Vīra-Śaiva cults also continued to flourish at the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar during the succeeding period (1680-1696).¹³ The tendency for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism to overshadow the rival faiths became, however, more pronounced from 1686 onwards, especially after the death of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja, and the accession in his place of Tirumalaiyangār. Between 1686-1696 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism occupied a most prominent position at the court of Mysore. Its philosophical doctrines continued to engage the attention of Chikkadēva in an increasing measure; and, already during this period, he appears to have had a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava preceptor (*āchārya*) also.¹⁴ So powerful, indeed, was

11. See under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV.

12. *Ibid*

13. *Ibid*; also *Rāj. Kath.*, XI 387-391, XII. 480-482.

14. See *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 1, 81, 86, 91, 96, 100, 112 (first verse in each of the *Stavahs* and in the commentary on the *Y. N. Stavah*) and 119, where Vādhūla-Śrinivāsārya, a celebrated Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholar of the time, is mentioned as the preceptor (*Guru, Guruvarya*) of Aḷasingarāya and Tirumalāya, and is further referred to as having taken up his residence in the neighbourhood of Hēmagiri, not far from Mēlkōṭe. Vādhūla-Śrinivāsārya seems to have been closely connected with the court of Seruṅgaṇṇaṁ also through Tirumalāya. See also *Annals*, I. 182, referring to a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava *āchārya* of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence at the court of Mysore that by October 1690 it seems to have become the principal factor underlying Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's classification of the Arasu families in the State and his regulations in regard to them.¹⁵ And by 1693 Chikkadēvarāja had, indeed, come to be known as an out and out Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, while the heavy proselytizing tendencies of the faith had begun to extend over the court circle and beyond.¹⁶ Thus, in June 1693, we learn,¹⁷ the purōhīts and scholars of other sects attached to the court of Chikkadēvarāja were, agreeably to a representation of Tirumalaiyangār, desired to wear the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava marks (*nāmam*) on their foreheads while attending at the Palace during the king's *Nāmatīrtham*. Further, the embracing of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava faith by adopting its credentials (*Pancha-samskāras*, namely, *Chakrāṅkanam*, *Ūrdhvapuṇḍra-dhāraṇam*, *Dāsanāmam*, *Mūlamantrōpāsānam* and *Nārāyaṇa-pūjā*) and the observance of *Vaiṣṇava-dīkshā* were laid down as conditions precedent to any claims to blood-relationship with the Mysore Royal House, in the case of thirteen Arasu families recognised, under the recent classification of Chikkadēva, as of pure blood. Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya were entrusted with the communication of these injunctions to the families concerned. The latter not only acted accordingly but also, under instructions from the Gurikārs, submitted¹⁸ a solemn petition to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in March 1694, expressing their deep sense of gratitude to him for having rescued them from the abyss of social degradation and impurity, and conveying their resolution to adhere to and follow Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism both by faith and by profession under the royal decree. In June 1696, however, these families,

15. See under *Social life* below

16. *Annals*, l.c.; see also *Dēvachandra* in Ch. XV.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*, 192-194.

having experienced certain difficulties due to their having given up their family deities in favour of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava ritualism (*Nārāyaṇa-pūjā*), submitted¹⁹ another petition to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, praying for permission to worship their respective family deities also while adhering to all other Śrī-Vaiṣṇava usages and practices prescribed for them. The permission sought for was granted, Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya being, as usual, desired to communicate the order to the Arasu families

This relaxation in favour of his relations did not mean any desertion of the chief articles of the Vaishnava faith. There is, indeed, ample evidence for the view that Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism reached the culminating point as the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in the closing years of his reign, more particularly from 1698 onwards, under the ever active influence and example of Tirumalaiyāngār. So deep-rooted had become the earlier views of Chikkadēvarāja in regard to Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism that, during the years 1696-1704, they not only attained a remarkable state of maturity and perfection as articles of his creed but also became expressive to a degree. In fact, as a firm and steadfast devotee of Viṣṇu, he had begun to realize the higher life of the spirit, seeking salvation in accordance with the doctrine of faith in God's grace (*Nambuge*) and absolute self-surrender (*Prapatti*), and taking a keen interest in popularising his convictions. Of the directness of appeal and the deep moral fervour, earnestness and sincerity of those convictions, his own writings,²⁰ which can be dated between c. 1700-1704, are a standing testimony. These writings throughout bear the impress

Third stage 1696-1704.

19. *Ibid.*, 134-136.

20. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam* and *Gita-Gōpālam*. For details about these works, see under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV below.



Śrī-Nārāyaṇasvāmi Temple, Mṛkōṭe.

of his personality, and they cannot but be regarded as the vivid expression of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal faith.

Thus, of the Supreme Being and of Salvation, Chikka-
 Religio-philosophical convictions of Chikkaḍavarāja Wodeyar
 dēvarāja Wodeyar, in the course of thirty humble petitions (*Binnapa*)²¹ addressed to Śrī-Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe), says.

"Oh, Lord of Yadugiri! Having settled on the famous peak adorning the Karnāṭaka country. Thou hast attained celebrity as the Protector of all people and as the tutelary deity (*Kula-dēvate*) of the Yadu race. Thou art *Para-brahman*, the primeval cause of the world; Thou art infinite; Thou art manifest in the *Vēdas*, *Purāṇas* and the eighteen *Vidyas*. The *Vēdas* proclaim that the entire business of the world is Thine. As the attendants of a king praise him for the attainment of happiness by his subjects and followers, so do the *Vēdas* praise Thee for the bestowal of eternal happiness on those devotees of Thine following the prescribed course of conduct. The *Gītā* speaks of this, the *Smritis*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* describe it. Indeed those who have grasped the fundamentals of philosophy aver without contradiction that Thou art an object of wonder. Thou art an embodiment of the entire world, being "One" in diversity. Even the things perceived during dream turn out to be real if the philosophy of creation is rightly understood. In my own case, the sword *Nandaka*, which I was actually favoured with by Thee in a dream, has stayed perpetually with me and has enabled me, by virtue of Thy glory, to cut down the enemies who surrounded me in all the four directions. A pious king in this world lays down rules and regulations governing the protection and punishment of his subjects. If he acts up to them regardless of any distinction, he will be

21. C. Br., pp. 1-59. For specific references, see *infra*.

considered as impartial; in scrupulously adhering to them, he will be held as absolute; and in pardoning a delinquent, he will be regarded as kind-hearted. Even so is the case with Thee in awarding Thy retributions to sentient beings according to their actions (*Karma*). Thou art the cause of all creation, and preserver and destroyer too. Thou art the Supreme Lord of all individual souls, and the essence of our relationship is that of master and servant. As the Supreme Being, Thou art at the head of all creation, including animate and inanimate objects, worlds for the experiencing of fruits of past *Karma*, and oceans, heavens and hells of various kinds. Fear of falling into hell vanishes by the mere recitation of Thy name; sinners become purified by contemplating Thee.²²

“Salvation (*Mōksha*) is an end most cherished by those who are free from mundane cares. All the other ends are evanescent: salvation alone is eternal and it is to be attained by right action, right knowledge and right faith. Right action purifies the mind and leads to right knowledge and is, besides, part and parcel of right faith. Right knowledge leads to and develops right faith. Right faith centres round the sincere attachment of a devotee to the Lord. A knowledge of the philosophy of the Supreme Being (*artha-panchaka-tatvajnāna*, *sātvika-śāstra*) is, however, absolutely necessary for the attainment of salvation. As several routes ultimately lead to the same place, so do the *Vēdas*, the *Pāncharātra*, *Yōga*, *Sāṅkhya* and *Pāsupata* schools of philosophy, in depicting Thy greatness, aim at one and the same goal. Oh, Lord of Yadugiri! To those who have renounced the world and placed their trust in Thee, Thou art easily accessible. Renunciation of worldly desire, as is taught by the elders, is easiest to achieve and is governed by the conception of relationship between

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-13, 14-15, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 23-25, 28-29, 30-36, 87-89.

master and servant. Indeed, if a servant disregarding the king, his master, acquires for his personal use and spends away, according to his own whims, all that is due to the latter from the different parts of the kingdom, such a servant is to be considered as being both avaricious and treacherous. If he, on the other hand, realising his own position, places before his master all the things amassed or acquired in his name and serves him, receiving from him whatever he spares after his use—in the shape of food, raiments, jewels, etc.—such a servant is worthy of being regarded as impartial and sincere. Similarly, if a person, not knowing his self, enjoys worldly pleasures thinking that he is himself absolute, such a person will neither achieve renunciation of desire nor be devoted to Thee. If he, however, realising that he is Thy servant, conscientiously serves Thee by following the prescribed course of conduct (*Varṇāśrama dharmanga*), and experiences the pleasures extended by Thee through the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras*, he is to be regarded as really devoted to Thee. Mere action (*Karma*) is not a sufficient means to attain salvation : it is just like service rendered by a servant to his master, governed by considerations of time, remuneration and the ego ; it is also of a two-fold character, good and bad (*satkarma*, *dushkarma*), eternal and optional (*nityam*, *kāmyam*), and the latter (*i.e.*, *dushkarma*, *kāmya-karma*) plunges one in illusion (*avidya*) and the eternal prison-house of this world (*samsāramemba serevaneyol keḍapi*), from the fetters of which there is no chance of redemption. Devotion to Thee, trust in Thee and service and absolute surrender at Thy feet—these alone lead to such redemption.²³

“ Let Thy grace, Oh, Lord of Yaduśāila, dawn upon me. I have approached the shadow of Thy feet to rid myself of all my troubles. Make me refreshed by satisfying my cravings. Let Thy accessibility to Thy devotees

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43, 44-52, 53-57.

(*bhakta-sulabhate*) manifest itself, and may Thou settle in the abode of my heart. Favour me with Thy true form manifested in the *Vēdānta*, the foremost of all the *Vidyas*; relieve my mental torpor and enable me to gain true knowledge and devotion at Thy feet. Let me be considered a servant of Thine and be made to float on the waves of the ocean of Thy kindness. Let the excellent doctrine of unity in diversity (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*) be established in my mind. What am I in the ocean of Thy virtues! Let me be tolerated for having attempted to describe Thy glory. Let Thou be pleased with my humble words gathered from my association with elders devoted to Thee. Let me be favoured with eternal happiness and glory. I have placed my absolute trust in Thee. Let the sweet radiance effulging from the corner of Thine eyes be showered on me; let ignorance and passion (*rajastamōguṇa*) in me vanish and goodness (*satva-guṇa*) be increased. Let me not be forgotten in Thy ever active business of the world. Realising that my being, form, etc., are entirely under Thy control, I have withdrawn myself from all selfish pursuits. Worldly pleasures are transient. I desire only to serve Thee, which is eternal enjoyment. Let me be confirmed in this. Let my fear of hell be eradicated; let not my sins be made much of; let me be purged of them and protected. Let me be considered a devoted servant of Thine. I surrender myself at Thy feet and seek salvation." ²⁴

Again, holding communion with and realizing the divine attributes of Viṣṇu, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, in the *Gīta-Gōpālam*,²⁵ speaks of trust in God's grace (*Nambuge*) and self-surrender to Him (*Prapatti*) as means to the attainment of salvation by the people :

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, 13-15, 17-18, 20-22, 24-27, 29, 31, 36, 39, 41, 43-44, 46, 48-50, 52-57.

25. Pp. 1-70. For specific references, see *infra*.

"To the people of this world the hope of salvation lies only in the philosophy underlying the *Gītā*. As a physician administers medicine in the form of milk to the sick person who desires it, so does Chikkadēvarāja expound that philosophy to them.²⁶

"Oh, Lord Paśchima-Ranga! Tell me whether Thou knoweth not this. It is a source of pleasure for me to know that I am Thy man. I do not recollect anybody else except Thee, nor did I have trust in mere action, knowledge, faith and renunciation. In boyhood there is much aberration; in youth much vain pleasure; in old age there is liability of the body to diseases of various types. The fruits of *Karma* never cease. Systems of philosophy are many and among them are some disputations. The truth can never be made out by penetrating into them. Knowledge is never a sufficient means to salvation. By subjecting the body to mortification, by controlling the passions and by rigorous concentration, renunciation can never be achieved. Without giving up the hankering after the material world there can be neither true faith nor salvation.²⁷

"Oh, Lord Krishna! I do not accept anybody except Thee. I know Thy glory. If Thou forsake me I cannot live. I cannot be carried away by mere desire nor descend to the lower plane. I do not transgress the bounds of propriety nor am I particular about other Gods and the results they confer. I cannot swerve from the standard of duty laid down (*Mudre*), even for once. I do not speak with fools nor mix with tricksters. Neither do I merely hope for without understanding the nature of things, nor tease Thee by entering the wrong path. I do not enter different routes and wander here and there, nor engross myself in sensual pleasures. I do not wish to be born again in this world.²⁸

26. *Gī. Gō.*, pp. 2-3, vv. 10-11.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

"I am gratified to-day. Giving up all other things, I stand firmly rooted in my position as a servant of Thine. Prostrating at Thy feet, wearing Thy sacred *Ṭikā* and *Mudras* and the clothes, undertaking Thy service, accepting Thy offerings and gifts, looking at Thy divine figure, playing before Thee, mixing with Thy servants, recounting Thy virtues, relying upon Thy infinite love, bending at the feet of Thy devotees, acting according to Thy grace and becoming the servant of Thy servants, as I have been, protect me, Oh, Lord!²⁹

"I am always listening to Thy glory and praising Thee. I am settling Thee in my heart, beautifying and devoutly worshipping at Thy beautiful feet. Thou art my Lord; My attachment and love are no burden to Thee. Happy indeed am I, having alighted all my burdens at Thy feet.³⁰

"Oh, people of the world! place your trust in our Lord, Yādava Nārāyana, and be happy. Look back with scorn on your previous conduct; behave well at present to avoid censure in the future. From hence follow one line of truth and be good. Understand your position well. Cling to an approved course of conduct. Revileāt pride, prejudice and arrogance. Enter on the path agreeable to the good. Shuffle off the hard knot (*biruganṭu*) of *Karma* and cleanse away the dust of evil from your minds. With a pure heart and mind, follow the right standards and live on well for ever.³¹

"Tear off and cast away the conceit that we can obtain release by our own conduct. Trust in the higher powers, alight your burden, have peace and attain bliss. Trust in the Supreme Being (*Parama Puruṣa*). He removes all sins caused by the senses and purges out all defilement. He exalts you to the plane of your elders and confers prosperity on you. He forgets and forgives the sins of past birth and grants whatever is sought for. He

29. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

shines in the heart of hearts, yielding infinite pleasure. He cuts at the root of *Karma* and shuts the mouth of Death. He grants purity of mind and loves and protects one and all. He is the life-spirit of all his devotees.”³²

Of the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar thus evolved, toleration was, from the beginning, a prominent feature. Although, as indicated, his early education and training had been conducted under the essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influences of the time, it was broad-based enough to enable him to understand and appreciate the points of view of religions other than Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. This particular feature of his attainments was, it would seem, fully developed during the period 1668-1673 when he came into contact with Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit and Śhaḍakṣharaiya, representatives, respectively, of the Jaina and Vīra-Śaiva religions. They, together with Tirumalārya, not only became his colleagues during his studies but their association with him appears to have given him ample opportunities to discuss with them the fundamentals of their respective faiths.³³ The spirit of enquiry and discussion became so strongly developed in him during the period, that it continued to dominate his character throughout his reign (1673-1704). Ordinarily, during years of peace, religious disputations and discussions formed a regular feature of the activities of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar’s court.³⁴ Chidānanda, a contemporary Jaina writer, testifies³⁵ to Chikkadēvarāja’s penetrating

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

33. See *Rāj. Kath.*, XII 474-475, where Dēvachandra, for instance, speaks of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as earnestly engaging himself in listening to discussions on Śrī-Vaiṣṇava, Vīra-Śaiva and Jaina systems of philosophy, conducted, respectively, by Tirumalārya, Śhaḍakṣharī and Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit, each of them an expert exponent of his faith. There seems little doubt that Chikkadēvarāja, in his religious and philosophical studies, brought to bear a mind well trained in the principles of dialectics, as testified to by Tirumalārya (see text of f n. 5 in Ch. XI).

34. See under *Social life* below.

35. *Munivam*, I, 7; see also *Kāmand. Nī.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 69: *Sakala-dharmācāra-yuktam*

knowledge of the secrets of all forms of faiths (*sakala-mārgada marmadoḷaga-naridu*), and refers to³⁶ his constant enquiries into and discussions on Mīmāṃsa, Śaiva, Vaishnava and Jaina systems of philosophy and religion (*parama Mīmāṃsa Śaiva vara Vaishṇava Jaina samaya charcheyoḷirda*). The composition of his own Council—consisting of Jaina, Vira-Śaiva and Brāhmanical elements—in the early part of his reign points to the breadth of his religious outlook. As already indicated, he encouraged, and even openly professed, the doctrines of sects and creeds other than Śrī-Vaishnavism. His grants, as we shall relate,³⁷ were made to all the three sects of Brāhmanical Hinduism—Smārthas, Śrī-Vaishnavas and Mādhvas, though the Śrī-Vaishnavas generally secured a greater share of them than the other two sects. Grants and concessions were likewise made, and extended, to the Jainas and Vira-Śaivas,³⁸ though their comparative rarity from 1686 onwards has, perhaps, to be explained by the ascendancy of Śrī-Vaishnavism in court circles during that period. Of Jainism, it is said³⁹ that it so profoundly impressed Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in the early years of his reign that he went to the extent of observing the absolute sanctity of all animal life (*jīva-dayāparanāgi*), giving up certain prohibited things and ordering the servants of his own (Palace) household to bring only purified water for his use. Again, Chidānanda, speaking of certain differences caused by his own succession to the Jain pontifical seat (of Chārūkīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgīndra) at Śravaṇa-Belagōla, tells us⁴⁰ how he was securely established there with the help of Chikkadēvarāja. As regards Śaivism, Chikkadēvarāja, in his own work *Gīta-Gōpālam*, refers⁴¹ to his respect for

36. *Ibid.*, I, 151.

37. *Vide* under *Grants and other records* below.

38. *Ibid.*

39. See *Dēvaachandra* in Ch. XV.

40. *Munivam.*, II, 89-101; see also under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIV.

41. P. 51, v. 2 (in the *tripadī* at the bottom of the page):

Śivana pavanageydu Śiva-nenisidi-pāda |

Kavidu kallige jīva-kaṣeyitta-pāda ||



Śrī-Paravāṇḍēva Temple, Gundlupet

and devotion to Śiva. Another well-known contemporary source⁴² speaks of him as having been ever engaged in the worship of the Jangamas, and of his having always busied himself in the discussion of the excellent *Śivāchāra* doctrine. It seems to have been the key-note of his policy that all sects and communities in his kingdom were to be protected.⁴³ Above all, the note of universalism pervading the *Gīta-Gōpālam* significantly points to toleration as an article of his personal faith.

Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is, like his predecessor, reputed for the numerous gifts he made alike to individuals and institutions in and outside the kingdom. In particular, under his active encouragement, learned and deserving Brāhmanical families were, we learn,⁴⁴ constantly settled in Mēlkōṭe, Śrīrangam, Anjanagiri, Kānchi, Vikshavana, Rāmēśvaram, Śankhamukha, Darbhāśayanam, Benares, Dvārāvātipura (Dvāraka?), Jagannātha and Prayāga. One of the earliest of his acts of piety was, it is interesting to note,⁴⁵ the temple he got built in honour of God Paravāsudēva, on the western bank of the Kaundinī, near Guṇḍlu-Terakaṇāmbi (Trikadambanagarī), in the Mādala-nāḍu, for the attainment of perpetual bliss by his father Doddadēvarāja Wodeyar: it was provided with a car, pavilion, outer enclosure-wall and tower (*vimāna-manṭapa prāṁśu prākāravara-gōpuraiḥ*). In the temple thus formed, the images of God Paravāsudēva and Goddess Kamalavallī and the processional image of the God with the two Goddesses (Nāchyārs)

42 *Chāṭu* verses on Chikkadēvarāja, cited in the *Mys Gaz.* (II. iv. 2462) from *Chāṭupadyamanimanjari* (Ed. by V. Prabhākara Śāstri):
Jangamārchanamū . . . nējāna sēyu . . . sajjana śuddhamagu
Śivāchāra darsanamunē sarasu derugu.

43. See, for instance, *Munivam.*, I, 155:

Sarva varṇāśrama pālana pūrvaka urviya pālipudondū |
Sārvabhaunōpama gambhīravādūtāne sarvaru taledūgisutide ||

44. *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 112-116.

45. *Ibid.*, ll. 120-132.

which were, it is said, brought from Śivasamudram, were set up and an annual provision of 6,000 *varahas* was made for the services to the God and for the conduct of a *Rāmānuja-kūṭa*.⁴⁶ Further, a quadrangular *agrahāra* named *Pūrva-śataka*, otherwise called *Dēva-nagara*, was specially formed to the west of the temple, and trained Brāhmanical scholars of the three sects (Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, Mādhvas and Smārthas) were brought in from far and near and settled there with shares (*vrittis*) bestowed on them, exclusively for carrying on the daily and periodical services in the temple.⁴⁷ A relic of this once flourishing institution is, perhaps, to be seen in a mutilated image of God Paravāsudēva, now in the Vijayanārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Gundlupet, with an inscription⁴⁸ on its pedestal referring to the God as *Apratīma-Paravāsudēva* (*Śrī-Vāsudēvarāya suprasanna Śrīmadapratīma-Paravāsudēvaḥ*). Among other acts of piety Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is credited with are the setting up of a temple in Seringapatam to the processional image of God Śvēta-Varāhasvāmi from Śrī-Mushna, with his name inscribed on the pedestal as *Śrīmadapratīma Chikkadēvarāja Waḍēru*;⁴⁹ the construction of a temple to God Gōpālakrishnasvāmi (Apratīma-Rājagōpāla) at Haradanahalli and Varadarājasvāmi at Varakōḍu;⁵⁰ the setting up and consecration of God Venkaṭēśvara in the fort of Bangalore;⁵¹ the endowment of gold ornaments to the two Nāchyārs in the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mēlkōṭe;⁵² the enlargement

16. *Annals*, I. 137-138

47. *E.C.*, *Ibid.*, II. 132-143; see also and compare *Annals*, I. 138.

48. *Ibid.*, Gu. 104-105; see also Ch. X, f.n. 195.

49. *Ibid.*, My. 89 (*M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 57, para 128; 1918, p. 59, para 130); also *Annals*, I. 139.

50. *Annals*, I. 140.

51. *E. C.*, IX. Bn. 118 (1705), II. 7-8: *Bengalūra kōṭe waḷage tamma appāyavaru nūtanavāgi pratīṣṭhe māḍisidanthā Venkaṭēśvara-svāmi*, where Kaṇṭhirava II (1704-1714) refers to the consecration of the God during his father's (Chikkadēvarāja's) reign

52. *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 287 (*M.A.R.*, 1908, p. 23, para 76).



Śrī-Venkaṭeśvarasvāmī (Venkatarāmanasvāmī) Temple, Fort Bangalore. - A side view

of the bridge, the construction of a *maṇṭapa* of six *anḱanams* near the Maṇikarṇikā-kshētra, and the endowment of a silver spoon (*tīrtha-bēra*) to the temple of Varāhasvāmi at Seringapatam; ⁵³ the provision for the upkeep of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples at different sacred places (like the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, Nanjangūd, Mēlkōṭe, Seringapatam, Yeḍatore, Rāmanāthapur, Karīghaṭṭa, Benares, Rāmēśvaram, Kānchi, Śrīrangam, Kumbakōṇam, etc.), and for the livelihood of the needy, the indigent and the defectives; and the grant of special endowments (*rakṭa-koḍige*) to the families of those who had fallen on the field of battle in the service of the country and the king.⁵⁴

No less important as an act of gift as of public utility was an irrigation scheme launched out by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar between c. 1700-1701. Damming the Cauvery to the west of Seringapatam, we are told,⁵⁵ he had canals excavated from both sides of the river, the northern canal being led on to a considerable distance by way of the Karīghaṭṭa hill and named after himself as *Chikkadēvarāja-sāgara*, and the southern canal, to the south of Seringapatam, being designated as *Dēva-nālā*.

In a Jesuit letter dated in 1701,⁵⁶ we have an interesting contemporary account of the beginnings of this project. During 1700-1701, according to this source,⁵⁷ the river (Cauvery or the Coleroon) continued to be so dry that the inhabitants of Madura and Tanjore dreaded a general famine. "Nevertheless," continues the letter,⁵⁸ "the rains had fallen in the usual season, and the waters which rush from the mountains would have

53. *I. M. C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 54-55.

54. *Annals*, I. 140-142; *Mys. Rāj. Cha.*, 31. 55. *Ibid.*, I. 116; *Ibid.*, l.c.

56. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 315-322: Lockman's *Travels*—Father Martin to Father De Villette.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

58. *Ibid.*; see also pp. 211-212.

entered the Coloran [Coleroon] sooner than ordinary, had not the king of Maissoor [Mysore] stopped their course by a prodigious mole he raised and which extended the whole breadth of the canal. His design was to turn off the waters by the bank in order that these flowing into the canals dug by him might refresh his dominions. But while he thus resolved to make his own lands fruitful and thereby increase his revenues, he was going to ruin the two neighbouring kingdoms, those of Madura and Tanjaour [Tanjore]. The waters would not have begun to rise there before the end of July, and the canal would have been dry by the middle of September. The two princes, zealous for the welfare of their respective kingdoms, were exasperated at this attempt; upon which they united against the common enemy in order to oblige him, by force of arms, to destroy a mole which did them such vast prejudice. They were making great preparations for this purpose when the river Coloran [Coleroon] revenged (as was the phrase here) the affront which had been put upon its waters, by captivating them in the manner the prince in question had done. During the time the rains descended but moderately on the mountains, the mole stood and the waters flowed gently into the canals dug for that purpose; but the instant they fell abundantly, the river swelled to such a degree that it broke the mole and dragged it impetuously along. In this manner the prince of Maissoor [Mysore], after putting himself to a great expense, was frustrated, in an instant, of the immense riches which he had hoped to gain." Although the scheme of an embankment on the Cauvery, thus originated by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar in the very beginning of the eighteenth century, proved to be a failure owing to freaks of nature, the document we have quoted from amply testifies to the brilliancy of his constructive effort in a department of public works, which seems to have

profoundly impressed his critical contemporaries, the Jesuit Fathers. The canals, evidently offshoots of the scheme, are, however, extant as the vestiges of Chikkadēvarāja's rule; but there is hardly any doubt that he was the forerunner of the later developments that Mysore has witnessed in the last half a century and more.⁵⁹

Among the extant records of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (most of which—
 Grants and other records especially the copper-plate grants
 (a) 1673-1680 issued by him—bear his signature in Kannada as *Śrī-Chikkadēvarājah* and are impressed with the Boar seal), a lithic one on an *anicuṭ* at Doḍḍa-Bēlūr, Salem district, dated in 1673,⁶⁰ refers to its construction by Kumārāya (Kumāra-Rāya), Daḷavāi of Chikkadēvarāja. Another, dated April 18, 1673,⁶¹ records the erection of a temple to Gauramma at Channarāyapaṭṇa by Basavāya, son of Doḍḍāya, a feudatory of Chikkadēva. A copper-plate inscription in the possession of the Lingāyat *maṭh* at Hullamballi, Maḷavalli taluk, also dated in the same year,⁶² registers a grant by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, on the holy occasion of a solar eclipse, of 212 *varahas*, to Rudramunidevārādhya, lord of the Rēvaṇārādhya *maṭha* at Hullamballi, situated to the north-west of Muḍakatore (Muḍadore), to provide for the paraphernalia and expenses of the Svāmi's annual pilgrimage to Śrīśailam. The paraphernalia, according to the record, consisted of 5 *kambis* or bamboo laths for carrying burdens, a musical

59. See also *Ibid.*, p. 212, f.n. 15, S. K. Aiyangar's Editorial note, for a similar estimate.

60. *I. M. P.*, II. 1216, Sa. 107 s. 1595.

61. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Cn. 156 *Pramāḍīcha*, *Varāḥa* su. 11 [12?] Friday.

62. *M.A.R.*, 1920, pp. 40-41, para 96 *Pramāḍīcha* "It is stated as a reason for the grant," writes R. Narasimhaachar, "that the *prasāda* of God Mallikārjuna of Śrīśaila presented by the Svāmi to the king enabled him to gain undisputed possession of the kingdom." "The grant," he also adds, "closes with the signature of the king, *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa*." Unfortunately, however, the original of this document has not yet been made available.

band, a Nandi flag, parasols, chowries, a palankeen with bearers and a number of retainers. Among the expenses, it is further interesting to note, was included the annual fee of 18 *varahas* for a Brāhmin who was to perform the Mrityunjaya-japam in the Mallikārjuna temple every morning, naming the *nakshatra* or asterism under which the king was born. A lithic record, dated January 28, 1674,⁶³ refers to the construction of a large gateway (*kallu hebbāḡilu*) at Kunigal, named the Mysore Gate (*Maisūra bāḡalu*), by Siddarājaiya of Talakād, local agent of Chikkadēvarāja. On December 6, 1674 (*i.e.*, on the day of the annual ceremony of his father Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar), Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, according to the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant*,⁶⁴ having formed a second quadrangular *agrahāra* (of well-furnished houses each fifty feet square) named *Dvitiya-sataka*, in the country to the west and north of the Kaundinī not far from Dēvanagara, granted it exclusively to eighty Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Vēdic Brāhmins of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *sākkhas*, with shares (*vrittis*) in sixteen villages, in the Arikūṭhāra-sthala in the Hadinād-sīma to the north of Dēvanagara, yielding annually 828 *nishkas*. Again, the *Chāmarājanagar Plate*, dated November 25, 1675,⁶⁵ records the grant by Chikkadēvarāja—also on the anniversary day of Doḍḍadēvarāja's death—for the merit of his father, of two villages named Kabbiligana-pura (otherwise called *Chikkadēvarāḡapura*) and Hullaṇa (otherwise known as *Krishṇāpura*), in the Terakaṇāmbi country, to Krishṇa-Yajva of Śrīvatsa-gōtra,

63. E. C., XII Kg. 7. s. 1595, *Pramadicha, Māgha su.* 2, Wednesday.

64. *Ibid.* Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115, ll. 151-200 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, pp. 56-57, para 127). Though the grant was made on December 6, 1674 (*s.* 1596, *Ānanda, Margaśira ba.* 3, Sunday), the record itself, for reasons stated in Ch. XIV (see under *Literary activity*: *Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya*), appears to have been actually composed between 1686-1690. Cf., *Annals*, I. 138-139.

65. *Ibid.* IV (2) Ch. 92 (*M.A.R.*, 1909, p. 26, para 100). s. 1597, *Rakshasa, Margaśira ba.* 3, Thursday.

Āpastambha-sūtra and Yajusśākha, son of Śrīnivāsārya and grandson of Śrīnivāsa, as a gift for having performed through him the funeral ceremonies of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar at Gaya. A lithic record, dated March 24, 1676,⁶⁶ relates to Chikkadēvarāja's gift of the village of Bommanahallī, in Uḍuvankanāḍu-sthala, to provide for a work of merit, namely, an inn for the distribution of food to Brāhmins in Haradanahallī (*namma dharmavāgi Brāhmarige anna-ṣatra naḍeva mariyādege dhārā-dattavāgi*). Among other records of 1676 are two lithic ones from the Coimbatore district.⁶⁷ One of these refers to the erection of *maṇṭapams* and the grant of a *salagai* of paddy land by two private individuals (Ranganātha Setṭi and another) to the temple of Subrahmaṇya at Kumārapālayam; another, from the Gōbichettipālayam taluk, records the building by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar of a temple for God Kumārasvāmi on the Dhavalagiri hill in the Dūrvāsa-kshētra, near the confluence of the rivers Chintāmanī and Bhavānī at Satyamangalam in the Uḍuvankanāḍu. Two duplicates of a *śāsana-nirūpa*, dated May 8, 1677,⁶⁸ and addressed to Hanpaya of Arkalgūḍ Aṣṭavaṇe-sthala, communicate an order of Chikkadēvarāja confirming in his office of hereditary Śānbhogi of Arkalgūḍ one Venkaṭapati, son of Bhaira-Hebbāruva, who had vindicated his claims against the accusations of his enemy Nanjappa, son of Narasappa, an associate or deputy (*hastaka*) of Bhaira-Hebbāruva. A lithic record, dated [January 7] 1678,⁶⁹ registers the grant by Chikkadēvarāja, on the occasion of *Makara-Sankrānti*, of the village of Muṇḍūr as an *agrahāra*. Another, from the Tīruchchengōḍu taluk, dated Febru-

66. *Ibid.*, Ch. 138 : s. 1598, *Naḷa*, *Chastra* ba. 5.

67. *I. M. P.*, I. 527, Ch. 74 : 551, Ch. 300 (*M. E. R.*, 1909-1910, No. 209) : s. 1598, *Naḷa*.

68. *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 2 and 3 : *Paṇṇaḷa*, *Varśakha* ba. 2. See also under *Social life* below.

69. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Yd. 42 : *Paṇṇaḷa* [*Pushya* ba. 9], Monday.

ary 3, 1678,⁷⁰ refers to the presentation of the images of *Dvārapālakas* to the temple of Channarāya-Perumāḷ (Channakēśava) at Rāyadurga (Śankhagiri, also called Kunnattūr-durga), by Muddaiya, agent of Nanjanāthaiya, an officer of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. A third, dated April 7, 1679,⁷¹ records the setting up and consecration of the images of Subrahmaṇya and the Aravattumūvar (the 63 Śaiva saints) in the temple of Kailāsanātha at Tārūmangalam (Vāmalūr taluk, Salem district), by Kempaiya, son of Śāmaiya (Chāmaiya), agent of Chikkadēvarāja. Among other records of 1679 (*Siddhārthi*), a lithic document⁷² from the Gauri-Śankara temple, Talakād, refers to the establishment of God Mallēsa—otherwise known as Gauri-Śankara—in Kariavana (Talakād), by Kottūraiya, agent of Chikkadēva; a *nirūpa*⁷³ speaks of a gift by the latter (*tyāge pālistaru*), and a copper-plate charter⁷⁴ describes a grant made by him (Chikkadēvarāja), in the presence of God Venkaṭēsa of Nilāchala (Karighaṭṭa), of payments to four Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins. The *Garaṇi copper-plate charter*, dated January 21, 1680,⁷⁵ records the formation by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, on the occasion of *Ardhōdaya*, of an *agrahāra* named *Chikkadēvarāyapura* in the village of Garaṇi and the six hamlets attached thereto (in the Bijjavara-sīme), and the grant of the same, divided into 50 shares, in the presence of God Ranganātha, to Brāhmins of various *gōtras*, *sūtras* and

70 *M.E.R.*, 1930, p. 51, App. B. No 512 s. 1600, *Paṅgaḷa*, *Māgha ba.* 7. The *Report* places the record in 1679, taking s. 1600 as an expired year. But *Paṅgaḷa* actually corresponds to s. 1599. Taking the data of the cyclic year as the more correct data, the record is to be dated February 3, 1678.

71 *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 75, App. C. No 316 K. Y. 4780, *Siddhārthi*, *Chittirai* 10, Monday.

72 *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, TN. 203 (*M.A.R.*, 1912, p. 57, para 128).

73 *I.M.C.*, No 19-1-52, p. 10. 74 *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 151.

75 *Ibid.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Bn 144 (*M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 58, para 130): s. 1601, *Siddhārthi*, *Pushya ba.* 30. This record is composed by Abhāni-Venkaṭāchārya of Kausika-gōtra (evidently a functionary of Chikkadēvarāja), and engraved by Virupārya, son of Gurumūrti (*vide* ll. 94-95).

śākhās, 40 of them Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, 5 Mādhvas and 5 Smārthas. Among other records of the period are inscriptions⁷⁶ registering a provision for the daily oblations to God Nārāyaṇa at Mēlkōṭe by Daḷavāi Kumāraiya, and for the feeding of Brāhmanas during the *Mahānarama*, by Niyōgi Bhānōji-Paṇḍita, respectively.

A lithic record, dated in November 1681,⁷⁷ refers to a grant for God Nannēśvara of Hinakal
 (b) 1681-1695 by Appūrāya-Hebbāruva (an agent of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar for the collection of customs dues). Another, dated in September 1682,⁷⁸ records a gift by Chikkadēvarāja of the village of Mādāpura in Bidure-sīme to God Ānjanēya. A third, dated January 24, 1685,⁷⁹ registers the grant by Chikkadēva of the village of Yēchiganahalli, in the Mysore hōbli, to "Doḍḍa-Paṇḍita of Yeḷavandūr" (Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita of Yeḷandūr). A fourth, dated May 8, 1685,⁸⁰ speaks of his having got constructed a "meritorious and large pond" (*Śringāra-koḷa*) in the fort at Maḷavalli, for the perpetual increase of his merit and fame. A fifth, dated August 12, 1685,⁸¹ deals with the grant by him, at the time of Kṛṣṇa-Jayanti, of certain lands in Mānikāpura (excluding the garden land therein, inherited by Tirumalaiyangār), for the worship of God Gōpālasvāmi who, it is said, had appeared to Aḷasingaraiyangār (Singaraiyangār II, father of Tirumalaiyangār). The *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter*, dated November 19, 1686,⁸² records how Doḍḍa-Dēvaiya, a servant of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar

76 *I.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, pp. 55-56.

77 *E.C.*, III (1) My 11. *Durmati, Kārtika śu.?*

78 *Ibid.*, XII Gb 52. s. 1564, *Dundubhi, Bhādrapada ba.?* The *śaka* date here is an error for 1604.

79 *Ibid.*, III (1) Nj 41. s. 1686, *Raktākṣi, Pushya ba. 30*. Rice places this record in 1684, but the data contained in it actually correspond to January 24, 1685. Cf. Dēvachandra in Ch. XV.

80 *Ibid.*, M1 61. s. 1607, *Kṛōdhana, Vaiśākha śu 15*.

81 *Ibid.*, My 7. s. 1607, *Kṛōdhana, Śrāvana ba. 8*.

82 *Ibid.*, Sr. 14. s. 1608, *Akshaya, Mārgaśīra śu 15*.

and son of Cheluvamma, bearer of golden goblet to the wife of king [Chikka] Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, set up the image of Śrī-Kōdanḍa-Rāma, with Sita and Lakshmana in attendance, in the middle precincts on the southern side of Seringapatam, and how, with the object of providing for the God's worship and festivals, he presented the village of Avvērahaḷḷi (belonging to Baḷaguḷa) with the permission of Chikkadēvarāja. A lithic record, dated November 3, 1690,⁸³ speaks of Chikkadēva as having caused to be made a *maṇṭapa-brindāvana* at Maddagiri. A *nirūpa*, dated November 28, 1692,⁸⁴ addressed by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar to Sunkada-Linga, records the remission of tolls and other dues over the property belonging to God Allālanātha of Hangaḷa. Another, of the same date,⁸⁵ addressed by Chāmaiya (an official of Chikkadēvarāja) to the *Maṇēgārs* and *Kōlukārs* of the Terakanāmbi-sīme, is to the following effect: "Marriage-tax (*maḍuve-sunka*), tax on live cattle (*jīva-danada-sunka*), tax on workshops (*paṭṭaḍi-sunka*), etc.—all these taxes should not be collected from the village of Yaḍavanahaḷḷi. On the roadside in the Terakanāmbi-sīme, no obstruction should be caused to the passage of bulls while conveying them after purchase." An inscription from Avanāśi, dated in 1695,⁸⁶ records the grant to God Avanāśīśvara, by Gurikār Mallaiya (an agent of Chikkadēva), of the fees of 14 *panams* (*hana*) on some bags and 12 on some other bags of goods. Among the records of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, assignable to the period c. 1681-1695, an epitaph⁸⁷ at Bantēnahallī, Bēlūr taluk, registers a gift by him; a

83. *Ibid.*, XII Mi. 15: s. 1612, *Pramōḍita*, *Kārtika* su. 12, Thursday. The week-day seems apparently an error for Monday.

84. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-52, p. 32. *Āngirasa*, *Mārgasira* su. 1. The actual wordings of the order are: *Sunkavannu mannisi sarva-mānyavāgi naḍesikonḍu baruvahāge nēmisidēve*.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 33: *Ibid.*

86. *I. M. P.*, I. 523, Cb. 85: s. 1617, *Yuva*.

87. *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 55, para 130.

number of boundary stones⁸⁸ from parts of Gundlupet, Chāmarājanagar and Nanjangūd taluks are found to contain the official monogram introduced by Chikkadēvarāja, namely, *Dē Maisūru, Maisūru Dē*; a lithic inscription⁸⁹ on a wall in the verandah of the Vimala-Tirthankara-Basti at Bellūr speaks of the erection of the *Chaityālaya*—on the land granted by [Chikka] Dēvarāja Wodeyar—by Sakkare Setṭi, son of Doḍḍa-Ādanṇa Setṭi and grandson of Hulikal Padmanṇa Setṭi, on the advice of his Guru Lakshmīsēna-Bhaṭṭāraka, lord of the thrones of Delhi, Kollāpur, Jina-Kanchi and Penukoṇḍa.

A lithic record⁹⁰ on the east slope of Nijagal-durga, chronicling the items of work done by
(c) 1698-1704 Dāsarājaiya, son of Biḷuguli Kempa-rājaiya, a servant of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, during a period of twenty years from 1698, speaks of his having begun the construction of the fort of Nijagal-durga (otherwise known as Śūrāgiri-durga) on December 2, 1698 (ś. 1620, *Bahudhānya, Mārgaśira śu.* 10) after setting up the image of God Vighnēśvara, in front of the principal gate, in August. A copper-plate charter from Dēvarāja-durga, dated April 24, 1699,⁹¹ records the setting up and consecration of Goddess Kalyāṇalakṣmī in the presence of God Narasimha of Karigiri, and the grant, as an *archaka-svāsti*, to Alama-Singarāchārya (son of Chikka-Narasaiya and grandson of Narasaiya of *Chikkadēvarāja-durga*, of Kāśyapa-gotra, Bōdhāyana-sūtra and Yajusśākhā), of lands in Anupinahalli and Chinuvāḍanahalli (belonging to Ānebiddajaristhala), to provide for the worship and festivals of the

88 *E.C.*, IV (2) Gu. 98-102 (*M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 59, para 130). 89 *Ibid*, Ng. 43.
90 *Ibid*, IX Nl. 66; cf. *M. A. R.*, 1914-1915, p. 63, para 108; also *E. C.*, *Bangalore Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nl. 66 revised.

91 *Ibid*, XII Tm. 45: ś. 1620 expired, *Pramāthi, Vastākha śu.* 5, Monday. Dāsarājaiya, referred to here, is distinct from the one mentioned in the previous record (*vide f.n. 90 supra*). He is perhaps identical with Dāsarājaiya, Daḷavāi of Chikkadēvarāja during 1702-1704. The grant appears obviously to have been made by him before he became the Daḷavāi.

Goddess—by [Daḷavāi] Dāsarājaiya-Timmapparājaiya, son of Krishṇaiya and grandson of Biḷugulī Timmarājaiya. Another record, a lithic one, dated October 13, 1699,⁹² refers to the formation of the tank of Dēvarāya-samudra by Doḍḍaiya, son of Sangaiya and grandson of Channavīraiya, under the orders of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. A *nirūpa* of Chikkadēvarāja, dated August 8, 1700,⁹³ addressed to Dūsaiya, *Pārupatyagār* of Nāgamangala, is to the following effect: “The Āyakanahallī *agrahāra*, formed previously, is to be handed over to the charge of the Brāhmins. Manage the affairs smoothly. This *nirūpa* is to be got copied in the *kaḍita* of the Śānabhōg and left with the donees.” Another, dated June 8, 1703,⁹⁴ addressed to Jois Ānandālvār, refers to Dēvaiya as having been entrusted with the management of affairs (*pārupatyā*) of Hangaḷa-sīme in Dēvanagara hōbḷi, and directs that the treasury seal (*hastāntara mudre-ungura*) pertaining thereto should be handed over to him. A third, of the same date,⁹⁵ addressed to the same individual, is to the following effect: “We have ordered the reconstruction on a sound footing and repair of tanks and ponds in Hangaḷa-sthaḷa, which have breached: let 500 *varahas* out of the annual revenues from this place be utilized for the purpose, with due regard to increase in the revenue resources of the government. The ryots should be allowed 200 *khaṇḍugas* of corn as half the share of produce (*vāra*) and permitted to use 100 oxen and 150 sheep. Besides, they should be granted 250 *varahas*, out of the revenues of Hangaḷa, for the purchase

92. *Ibid*, Mi, 16 : s. 1621, *Pramātha*, *Kārtika* su. 2, Friday.

93. *I. M. C.*, No. 19-1-55 (Extract No. 8) : *Vikrama*, *Bhādrapada* su. 5.

94. *Ibid*, No. 19-1-52, p. 29 : *Svabhānu*, *Āshāḍha* su. 5.

95. *Ibid*, pp. 30-31 : *Ibid*. This record adequately points to Chikkadēvarāja's solicitude for the welfare of the agricultural population in rural parts. Among the actual expressions used in the document are : *Hangaḷada-sthaḷadalli kittu-hōguruva kere-kaffegaḷu saha baḷavāgi kaṭṭinuvahage kaṭṭeyannu māḍisidēve . . . hēralavāgi paṭṭu-pachchegaḷannu āgumāḍin . . . sakalavāda baḍa-prajegaḷannellā kappāḍi na ḍi . . . kombaḍu*.



Bhakta-vigraha of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar in the
Paravāsudēva Temple, Gundlupet.

of sheep ; and the administration is to be so conducted that all the poor subjects are duly protected."

No authentic statue of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar has, however, so far come to light, although
 Statue of Chikka-
 dēvarāja Woḍeyar we have, on one of the pillars in the temple of Paravāsudēva, at Gundlupet, a bas-relief figure of his, a *Bhakta-vigraha*, with his crest sloping on one side (*vārasīkhi sahitarāgīruvante*).⁹⁶

Social ideals had been deeply rooted in the soil for ages. However cataclysmic the effects of certain of the political events of the reign, they appear to have touched but the fringes of social life in the country. The period was in the main, as is depicted for us by contemporary writers,⁹⁷ characterized by timely rains, good harvests, growth of wealth and increase in the general happiness of the subjects, and immunity from the fear of war (*rājika bhayamilladeyumu*), especially during the latter part of the reign (i.e., 1696-1704). As one responsible for the maintenance of social order, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, we are told,⁹⁸ strove to preserve and perpetuate the ancient ideal of *Varṇāśrama-dharma*, with a view to promote social harmony on the one side and domestic felicity on the other. Whatever may be said against the caste system as it obtains to-day, there can be no question that in the days we are writing of, it helped to hold the different grades of society together and enabled the king to administer the country with due respect to law and order. The respect for *varṇa* and *āśrama*,

96. See *Annals*, I. 138, where the cutting of the bas-relief is attributed to Chikkadēvarāja himself.

97. See, for instance, *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 57-58; *C. B.*, p. 4 (prose passage in second para).

98. See *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.* (of Timma-Kavi?), p. 30 (prose passage at the end): *Varṇāśrama-dharmam tappadante*; *Sachchū. Ntr.*, ff. 10-18; *Munivam.*, I, 155; *A.V.C.*, III, 149 and 151, I, 27 (with gloss): *Chāturvarṇyachārada rityanarūḍḍe-gōḷisuvapratiṁam*; *Varṇāśramānugūṇamāgi naḍeyada paṭitaram śikshisuvudarinda*, etc.

reflected in the works of the period, means no more than that they bound society together into one whole and held it together for the benefit of its component parts. As indicated above, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, which was at the height of its power during the period, with its insistence on humility as a virtue and grace as a prerequisite for salvation, made *varṇāśrama* lose its harsher and cruder features.

Contemporary social life continued to find the most characteristic expression in cities and towns, of which we have authentic descriptions extant. Thus, of Seringapatam, the capital city, we learn⁹⁹ Surrounded by the Cauvery, its impregnable fort presented a majestic appearance, what with its lofty ramparts, newly constructed rows of spirals, deep moat, wickets, bastions, flag-staffs and banners of various descriptions. Inhabited by the Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, adorned by glittering temples and richly ornamented mansions (including the Palace) and storeyed buildings set with pinnacles, by the elephant-stables, horse-stables, by the grand Sun and Moon streets and by the market-street (with shops of grocers, jewellers, cloth merchants and metal merchants, among others) and the courtezans' street—it was a delightful city in the plenitude of its glory and prosperity. In keeping with this, a lithic record, dated in 1685,¹⁰⁰ speaks of Seringapatam thus: "With plum, jack, cocoanut, plantain, lime, orange, fig and other fruit trees, with houses as high as hills, was the city filled; and with cows and Brāhmanas, with trees of plenty, with temples, with fine elephants like Airāvata, with horses neighing like the thunder of clouds, with splendid chariots and foot-soldiers, . . . a beautiful city, having splendid gateways, an ornament to the lady Earth, surrounded by the Cauvery."

99. See *Śrī. Mahat.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 46-47.

100. *E.C.*, III (1) Ml. 61, ll. 2-10.

Mysore, of which we have a similar account,¹⁰¹ was likewise a flourishing city, with its fort (conspicuous by lofty spikes, ramparts, tiger-faced gates, wickets, bastions, flag-staffs, cannons, etc.), with a garden (*upavana*) well laid out with flower and fruit trees, with the principal streets (named after the Sun and the Moon) lined with pinnaced and storeyed mansions (including the Palace in the middle) inhabited by the four-fold classes following their respective vocations, and with the market and the courtezans' streets

Among the towns, Mēlkōṭe was at the zenith of its glory as the stronghold of Śrī-Vaishnavisin in Mysore;¹⁰² Maḷavaḷḷi was a flourishing place, with its fort surrounded by a deep moat;¹⁰³ and Dēvanagara, on the banks of the Kauṇḍinī, was a self-sufficient cultural unit.¹⁰⁴ Bangalore, Gubbi and Turuvēkere, among others, were, as indicated in the preceding chapter, important centres of trade and commerce.

From references in contemporary sources, we obtain a fair picture of the state of Hindu society and of general culture during the period, which, in the main, is in accord with the standards laid down in the classical literature of India (*e.g.*, Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra*, *Laws of Manu*, etc.). Thus, in the city of Mysore, the Brāhmins were noted as repositories of Vēdic learning and culture; the Kshatriyas were reputed as warriors, as devotees of Viṣṇu and as persons of taste; the Vaiśyas were distinguished for their wealth and liberality; and the Śūdras, ever devoted to the service of the other

101. *Śrī. Māhāt* (of Mallikārjuna), I, 109-128; also *Kamala. Māhāt.*, I, 59-78; *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 12-19; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 8-11, vv. 41-55.

102. See *Y.N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 30-37, vv. 23-33 (with gloss).

103. *E.C.*, III (1) Ml. 61, l. 15.

104. *Ibid.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 185-190.

classes, were secure and prosperous in their profession of agriculture.¹⁰⁵ The capital city of Seringapatam was filled with priests, poets, wise men and ministers,¹⁰⁶ and the town of Maḷavalli with men learned in the Vēdānta, Śruti, Smṛti and Dharma-śāstras,¹⁰⁷ while at Dēvanagara, Brāhmins of all the three sects, learned in Vēdas, Śāstras, the two systems of Vēdānta, Drāviḍa-Āmnāya and Śrauta and Smārtha ritualism, had been settled.¹⁰⁸ Among the items of costume and ornaments provided for these scholars were, it is interesting to note,¹⁰⁹ silken garments for the body (*kauśēya*), silken head-dress (*paṭṭōṣṇīṣam*), ear-rings (*kuṇḍali*) and finger-rings (*angulīyaka*). Aḷasingarāya (Singarayangār II) and his son Tirumalāya (Tirumalayangār) were among the typical Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholars of the period. Closely connected with the court of Mysore as *Paurāṇika* to the Royal House from about the middle of the seventeenth century, Aḷasingarāya had by 1678 become familiarly known as *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*, *Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya*, *Vaiṣṇava-dharma-mūrti* and *Paramārtha-vādi*.¹¹⁰ Indeed his influence on the court of Mysore seems to have been not inconsiderable till 1685, in an inscription¹¹¹ of which

105. Śrī. Māhāt., I, 129-132: *Vēdaghōṣhaṇḍiḥvala chaturāsyar unnata kaḷa-
niḷayar gurumārgadarśigaḷ . . . dviṣar | Dhura-dhirāhita bhūmipāla
timīraṭṭōpa prabhāra . . . ṭṭējōnidhigaḷ . . . saraśagrēsar
Achyutōnnata padāsaktar kaḷa-kōvidar . . . kaṭṭarar || Paṣarai
ponnarāṣigaḷ . . . perchi . . . uḍaragunaḍoḷ pogedurda
parākṛāṭṭakar deśeḍegurvipar . . . dhanōnnatiyam . . . ||
Śurara māhātmyaḍoḷu dharaṇisura-rutsavaḍoḷu . . . bevastyaḍa
pempennuturki perneyindurutara dhānya-rāṭṭigala-neṇḍeseṇnuṭṭaloḍar
chutāvagam Hariṇadasambhavarkaḷesevar puradoḷ-bahu-dharmadeḷ-
geysm ||*

106. E.C., MI. 61, ll. 10-11. *Guru-kavi-prāyṇaiḥ vṛtē mantribhiḥ.*

107. *Ibid.*, ll. 15-16: *Vēdāntagaiḥ Śrutiparaḥ Smṛti Dharma Vidyaiḥ pūrṇē.*

108. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115, ll. 133-136: *Vēdaśāstra-viśāraḍan
Vēdāntāvaya-tatvajñān Drāviḍāmnāya pāragān . . . śrauta
smārtha vidhānājñān.*

109. *Ibid.*, ll. 190-191.

110. See E.C., IV (2) Kr. 45, ll. 12-14; III (1) Sr. 94, ll. 12-14; *Hadī. Dhar.*, IX, 51; see also f.n. 127 *infra*.

111. *Ibid.*, III (1) My. 7, ll. 11-12; see also f.n. 81 *supra*.

year Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar refers to him as a principal dependent of his (*namma mukhyāśrita*). He appears to have died between 1685-1698. His son Tirumalārya (also known as Śrīśailārya, the Sanskritised form of Tirumalārya), apart from his activities as minister, poet and scholar of the court of Chikkadēvarāja, profoundly impressed his contemporaries, particularly from 1698 onwards, as a celebrated Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher,¹¹² respected by Chikkadēva and revered by his disciples, amongst whom was his own younger brother Singarārya (Singarayangār III).¹¹³ From the account left by the latter,¹¹⁴ it would seem that Tirumalārya was a person of fine stature (wearing the *Ūrdhva puṇḍram*, the sacred thread and a garment leading from the navel to the ankle) with a serene countenance, a disciple of Vādhūla-Śrīnivāsārya, an ardent devotee of God Nṛsiṃha of Yadugiri (Mēlkoṭe) and an erudite scholar expounding to his band of disciples the right course of conduct and interpreting the abstruse thoughts of great teachers.

As a centre of social activities, Seringapatam, during the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, had become the cynosure of contemporary powers. His court appears to have been the very symbol of the culture and tastes of the times. Ordinarily he used to conduct his Durbār (*oḍḍōlaga*) in the magnificent court hall of the Palace (*āsthāna-maṇṭapa*, *sabhā-maṇṭapa*, *śātakumbha-sthambhālaya*) known as *Saundarya-vilāsa*, which was adorned

Court culture.

1. The Durbār Hall.

112. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 1 *Dēśika-sārvabhaumareṇu*; *Y. N. Stavah*, etc. (*Śrīśailārya-dinacharyā*), p. 119, vv. 1-2, 127, v. 47: *Śrīśaila-dēśika*; *Tirumala-dēśikēndra*; *Gi. Gō.*, pp. 50, 58. *Tirumaleyāryādi divya-dēśikara*; see also *E.C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Ng. 108, l. 1, evidently referring to Śrīśailārya as a religious teacher (*Śrīśailārya prēraṇay*).

113. *Ibid.*, p. 2; also *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 119-126, vv. 1, 4-6, 22, 44, 54-55, etc.

114. *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., pp. 119-126, vv. 1-7, 9-37, 45-55, etc.

by an exquisitely carved and ornamented entrance (*dvāra*), pillars (*sthambha*), architraves (*bōdige*), beams (*tole*), walls (*bhitti*) and platform

2. The King (*jagati*).¹¹⁵ Dressed in glittering and well-bordered upper garment of

white silk (*vidyut-prabhāmbara*, *paṭṭāmbara-dukula*, *anchina duvvaṭa*, *dhautāmbara*), wearing the richly embroidered coat (*kanchuka*) and the crown (*śirshadoḷ dharisi kirīṭamam*; *makuta-vardhana kirīṭa manigana*), having the *ṭikā* on his forehead, his person beautified with badges (*peṇḍeya*), medallions (*padaka*), necklaces (*koraḷsara*, *hurumanjiya kaṇṭha-māle*, *hāra*), finger-rings (*angulīyaka*), ear-rings (*kaṇa-bhūṣana*, *bāvali*, *chaukuḷi*), bracelets (*kankana*, *kēyūra*, *kaṭaka*), wrist-lets (*kaigala pachcha*), sashes (*kaṭi-sūtra*) and anklets (*nūpura*, *manjira*, *kālpasadaṇa*) set with pearls and precious stones of various descriptions, his knot of hair tied up with fragrant flowers (*parimaḷadaraḷam muḍidu*), with ornamented sandals adorning his feet (*rannada hāruge*, *kanaka pāduke*), and with the jewelled dagger (*rannada chikkathāri*) in his hand, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, we learn,¹¹⁶ would proceed in state to the Durbār Hall. Seated in the golden palanquin (*kana-kāndhōlikārūḍhanāgi*), with the five different kinds of music playing (*pancha-mahāvādyangaḷ*), and accompanied by emblems like the umbrella, chowries, fans and ensigns (*āvṛtachchātra chāmara vyajana śiguri patāka samūhanam*) and the courtezans (*sannutāngiyar*, *bele-reṅgaḷ*), he would make himself conspicuous by occupying the jewelled throne (*ratna-simhāsana*, *simha-piṭha*). The Durbār Hall (*sabhā-bhavana*, *maṇṭapa*) would be adorned

115. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 68; also *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 91; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 68, etc.; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 24 (prose passage).

116. *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 89-91; *Kamala. Māhāt.*, III, 16-18, 21; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 64-66, 68; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 23-24, vv. 119-121, and prose passage; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 57-59; *Sat. Br. Vt.*, I, 50, 52; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 49; *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 97; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 55; *Div. Śā. Cha.*, I, 86; *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempudēvamamma*, ff. 190, vv. 1-2; also references *infra*.

by the following classes of courtiers:¹¹⁷ the nobility, including relations blood royal (*bāndhavar*,

3. The Courtiers. *bandhutati*) such as brothers and sons of the king (*bhrātru-sutar*) and junior members of Arasu families (*kuvarar*), well-wishers (*hitarum*) and distinguished personages (*mahōnnatarum*); tributary chiefs, feudatories and ministers from foreign courts (*maṇṇa bhūpālakar*, *dharaṇīśar*, *sāmantar*, *digdēśa mantriśvarar*); civil and military officers, such as Ministers and Councillors (*sachivar*, *pradhānar*, *amātyar*), financiers (*karaṇikar*) and the Commander-in-Chief (*daṇḍanātha*, *sēnāni*); officials of the general administration (*prabhutradarar*), members of the diplomatic service (*niyōgi-varga*, *sandhi-vigraha-sanchi-ya-bhṛtyajana-varga*), including functionaries (*niyōgi*), news-carriers (*harikāra*) and interpreters (*rāyasamam tiḷupuvavar*); learned Brāhmanas (*vipra-prakara*, *budhāvali*, *vibudha-vitāna*, *vidvajjāla*), including scholars in Vēdas, Smṛtis, Śāstras, Epics, Purānas and various Āgamas (*śruti-kōvidar*, *śruti-smṛti-abhijnar*, *vēdaraśajnar*, *śāstrajnar*, *śāstrigal*, *bharatajnar*, *purāṇavidar*, *kathā-kuśalar*, *nāna-āgamajnar*); readers (*gamakigal*, *gamaki-śrēṇi*), grammarians (*vyākaraṇajnar*), connoisseurs in

117. *Div. Sū Cha.*, I, 87-89; *Yād. Māhāt*, II, 69-76, and ff 31-32 (prose passage); *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam*, pp. 24-25, vv. 123-130, p. 29 (prose passage); *Kāmand Nī.*, I, 92-98, *Ruk. Cha.* I, 91-96; *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvanma*, ff. 130, vv. 3-4; *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 98; *Venkata. Māhāt.*, I, 56-59; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 50; *Kamalā. Māhāt.*, III, 20, 22-28, *Śrī. Māhāt*, II, 61-67; *Sū. Sap.*, I, 13-14; *Sat. Br. V.*, I, 51. The *Annals* (I. 134) refers to Chikkadēvarāja's arrangements for the maintenance of account relating to the Palace officials, Arasas, Pālegārs, Brāhmanas, scholars, lutists, songsters, physicians and others adorning his court; also to his insistence on the attendance of scholars and Brāhmanas during the carrying out of his daily avocations at the Palace and on the daily visit to him of the other courtiers, these being strictly ordered to communicate their absence from the head-quarters and make their representations to him—on occasions of marriage and other ceremonies in their houses—through Gurikārs Sōmarājaiya and Appājaiya. These particulars, read in the light of contemporary sources we have here cited, would give us an idea of the regularity and discipline with which the Durbār of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was conducted.

poetics (*alankāra-rasajnar*), poets (*kavinivaha*, *kaviś-varar*, *kavirasajnar*), experts in literature and various arts and sciences (*sāhitya-viśāradar*, *nānā-kalā-pravī-ṇar*, *akhila-śāstra-kōvidar*), and disputants and elocutionists (*vādi-stōma*, *vāgmikar*, *vākpariṇatar*); the professional class, comprising priests (*purōhitar*), astrologers (*jōyisar*), physicians (*vaidyar*), scribes (*lipiṇar*), songsters (*gāyakar*, *gāyaka-nikāya*), lutists (*vaiṇikar*), courtezans (*gaṇikeyar*, *vārāṅganeyar*), dancers (*naṭar*, *naṭa-samudāya*), wrestlers (*mallar*), jesters or buffoons (*parihāsakar*) and panegyrists (*pāṭhakar*, *vandi-vrinda*, *vandi-māgadādhyar*); the warriors (*yōdhar*, *bhaṭa-nikurumba*, *bhaṭālī*) and skilled elephant-riders and cavaliers (*gajaturugārōhana-praudhar*, *vāhalika-vyūha*); and the menials (*bhṛtya-varga*, *ūḷigadavar*), including door-keepers (*pratīhārī*), mace-bearers (*vētradhārī*), chamberlains (*kanchukī*), and bearers of tassels (*kuncha*), fans (*tāla-vrintaka*, *bijjanige*), betel, perfume and wreaths of flowers (*vīḷya-gandha-pushpamāle*) and of the pouch (*sanchī*), the sword (*khaḍga*), the waving goblet (*āratiya giṇḍī*) and the chowry (*chāmara*). The beauty and grandeur of the scene, as depicted,¹¹⁸ would evidently be enhanced by the glittering ear-rings (*karna-bhūṣaṇa*), necklaces (*hāra*) and swords (*khaḍga*) of the feudatories and supplicant chiefs; by the lustre of the red-coloured silken and lace upper garments (*chandra-gāviya melpodake*) and ornaments of gold and pearl (*ponma-gejje*, *maṇi-bhūṣaṇa*, *bhūṣaṇa-ṇāyeyim*), worn by the courtezans; and by the radiance of scimitars (*mahā-kaukshēyaka-dyōṭiyim*) held by the warriors (*vīrabhaṭālī*).

MUSIC (*sangīta*)—vocal (*gāna*) and instrumental (*vādyā*)—and dancing (*nāṭya*, *abhinaya*) occupied a prominent place in the programme of the Durbār. The vocal

4. The programme of the Durbār.

(a) Music and dancing.

118. *Yad. Mahāt.*, II, 71, 74; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 24-25, vv. 125, 126; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 97-98.

musicians (*pāḍuva-gāyakar*) are referred to¹¹⁹ as having been experts in their art (*sangīta-kalāvidar*, *sangīta-sārajanar*). We have reference¹²⁰ to the symphony of the *pancha-mahāvādya* (*mēlaisuva pancha-mahāvādyaṅgaḷa*) consisting of instruments like the horn, tabor, conch-shell, kettle-drum and gong. The lute (*viṇā*), as an item of instrumental music, seems to have been very popular. The lutists (*vaṇṇikas*) are depicted¹²¹ as having been skilled in the art of keeping time while performing on the instrument (*viṇā-vādana tatra-laya-juṇāna-kuṣalarāda*). Dancing was, as usual, the forte of the courtezans (*vārāṅaneyar*, *nartakiyar*), and was accompanied by the soft music (*nuṇcharadoḍane*) of the quarter tones (*śruti*), measure (*tāḷa*), tabor (*mṛdanga*) and the guitar (*tantri*). It was, we further note,¹²² also characterized by considerable precision, ingenuity and expressiveness in respect of form, technique, movements of the body, behaviourism, sentiments and unity of effect.

Among other items of the programme were:¹²³ dis-

- (b) Other items courses on sacred lore including the
Vēdas (*trayī*), Purāṇas (*purāṇa san-*
chaya vicchāra, *kathā praśamse*,

119. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, ff. 2 (prose passage), *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), I, 56.

120. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 58; also *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, ff. 30, and *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 28 (prose passage), referring to the music of instruments like the conch (*śankha*), drum (*bhēri*), measure (*tāḷa*), tabor (*jambaka*, *ḍṇḍima*, *muraḷa*), double drum (*dhakka*, *tambaḷa*), flute (*vēṇu*), lute (*viṇā*) and trumpet (*kakaḷa*).

121. *Śrī. Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), l.c.

122. *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 79-80; also *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 25 (prose passage), 26, v. 183 :

Jatī laya tāla riti gamakam yatatōpu kalāsadhātu mē |
ṇatī rasabhāva binṇamure binṇaṇaḍappadr nētra vaktra pū (?) |
dataḷa karanḷaḷoḷ rucivragāna utālāda mārgamoppuvan |
tutuchaturatvadim-dabhinayangaḷa-nūhsutāḍi tōridar||

123. *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 97; *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 99-100; *Kāmand. Nī.*, II, 1-8; *Śu. Sap.*, I, 13-15; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 60-61; *Pasch. Māhāt.*, I, 53-54; *Kamālā Māhāt.*, III, 29, 68-70; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 60; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 77-78, also ff. 27-32 (prose passage); *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 25, vv. 181-182, and pp. 26-30 (prose passage); *Sat. Br. Vt.*, I, 52-55, etc.

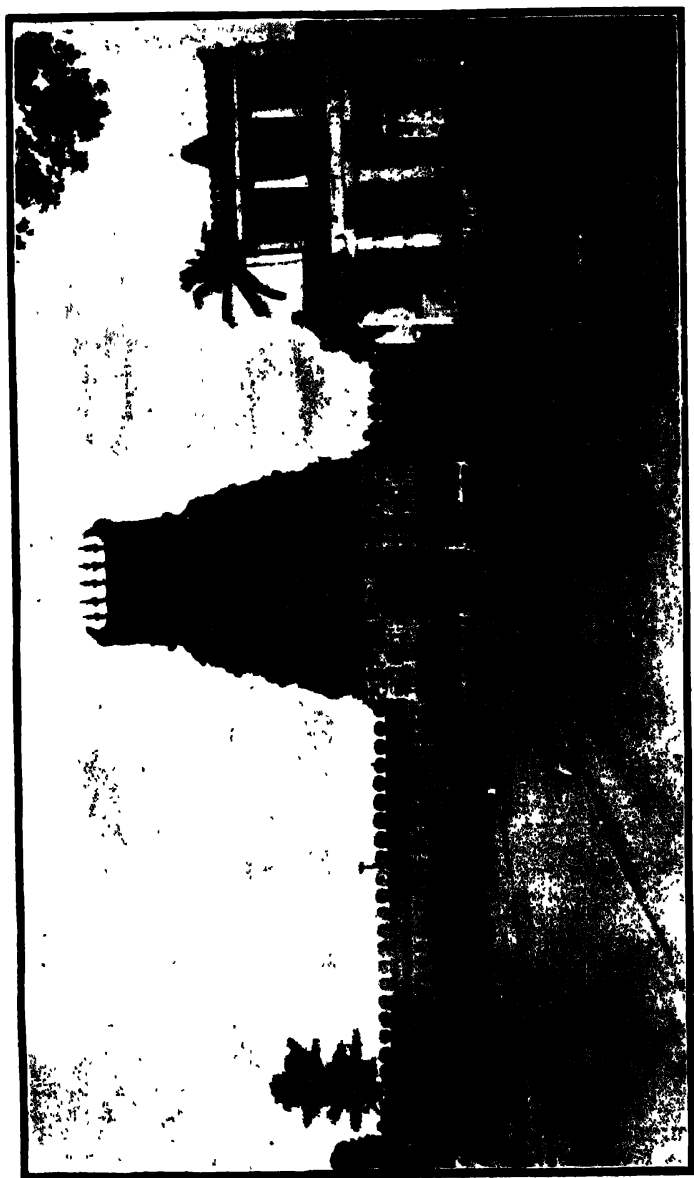
kuṣāla-kathā śravaṇa, *purāṇadolpanādaripudu*) and the Vaishṇava literature (*vaishṇava kathā*); disputations of scholars in various subjects (*bahusāstra-vāda*) including religion and metaphysics (*ānvīkshaki*, *vēdānta*); expounding of the classical sciences of economics and politics (*vārta*, *daṇḍanīti*) and of maxims (*yuktigaḷu*); literary entertainments—particularly in poetry (*ghana-sāhiti-rasānurakti*, *sarasa-kavitva*, *sāhitya-prasanga*, *kavi-prasanga*); the tendering by supplicant chiefs (*maṇiva bhūpālakar*) of tributes and presents (*kappa-kāṇike*) consisting of necklaces (*hāra*), golden palankeens (*hēmada pullakki*), rutting elephants (*mada-mātangāḷi*), silken robes (*dukūla*), horses (*vāji*) and swords (*khaḍ-gāḷi*); and the recitation of the king's titles and benedictory verses (*parāku*, *birudāvaḷi*) by the panegyrists. The Durbār would come to a close on the honouring of the Durbārīs with betel, perfume and flowers (*viḷya-gandha-pushpamāle*) and the rewarding of the musicians, courtezans and panegyrists with jewels and cloths (*pasadanam koṭṭu*, *pasāyanamanittu*). After this, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar would retire to his apartment in the Palace.¹²⁴

Feasts and festivals were a regular feature of social life during the period. Among the former, the *Rāmanavāmi* and *Krishṇajayanti* were very popular;¹²⁵ among the latter, the birthday of Śrī-Rāmānujāchāryar (*Emberumānār Tirunakshatram*) at Mēlkōṭe, in March-April (*Chaitra*) of every year, occupied a prominent place.¹²⁶ The *Tirunakshatram* lasted ten days during the ascendancy of the sacred birth-star (*Āridrā*) of the celebrated

124. *Yad. Mahat.*, III, 4; *Chikkadēvendra-Vam.*, pp. 26, 30 (prose passage); *Śrī. Mahat.*, II, 68.

125. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), ll. 92-104; *My.* 7 (1686), l. 26; also *Annals*, I, 151.

126. *Ibid.*, Sr. 94 (1678), ll. 24-26; also *F. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 37, v. 33 (with gloss).



Sri-Ranganāthasvāmi Temple, Seringapatam

teacher. A lithic record, dated June 20, 1678,¹²⁷ relates how Aḷasingarārya, father of Tirumalārya, gave away in perpetuity the village of Bīrubalḷi, in Mandagere-sthala, to provide for the annual holding of a car festival, distribution of food and other ceremonies at Mēlkōṭe on the occasion of the celebration of the *Tirunakshatram*. The *Vajra-makuṭi* (*Vaira-muṭi*) and *Gajēndra-mōksham* were other important annual festivals at Mēlkōṭe.¹²⁸ The car festival (*Yātrōtsava*) and the spring festival (*Vasantōtsava*) of God Ranganātha in Seringapatam were other important festivals which annually attracted visitors from various countries (*palanāḍugaḷim*).¹²⁹ The *Mahānavami* festival appears to have continued to dominate the social and public life of the capital city.¹³⁰ The prosperity of the Brāhmanical settlements (*agara, agrahāra*), temples (*dēgula*) and feeding-houses (*satra*), evidenced in the sources,¹³¹ is, in some measure, an index of the steady progress of cultural and social life all over the country. Old superstitions, however, died hard. An indication of the persistence of belief in ordeals as a means of establishing one's claims in civil disputes is afforded by a record of 1677¹³² referring to Venkaṭapati, son of Bhaira-Hebbāruva, as establishing his claims to the Śānabhōgi of Arkalgūḍ against his opponent by

127. *Ibid.*, II, 18-30 s. 1600, *Kālayukti, Āśhāḍha* su. 11, see also *E.C.*, IV (2) Kr. 45, and f.n. 163 in Ch. X. According to the record, Bīrubalḷi had been formerly assigned by Aḷasingarārya to the treasury of the Nārāyaṇasvāmī temple at Mēlkōṭe. At the time of the above mentioned transaction, however, the village of Singanamāranabalḷi, belonging to Kottāgāla, was made over to the temple in lieu of Bīrubalḷi. Cf. the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 1) to the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A.V.C.*

128. *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 33, v. 30 (with gloss); see also f.n. 9 *supra* and text thereto.

129. *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 58; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 1; also *Yad. Mahat.*, III (referring to *Vasantōtsava*).

130. Though we have no account of the *Mahānavami* festival during the period, we have a reference to it in a record from the *Mackenzie Collection* (vide f.n. 76 *supra*).

131. *Hadi. Dhar.*, IX, 59; *A.V.C.*, I, 27.

132. *E.C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 2; see also f.n. 68 *supra*.

circumambulating the feet of God Arkēśvara and plunging his hand into ghee boiled as hot as possible (*atikāṭhiṇataravāgi kādu yidda tuppadalli kaiyya-nikki . . .*).

Women are found depicted as having been faithful housewives (*oḷuveṇḍiru*).¹³³ In particular, Dēvājamma (Dēvāmbā, Dēvamma) of Yeḷandūr, the principal queen (*paṭṭadarasi, paṭṭadarāni*) of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, is spoken of as an ideal lady, an embodiment of all virtues, pure and chaste (*sakala-saḍguṇa-sampanne ; akalushe*).¹³⁴ The charming ladies (*gāḍikā[r]tiyaru*) of the court are referred to¹³⁵ as having been highly cultured and accomplished (*sarva-sarasavidyā-siddhānta-vēdiniyar*). Among the maid-servants in the personal service of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, Honnamma, the bearer of his pouch (*Chikkadēvarāyana sanchiya Honnamma*), had risen high in his favour (. . . *krpā-rasadim . . . unnatiyoḍagūḍi . . . ēlgevetti*),¹³⁶ and was noted for her literary and poetical attainments (*kāvyālankāra-nāṭakagaḷa pavaṇige yirava ballavaḷu . . . sarasa-sāhityada varadēvate*).¹³⁷ Śringārammā was a young poetess under the fostering care of Chikkadēvarāja (*Chikkadēva-bhūpāla santavisida sanṇa magalu*).¹³⁸ The code of ethics relating to the duties and responsibilities of women, generally as devoted housewives, continued to be of a very high standard, the preservation and propagation of which, under the essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava atmosphere of the times, found living expression in Honnamma's *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*.¹³⁹

133. *Hadī. Dhar.*, IX, 57.

134. *Ibid.*, I, 3, 11, 16 (pp. 2-4).

135. *Ibid.*, I, 6-7 (pp. 2-3).

136. *Ibid.*, I, 24-25 (p. 4) ; also colophon to each chapter.

137. *Ibid.*, I, 12, 14 (p. 3).

138. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 516-517, quoting from the *Ma.*

139. *Vide* Ch. XIV below, for details about the work.

Perhaps a more marked influence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism on social life during the period is discernible in the attempt on the part of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to reform and uplift the Śūdras by defining and codifying their rites and practices as members of the Hindu social order. This attempt of his finds eloquent expression in the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690) ascribed to him.¹⁴⁰ In levelling up, as far as possible, the distinctions between castes and according to the Śūdras a legitimate place in the social structure, Chikkadēvarāja perhaps sounds the key-note of his success as a benevolent yet strict ruler of the age.

The work *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya*, we have referred to, is primarily an exposition of the duties of those who can call themselves good Śūdras (*Sat Śūdras*). The term "good" as applied to a "Śūdra" connotes much the same idea as it does when applied to a "Brāhmaṇa," "Kshatriya" or "Vaiśya," that is, one who conforms to the course of conduct prescribed to his *varṇa*. In that sense, *sat* would convey the idea of *nirduṣṭa*, i.e., without blame, virtuous, real or respectable. A real Śūdra, in this sense, would be one who has gone through the rites and ceremonies customary to one of his class and keeps up to the duties fixed for him in the social and legal codes applicable to him. According to *Manu*, a good Śūdra has service for his duty, service to those above him. His *dharma*, according to the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, is serving the twice-born (i.e., Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya). This *Purāṇa* stresses the *dharma* by saying that as *Yajna* is the duty of the Brāhmaṇa so is service to the twice-born the duty of the Śūdra. This *Purāṇa*, indeed, adds that by service the Śūdra attains salvation. The *Varāha-Purāṇa* says that the Śūdra has no *mantra* other than bowing to the Brāhmaṇa, i.e., service to the

classes above him, of which the Brāhmaṇa is mentioned as an example. The *Mahābhārata* goes a step further and sets down the religious tie that binds the Brāhmaṇa householder to the Śūdra attached to him. According to the epic, a Śūdra serving in a Brāhmaṇa household is a member (*anga*) of that household and as such he is entitled to a *pinḍa* (an oblation) in the name of the householder.¹⁴¹ In these and other cases, where the Brāhmaṇa is mentioned, it should be taken as illustrative of the three higher classes and not as exhaustive. If a "good" Śūdra is to serve the other castes, the three other castes cannot escape their duties (*dharma*). Thus the interdependence of the four castes is made manifest. And that is the reason why, quite apart from the different duties attaching to the different castes, ancient authorities stress the duties equally incumbent upon all the four castes. According to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, these are, apart from the procuring of offspring and support of one's family, the practice of kindness to man and beast, patience, humility, purity, truth, gentleness of speech and contentment, with an absence of envy and avarice, grumbling and abuse.¹⁴² The *Mahābhārata* similarly enumerates the following as the duties common to all the castes: the suppression of wrath, truthfulness of speech, justice, forgiveness, begetting children on one's wedded wives, purity of conduct, avoidance of quarrel and maintenance of dependents.¹⁴³ Manu also refers to a ten-fold law which every one must obey, in whatever stage of life he may be: "contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, obedience to the rules of purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom (probably of the sacred books), knowledge (of the Supreme soul), truthfulness, and abstention from

141. *Mbh.*, *Aranya-Parva*, *Adhyāya* 149.

142. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 7.

143. *Mbh.*, *Śanti-Parva*, Sec. 72; also *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Sevarga-Khaṇḍa*, *Adhyāyas* XXV-XXVII. Discussion between Nārada and Māṇdhātā.

anger, form the ten-fold law."¹⁴⁴ Epic poets and law-givers both made it plain that the four castes had to observe a common code, besides discharging duties in their respective stages of life (*āśramas*). This insistence on the observance of a common code made the members of the four castes feel that they were not only one inseparable whole but also bound together for each other's good, and that for attaining the common good, they were all bound by the same ideals of social conduct. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, indeed, goes to the extent of saying that if a devotee of Vishṇu discharges the duties pertaining to his caste and adheres to the code of social conduct common to all, he would be ever immune from Death.

Chikkadēva, it is worthy of note, supports his work from illustrations drawn from the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Manu-Smṛiti*. From the first of these, he quotes a verse which holds up Vishṇu as the Lord for adoration to all the *Varṇāśramas*.¹⁴⁵ He then quotes from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* some notable verses, all of which emphasise the importance of performing one's own duty. Thus, he refers to a verse from the Eighteenth Discourse,¹⁴⁶ which concludes what Śrī-Krishṇa lays down as to the duties of the four castes. Taken together, the verses which precede and follow this particular one stress the point he has in view. The first of these says that "each (man) reacheth perfection by being intent on his own duty (*karma*). Listen thou how perfection is won by him who is intent on his own duty (*karma*)." The next verse—the one quoted by him—says: "He from whom is the emanation of beings, by whom all this is pervaded, by worshipping Him in his own duty (*karma*), a man winneth perfection." The next verse drives home the point he

144. *Manu*, VI, 92 (Bühler's Trans. in *S. B. E. Series*).

145. The following is the verse:

Varṇāśramācāravataḥ puruṣhēṇa paraḥ puman |
Vishṇurārādhyate pañtha nānyastattōśhakāraḥ ||

146. *Bhag. Gt.*, XVIII, 46.

wants: "Better one's own duty (*dharma*) though destitute of merits than the well-executed duty (*dharma*) of another. He who doeth the duty (*karma*) laid down by his own nature, incurreth not sin."¹⁴⁷ An examination of these and other verses, remarks Chikkadēva, indicates that to those who do their duty in the spirit of the *sāstra*, the Supreme Lord Nārāyaṇa grants the full fruit thereof. And what may be the fruit thereof? This is furnished to us in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* itself, to which we have necessarily to refer. He who performs the duty (*karma*) to which he is born, though that be (deemed) tarnished (*sadōshamapi*),¹⁴⁸ provided his Reason (*buddhi*) is unattached, his self subdued, his desires annihilated, he attains by renunciation to the supreme perfection of freedom from obligation (*karma*).¹⁴⁹ And he who attains perfection, obtains the Eternal, the highest state of wisdom.¹⁵⁰ To those of the fourth (or, in fact, any) order, the attainment of the Eternal is not thus barred. Would it make any difference if they did not worship Nārāyaṇa but other deities? Chikkadēva says that that would not matter. He quotes the verse of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, which reads: "Even the devotees of other Shining Ones, who worship full of faith, they also worship Me, O son of Kunti, though contrary to the ancient rule."¹⁵¹ Even those who worship other—even inferior—deities, if they do so in the name of the Supreme Lord Nārāyaṇa, they only offer worship to Him; only, Chikkadēva continues, if they do this, they reap the fruit of such worship only through those deities.¹⁵² But, he adds, significantly, that their actions (*karmāṇi*)

147. *Ibid.* XVIII, 45-47; cf. *Bhag. Gī.*, III, 35, which says: "Better one's own duty (*dharma*), though destitute of merit, than the duty (*dharma*) of another, well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty (*dharma*); the duty (*dharma*) of another is full of danger."

148. *Ibid.* XVIII, 48.

149. *Ibid.* XVIII, 49.

150. *Ibid.* XVIII, 50.

151. *Ibid.* IX, 28.

152. This remark of Chikkadēva seems to be covered by *Bhag. Gī.*, IX, 24-25.

should be done leaving aside attachment and the fruit pertaining to it.¹⁵³

Brought up in the traditions of Rāmānuja, Chikkadēva insisted on, and even enlarged, the view of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, that the doing of one's duty led to salvation. A good Śūdra, he suggests, may attain salvation by following out his own *āchāra*¹⁵⁴ rather than feel discontented over the duty laid on the other three divisions. In a larger sense, Chikkadēva lays down, as the essential condition of social peace and contentment, implicit obedience to the *dharma* of his own *varṇa* and *āśrama*, a dictum that is not wanting in votaries even to-day. Such obedience to one's own *dharma* would be, if we are to follow out Chikkadēva's suggestion, the means of one's own self-expression and salvation in terms of definite duties (*karma*) according to the definite *dharma* assigned to each. No wonder, we see him quoting the famous text of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, which announces the great message to all classes of people, men, women and sinners even: "They who take refuge with Me, O Pārtha, though of the womb of sin, women, Vaiśyas, even Śūdras, they also tread the highest path."¹⁵⁵ The significance of the appeal will be manifest when we remember that Śrī-Krishṇa assures salvation to Śūdras as much as to anybody including Brāhmins and devoted royal saints¹⁵⁶ at one end and sinners¹⁵⁷ at the other, provided "they take refuge with Me." As Śrī-Krishṇa declares in the same context: "Even if the most sinful worship Me with undivided heart, he too must be accounted righteous, for he hath rightly resolved."¹⁵⁸ And, in the next verse, He concludes by

153. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 6. This, Śrī-Krishṇa says, "is my certain and best belief." This is one of the more famous texts of the *Bhag. Gī.*

154. Traditional or immemorial usage (as the foundation of law); established rule of conduct (as prescribed by immemorial usage). The word *āchāra*, however, signifies in certain contexts the meaning conveyed by the terms *dharma* and *karma*.

155. *Bhag. Gī.*, IX, 32.

156. *Ibid.*, IX, 33.

157. *Ibid.*, IX, 32.

158. *Ibid.*, IX, 30.

saying: "Speedily he (such a person) becometh dutiful and goeth to eternal peace; O Kauntēya, know thou for certain that My devotee perisheth never."¹⁵⁹

What may be the reason that induced Chikkadēva to write this work (*Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirnaya*) whose insistence on the *Gītā* ideal of essential dependence on God of all classes of the community for their happiness and salvation, of their mutual dependence on each other for their own and for the common good, and of their ultimate equality before God, is so evident to those reading it? This we can only guess. It is possible he desired to secure social solidarity by this means, in order that political solidarity may not be jeopardised. That he should insist on the upper three divisions discharging their duty towards the fourth and that of the fourth towards the upper three, would indicate that the need for securing social order and consequently of general happiness was, in his view, an important end in itself. Indeed he says, in one place, that the happiness of the three superior classes relates itself to the well-being of the fourth. Fearing that the three other classes may discard the happiness of the fourth while the fourth may discard its duty towards the other three classes, and desiring the happiness of the fourth, Chikkadēva says, he wrote this work. To achieve this end, he adds, he brought together, in order to protect the good among the fourth class, their duties as found scattered in the different authorities. This work, accordingly, fixes the duties of the *Sachchūdras* while it takes the opportunity, at the same time, to favour their interests by securing to them the protection due to them from the three others. He would, indeed, suggest, by the phraseology used by him in this connection, that he was specially favouring them in compiling this particular work in

^{159.} *Ibid.*, IX, 31.

their special interests.¹⁶⁰ The main authorities on which Chikkadēva bases his studies are, as we have seen, the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, *Manu* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. We have seen his indebtedness to the last of these great works, and the manner in which he brings together the different declarations in it in regard to the essential equality of the four divisions of people and their mutual dependence for the general good of the whole community, shows how deeply he had imbibed the fundamental teachings of the *Gītā*. His indebtedness to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* is equally great. Its open declaration that to all *varṇas* and *āśramas* Vishṇu is the lord for adoration is his main text.¹⁶¹ This leads to the next suggestion that one may pray to any deity—inferior or superior—but if he prays in Vishṇu's name, his prayer is heard and he benefits from it. The teaching that the adorer or the devotee of Vishṇu attains salvation finds its counterpart in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* which proclaims that the messenger of Yama, the God of Death, has no control over those who seek the shelter of Vishṇu. And the devotee of Vishṇu, we are told, is one "who never deviates from the duties prescribed to his caste; who looks with equal indifference upon friend or enemy; who takes nothing (that is not his own), nor injures any being." Such "a

160. See *Sachchū. Nv.*, ff. 12-13.

Ityādinaṁ mōkshārthibhissakshād bhagavadārādhana rūpāṇi svasva varṇochchādanī nitya naimittika rūpāṇi karmāṇi sahala sungata kṛtvā tyāgapūrvaka manuṣṭhēyāniti nīrādhārya |

tatrādyānām trayāṇām varṇānāmāchārakramasya bahushu nibandhēshu tastaur nibandhabhur nipuṇataramupapādikatvēna sugamatām chaturtha-varṇāchārasya tatratatra viprakirṇatayū-pasamhartumaśakyatvāt . . . vichārya |

Chikadēva mahīpālāsachchūdrānujighrikshayā |

prabandha makarōdenam Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇayam |

Here *anujighrikshā* means *anugraha*, showing favour to, conferring benefits on, or furthering or upholding the good of *Sachchūdras*.

161. Wilson, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 75-79. This has been declared one of the finest passages in the whole of this *Purāṇa*. Considerations of space forbid its reproduction here, but it is well worth reading in the original or in the translation of Wilson.

person of unblemished mind " is to be known " to be a worshipper of Vishṇu." And Yama ordains his messenger not to "come into the sight of him in whose heart the imperishable soul resides ; for he is defended from my power by the discus of his deity ; he is designed for another world (for the heaven of Vishṇu)." ¹⁶² The main plank in the argument of Chikkadēva that Sachchūdras can attain salvation by the faithful carrying out of their *karma* is thus a reflection of the teaching of both the *Gītā* and the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*. Chikkadēva, however, in thus stressing the duties of Sachchūdras, does not forget to insist on their essential equality with the three other divisions or the mutual interdependence of the four taken as a whole. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that he goes beyond the limits set to them in the ancient teachings (*Śrutis* and *Smritis*) such as *Manu* and the like. Nor does he, so far as can be seen, transcend the teachings of Bādarāyaṇa as expounded in the *Apasūdrādhikaraṇa*. ¹⁶³ Indeed his main theme is that within the limits prescribed by the ancient seers, a Sachchūdra is entitled to protection for the service he renders, and that salvation is possible to him if he devotes himself to his duties and to the adoration of Vishṇu. Though Chikkadēva does not show an advance on *Manu* and the text-writers in the matter of

162. *Ibid.*

163. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* allows a Śūdra to perform rites in honour of the dead (see Wilson, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, III, 88). As *Manu* is more rigorous in this respect, it might perhaps be inferred that the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* marks an advance on the *Manu-Smṛiti* in this regard (see *Manu*, X, 109). As to Bādarāyaṇa's position, see the *Vēdānta-Sūtras—Apasūdrādhikaraṇa*, I, 3, 88-89 (Rāmānuja) ; I, 3, 84-88 (Śankara and Ānandatīrtha). But all these ordinances are overshadowed by the declaration in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* that there are "duties equally incumbent upon all the four castes," a passage which, as shown in the text above, has its counterpart in the *Manu-Smṛiti* as well. Both sets of declarations have to be read together if we are to understand the actual conduct which governed the relations between the four different divisions of society. This is exactly what Chikkadēva does in his work, in which, he says, he has brought together scattered texts bearing on the well-being of Sachchūdras (*vide f.n. 160 supra*).

written declarations, his bringing together of the scattered texts relating to the duties of Sachchūdras, and no less the manner in which he has woven the teachings of the *Gītā* into their texture, shows the humane ruler he was. He tried to secure social order and political consolidation by making each unit realize how dependent it is on the other for its own good and for the common weal. He laboured to work out in detail how those belonging to the fourth order should aim at becoming Sachchūdras and thus help not only to maintain society together but also attain to spiritual salvation.

Thus, as an example of the interaction of the tendencies and forces of the times, Chikkadēva's social experiment acquires considerable significance. Indeed, while there are indications of the widespread application and adoption of his code, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava background underlying it seems to have formed the supreme factor governing his legislation relating to the Arasu families also in the State. Some of these families, who were directly related to the Royal House, had shown a tendency to give up the due performance of rites and ceremonies originally prescribed for them, and had contracted alliances with families considered as belonging to a lower status (*gaudapaṭṭu sambandha*), while others had cultivated relations with families of inferior social standing (*baḍajāti sambandha*). Realising the need for preserving undefiled the social status of these families and their purity of blood, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, on October 2, 1690 (*Pramōdūta*, *Āśvīja śu.* 10), instituted a careful inquiry into the matter.¹⁶⁴ As a result of this inquiry, the doubtful families were differentiated from those who showed evidence of having maintained the purity of their blood so far; the former were absorbed in the respective

164. *Annals*, I. 129. The ordinance which Chikkadēva issued in this connection, as described above, partakes in part of the character of what may be called, in modern parlance, a Royal Marriage Act.

lineages with which they had contracted their relations, while the latter were grouped into 31 families (*manetana*), 13 among them being recognised as of an exceptionally pure stock and the remaining 18 as of a slightly lower status in consequence of certain differences in the usages and practices observed by them.¹⁶⁵ Marital relations as amongst these families, it was further laid down,¹⁶⁶ were to be strictly endogamous in character. An exception, however, was made in the case of the members of 13 families, who were allowed to receive as wives daughters from the 18 families only in respect of second or third connections.¹⁶⁷ To look after the successful working of these arrangements, to supervise the general social relations with the 31 families, and to see that they regularly observed the Vedic rites and practices laid down for them, Sōmarājaiya of Mūgūr, father-in-law of Chikkadēvarāja, and Appājaiya, the Palace genealogist, were appointed as special Huzūr officers (*Sammukhada Gurikār*, *Sammukhada Karaṇika*), an order to this effect being communicated to the 31 families summoned to the court.¹⁶⁸

The growth of wealth and luxury in the period was as usual accompanied by the concomitant social evil, by now an established fact in fashionable society. We have

The other side of the shield.

165. *Ibid*, 129-130. The 13 families, referred to in this source, were those of Mysore, Mūgūr, Yelandūr, Kottāgāla, Arikutthāra, Nilasōge-Hyākanūr, Bilugulī-Naranallī (Narunelli), Kaḷale-Huṇasanāḷu, Halēbiḍu-Bilikere, Heḍatale-Hemmaragāla-Toravalli, Kōṭe-Mūḍaṇakōṭe-Hura-Hullahaḷḷi, Tagaḍūr and Kārugahaḷḷi. The 18 families were those of Kirugunda, Bāgaḷi, Muḷlūr, Kōṭe Singappa Woḍeyar, Malagūḍu, Sindhuvaḷḷi, Marase, Hebbāḷ, Kikkēri, Hādanūr, Kulagāṇa, Talakāḍ, Beḷlūr, Hosakōṭe, Maḷalavāḍi, Maddūr, Hebbalaguppe and Tippūr. See also the *O. Sap.* (pp. 192-193, v. 3), a contemporary work, which speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having established on a proper footing and regulated the lineages of families (*kulagōtragaḷa saṃyugōṣṭre . . . kulagōtragaḷa pempu . . . naḍateya nelegolaṣida baḷu nēmagāranige*). Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to the Arasu families is perhaps echoed here. Cf. the loose and gossip account of Dēvachandra in the *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 477-479, also XI. 388-389.

166. *Ibid*, 130.

167. *Ibid*.

168. *Ibid*, 130-131.

idealized pictures of and scenes from the courtezans' street (*vēśyāvāṭa*, *sūḷegēri*)—particularly in the cities of Seringapatam and Mysore—not entirely divorced from actualities, depicting their luxurious life and the ethics of their profession, and suggestively hinting at moderation as an ideal to be achieved.¹⁶⁹ It is a question if the social evil was really as rampant as some of the works of the period would seem to indicate. Evidently members of the female sex had escaped, by about this time, the tyranny to which they had been long subjected from early times. The condition of women had by now been greatly softened by the refinements of social life. Education had made some progress among women. They had even taken to writing moral text-books. Culture had spread and even percolated deeper into the lower strata of society. If the women who had embraced the life of ease and pleasure enjoyed freedom from constraint and had comfort at their command, they certainly reflected a state of society which made such comfort and ease possible of realization by a larger number without the wells of social life being poisoned for them. But neither the growth of competence nor even of luxury can wholly explain the growth of the social evil to the extent to which it had evidently attained in the time of Chikka-dēva. In the imaginary ramble through a whole night depicted for us in one work of the period,¹⁷⁰ we perceive something more than a mere description of the sights seen by the adventurous couple of night-wanderers in the happy haunts of Seringapatam. We see in it a

169. See, for instance, *Yad. Mahat.*, III; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 10, vv. 47-51; *Śrī. Mahat.*, I, 140-163, II, 68-111, etc.

170. See *C. Vi.*, canto VI, where Tirumalārya shows with powerful insight, in the form of a burlesque, how the rigour of the old sexual laws (laid down by classical writers like Vātsyāyana) was being more honoured in the breach than in the observance thereof in the society of his time. For further references to the gradual growth of the social evil in the 17th century, *vide* under *Social life* in Chs. IX-X of this work.

picture, besides, of the rigour of unequal marital unions of the time.¹⁷¹ Hindu society then sanctioned more easily marriages which were not infrequently incompatible with the true happiness of those brought together in legal wedlock. The independence that women enjoyed under the Hindu Code rendered them free of control. Adultery was not a crime then as now and the damsels consecrated for service in the temples (*Dēvaraḍiṃyāl*, *Dēvadāsi*) had fallen low and were able to make a profession of their knowledge of the arts of dancing, singing and even letters.¹⁷² Freedom to secure wealth, legal capacity to own property and transmit it to her own heirs and the human right to be deemed a *person* and not a *thing*—as under Roman Law in Europe, until it was superseded by the Code Napoleon in later days—not only enabled every member of the female sex to act as she liked but also to make

171. The rigour of the marital law may be inferred from the following features characteristic of it: (1) The time of marriage was fixed at the early age of eight years. (2) Marriage was not a contract between the parties but one arranged by the parents whose approbation was, in any case, required. (3) The son was subject to the control of the parents until a legal division was effected between him and his father. (4) Dissolution of marriage was impossible under the law for the upper classes and though divorce was sanctioned by usage in the case of the rest, the example of the upper classes set the standard for all and hence usage was rarely effective in this connection. This inherent dislike to resort to the manly prerogative of divorce was much like the odium which was evinced against its exercise among the Romans even in just cases. The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of individual Romans who abstained from the use of this tempting privilege for above five hundred years. But the same fact shows, as Gibbon remarks, the unequal terms of a connection in which the slave was unable to relinquish her tyrant, and the tyrant was unable to relinquish her slave. When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new legal conception was evolved that marriage was, like other partnerships, a contract and can be dissolved by the abdication of one of the parties to it. We know too how this privilege of divorce has degenerated into mere license and the most sacred of ties violated in a manner at once unjustifiable and immoral. Happily that stage has not yet been reached in this country and it is to be hoped that it will not be, though society may require an escape from unequal unions in just cases.

172. For an account of *Dēvaraḍiṃyāl* and what led to their degradation, see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. ii. 1295-1297.

social life easy for many who could find no felicity in their own domestic circles. If marriage as a solemn sacrament made life difficult in some cases, the existence of a group of women with trained intelligence and a wider outlook rendered escape from the agonies of unequal lives possible. To this loose and voluntary compact, neither religious ceremonies were required nor did legal rights flow from them to either party. The happiness of life which such unions made possible was, however, more apparent than real, for mental adjustments were not always easy and society looked with disfavour on such commingling and it was accounted a misfortune if the existence of such misalliances came to be known in public. The dignity of marriage was refused to them and that was the one effective check that law and society possessed against its more general prevalence to the detriment of society. Changes in the law did not keep pace with the advance of society and centuries of prosperity and corruption did not help to evolve the principle of divorce for the upper classes while the rest suffered from their high example. This arrested development of law resulted in the most tender of human relations being deserted to a transient society of pleasure, which was the more deplorable because everybody knew the evil but none dared propose a remedy for it. The higher ideal prevailed but as an ideal and the generality of the people who stuck to it failed to note the injury they were doing to society at large by their supineness in a matter of primary importance affecting the general welfare of the community.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

Literary activity : General tendencies and features—Authors and their contributions : (a) *Sri-Vaishnava literature*—Chikkupadhyaya : The *Sangatyas*, c. 1673-1676—The *Kamandaka-Niti* and the *Suka-Saptati*, c. 1676-1677—The *Divya-Suri-Charite*, 1678—The *Mahatmyas*, c. 1678-1680—The *Bhagavad-Gita-Tiku* and the *Rukmangada-Charitre*, c. 1678-1681—*Other works*, c. 1680-1691—Timmā-Kavi : The *Mahatmyas*, 1677-1680—The *Chikkadevendra-Vamsavalu*, c. 1680—Mallikarjuna : The *Sriranga-Mahatmya*, 1678—Mallarasa : The *Dasavatara-Charitre*, c. 1680—Tirumalarya : The *Copper-plates*, 1663, 1675—The *Stavahs*, c. 1673-1678—The *Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavalu*, c. 1678-1680—The *Chikkadevaraja-Vijayam*, c. 1682-1686—The *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*, c. 1695-1700—*Other works*—Singararya : Gloss on the *Yadugiri-Narayana-Stavah*, c. 1678-1680 : the *Srisailarya-Dinacharya*, c. 1700—The *Mitravinda-Govindam*, c. 1700-1704—*Other works*—Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar : The *Bharata-Vachana* ; the *Bhagavata* (*Chikkadevaraja-Sukti-Vilasa*), c. 1682-1686—The *Sachchudrachara-Nirnaya*, c. 1687-1690—The *Chikkadevaraya-Saptapadi* and *Tripadigala-Tatparya*, c. 1690-1695—The *Chikkadevaraja-Binnampam* and the *Gita-Gopalam*, c. 1700-1704—Ramayanam—Tirumalarya : The *Devanagara Plate*, c. 1686-1690—*Other works*—Honnamma and Sringaramma : The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*, c. 1678-1680—The *Padmini-Kalyana*, c. 1685—(b) *Vira-Saiva literature*—Shadaksharadeva and his works—(c) *Jaina literature*—Chidananda : The *Munvamsa-bhyudaya*, c. 1700—Chikkanna-Pandita : The *Vaidya-Nighantu-Sara*, 1703—(d) *Miscellaneous works*—The nature of the Vaishnavite Revival.

THE reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar witnessed a literary activity which, perhaps, stands unrivalled in the history of Mysore. Learning and literature flourished under his active encouragement and patronage. Indeed, a mere entrance to the assembly of

Literary activity ·
General tendencies
and features.

scholars in his court, says a contemporary,¹ was enough to remove one's mental apathy and make him really learned and excel in all arts. While adequate attention was paid to the preservation and propagation of sacred lore on the one side, great care was, on the other, bestowed on the fostering of Kannada language and literature. While the Jains and Vira-Śaivas, under the tolerant policy of Chikkadēvarāja, continued to make their contributions to the latter, literary output was to a considerable extent augmented by the Brāhmins (particularly the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas) and those working under their influence, including Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself. The growth of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the country and its adoption by Chikkadēvarāja as his personal creed were, beyond doubt, the main factors underlying this remarkable achievement. Most of the literary productions of the period are undated, but, broadly speaking, from the internal evidence afforded by the works themselves and from references available from other sources, they are assignable to the intervals of peace and quiet during one or the other of the three principal epochs of the reign, namely, 1673-1680, 1680-1696, 1696-1704. The works are usually found written in *Haḷagannaḍa*, poetry or prose, though there are indications that *Hosagannaḍa* was in use side by side, as can be seen from some of the productions, especially in poems of the *sāṅgatyā* metre and in prose renderings among others. Among the subjects dealt with are the Purāṇas, religion and philosophy, politics and maxims traditional history, poetics and drama. Some of these productions are original writings of exceptional literary merit, while others are intelligible translations from

1. See Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 116*, ll. 77-79:

Samayati jaḍmānam saumanasyam prasūte
Sakala sarasa-vidyā kausalāni vyanakti |
Sakrāpi Chikkadēvakāḥmābhrāsthāna-simā
Parigata budha-gōṣṭhi-prānta-pankti pravēśaḥ ||

Sanskrit or Tamil works, containing also original compositions of a varied character. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature of the reign, in particular, is in a great measure creative, expressive and educative—creative in the sense that it resorts to newer and popular modes of expression (such, for instance, as the increasing use of *sāṅgatyā*, *tripadi*, *chaupadi*, *saptapadi*, *kanda* and *ragaḷe* among the poetical metres, and the adoption of a dignified yet flowing and homely prose style) without, however, deviating from classical models (as, for instance, the *champu*), and that it aims at variety in place of uniformity; expressive in the sense that it fully embodies, and reflects, the spirit of the age; and educative in the sense that most of the productions, apart from their value to the cultured classes, were generally intended for the edification of the masses. The towering personality of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar appears prominently throughout this literary movement as its guiding spirit, nay, as its very inspirer, if not creator (*nūtana sāhitya-brahmanupama Chikkadēva-bhūpati*),² as indeed he was looked upon by his own contemporaries.

The leading workers in the field were undoubtedly
 Authors and their contributions Chikkupādhyāya and Tirumalārya (Tirumalāyangār), the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava ministers of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.
 (a) Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature. To the school of the former belong his protégés, namely, Timma-Kavi, Mallikārjuna and Mallarasa; to that of the latter Singarārya, Chikkadēvarāja, Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, Honnamma and Śringāramma, all of whose productions are permeated by the essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava spirit of the age. Though Chikkupādhyāya and his school appear to claim by far the greatest share of the literary output during the reign, the influence of the two leaders and

2. See *Hastī. Mahat.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 102.

their schools on the development of Śrī-Vishnavism in its theoretical and practical aspects was, it is interesting to find, mutual and complementary.

Chikkupādhyāya, whose real name was Lakshmīpati and whose ancestry and attainments we have elsewhere adverted to,³ was a prominent scholar at the court of Seringapatam during a greater part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. He is referred⁴ to as one skilled in the art of poetical composition, a neo-Bṛhaspati in respect of literary accomplishments and an expert in the Kannaḍa language. He was the author of numerous works which have come down to us, assignable to the period c. 1673-1691.

Probably the earliest of these (c. 1673-1676) are⁵ the *Aksharamālikā-Sāṅgatyā*, *Pāschimaraṅga-Sāṅgatyā*, *Rangadhāma-Stuti-Sāṅgatyā*, *Śringūra-Śataka-Sāṅgatyā*, *Rangadhāma-Purusha-Viraha-Sāṅgatyā*, *Rangadhāma-Nīti-Śataka-Sāṅgatyā* and *Chitra-Śataka-Sāṅgatyā*. All these are poems composed in the popular *sāṅgatyā* metre—as their names indicate—in honour of God Ranganātha of Seringapatam, of whom Chikkadēvarāja was an ardent devotee. Indeed they occupy an important place in the devotional literature of Śrī-Vaishnavism in Kannaḍa. Perhaps they also seem to indicate an attempt on the part of the poet to commemorate his own elevation from the position of a teacher to that of a minister, since they invariably voice his intimacy with his patron (Chikkadēvarāja).⁶

3. *Vide* under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

4. *Hasti. Mahāt.*, I, 103; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, col.: *Kavita-vidhana-nipūṇam*; *Sāhityado! nūtana gishpati*; *Karnāṭaka-bhāṣa-chadura*.

5. Ms. No. 18-6. 11 (P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), containing the collection; also Ms. No. B. 250 (P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), containing only the *Pāschimaraṅga-Sāṅgatyā* and *Purusha-Viraha-Sāṅgatyā*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467, 485-489.

6. *Vide* references cited, and textual expressions quoted, in Ch. XII, f.n. 25.

Next in order are the *Kāmandaka-Nīti*⁷ and the *Śuka-Saptati*⁸ (c. 1676-1677). Both these works are prose renderings, done at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. They begin with invocations to Viṣṇu, Lakshmi, Rāmānuja and the Āḷvārs. The former work deals, within the compass of 8 chapters (*āśvāsa*), with the ancient science of politics (*daṇḍanīti*) as expounded by Kāmandaki. The introductory chapter contains verses in the *vritta* metre and prose passages (*vachana*) dealing, among others, with the pedigree (*vamśāvali*) and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja, the latest event referred to being the siege and capitulation of Jaḍakana-durga (1675-1676).⁹ The latter work treats of maxims (*yuktigala*) in the form of seventy didactic stories said to have been narrated ages ago by the sage Śukāchārya to a king by name Vahni-rāja. There is, however, no reference to any political event in this work, which would enable us to fix its date. At any rate, since both the *Kāmandaka-Nīti* and the *Śuka-Saptati* deal with cognate subjects, there is reason to believe that their rendering took place in close succession to one another. Apart from the value of these works as good specimens of seventeenth century Kannaḍa in Mysore (*satkarnāṭakā-rītiyim* ; *Karnāṭa-sadbhāṣheyo*),¹⁰ they embody data which are, as a whole, of considerable importance to us from the points of view of the political history of the earlier years of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, the development of his political and administrative knowledge and the early adoption of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as

7. Ms. No. 19-1-12—P.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 467, 484.

8. Ms. No. 19-4-88—P.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; cf. Ms. Nos. A. 101 and 153—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; also the printed work in the *Mys. Or. Lib.* (Pub. K. T. Śrīnivāśachārya, *Karnāṭaka Mudrākshara Sālā*, Bangalore, 1874); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

9. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 85, for details.

10. *Kāmand. Nī.*, II, 3; *Śu. Sap.*, I, ff. 2 (A. 153).

his personal religion.¹¹ So clear indeed is the prose style of these writings that they seem to reveal an attempt at a direct exposition of their subject-matter by Chikkupādhyāya to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself.

On February 18, 1678, Chikkupādhyāya completed the *Divya-Sūri-Charite*.¹² It is a *champu* work in *Haḷagaṇḍa*, in 14 chapters, rendered from the original work in Tamil at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja. It deals with the history of the twelve Śrī-Vaiṣṇava saints (*Ālvārs*, *Sūri*). The author styles it an epic (*mahā-prabandha*). The introductory chapter begins as usual with invocations to Rāmānuja, God Ranganātha of Seringapatam and the Ālvārs; and contains a brief account of the pedigree of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and references to his religious avocations and his court. The succeeding chapters are centred round the subject-matter proper. The diction is sweet and melodious, in keeping with the established principles of the Kannaḍa language (*Kannaḍa bhāshā-kramadi nosedu*),¹³ the prevailing sentiment being *bhakti*. It is an important contribution to the traditional history and philosophy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannaḍa, intended for popular use (*rūḍhiyāgiralēvēḷkendu*).¹⁴

The next series of Chikkupādhyāya's works belongs to the period c. 1678-1680, and deals mainly with the Purāṇic accounts of the merits of holy places (*Māhātmya*) of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava importance. These accounts are renderings from the originals in Sanskrit, done at the

11. Vide Chs. XI—XIII, for details.

12. Pub. in the *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalanidhi Series*, No. 83 (G. T. A. Press, Mysore, 1911)—see XIV, 124. *Piṅgaḷa samvatsara Phālgunāmaḷa mahāpakṣhaṣṭamī*; also item No. 74 (P. L. Ms.) of the *Oat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 486, 478-480) which places the work in or before 1672 on the ground that a copy of it was made in *Vīrōdhikrit* (1672). Possibly *Vīrōdhikrit* is a scribal error for *Vīrōdhi* (1709).

13. XIV, 120.

14. XIV, 119.

instance of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Thus, the *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya*,¹⁵ in 16 chapters, contains an account of Kanjagiri (or the Gōpālasvāmi hill) as given in the *Bhaviṣhyōttara-Purāṇa*; the *Hastigiri-Māhātmya*,¹⁶ in 18 chapters; the *Venkuṭagiri-Māhātmya*¹⁷ and the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*,¹⁸ in 10 chapters each; and the *Paśchimaranga-Māhātmya*,¹⁹ in 6 chapters—these enshrine, respectively, accounts of Kānchi, Tirupati, Śrīrangam and Seringapatam, as narrated in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*; and lastly, the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*,²⁰ in 12 chapters, deals with the account of Mēlkōṭe (*Yadugiri*) as related in the *Nāradya-Purāṇa*. These compilations are generally written in a mixture of *Haḷagannaḍa* prose and poetry. The methodology adopted in them by Chikkupādhyāya is of particular interest to us. In the introductory chapter of each *Māhātmya*, Rāmānuja, the Ālvārs, the demi-gods of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava hierarchy (like Garuḍa and Viṣhvakṣēṇa) and the presiding deity of the place dealt with, are usually invoked. Then follows a geographical description of the Karnāṭaka country (*bhūbhāga-varṇane*) including the city of Mysore. This is succeeded in turn by an account of the pedigree (*vamśa-vistāra-varṇane*) of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore and by a narrative of the exploits of Chikkadēvarāja himself (the hero and the poet's patron), the latest political event referred to being the siege and acquisition of Andūr, Maddagiri and

15 Ms. Nos. B. 38 and 42—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467, 471-473.

16 Ms. No. B. 61—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid*, 467, 473-475.

17 Ms. No. 18-4-18—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid*, 467, 483.

18 Ms. No. B. 270—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid*, l.c.

19 Ms. No. 18-6-11—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid*, 467, 485.

20 Ms. No. 18-21-16—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid*, 467, 482.

the adjacent forts (1678).²¹ References to the personality, character and rule of Chikkadēva, his religious avocations and his Durbār and the ancestry and attainments of the poet, among other particulars, not infrequently follow, both by way of completing the descriptive account of the rise and fortunes of the hero (*nāyakābhīyudaya-varṇane*) and by way of indicating that the *Māhātmya* was a product of Chikkadēvarāja's court. The succeeding chapters deal with the subject-matter proper of the work. In exceptionally longer works like the *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya*, the subject-matter commences in the third chapter, the second being devoted to what purports to be an ideal description of the night adventures of the hero (*rātri-vihāra-varṇane*). All these productions are, again, marked by variety in point of style. The *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya* is a *champu* work. It is, further, a new form of composition, characterized by grandeur of sentiment, splendour of diction, excellence of meanings, nicety of verbal embellishment and beauty of euphonic junctions and compounds.²² The *Hastigiri-Māhātmya*, another *champu*, is also written in the same style of literary expression while adhering to the *Kāvya* model, the objective aimed at being, of course, popular appreciation.²³ The *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya* is a prose commentary.²⁴ The *Śrīranga-Māhātmya* is also written

21. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 57 and 63, for details. The *Kar. Ku. Cha.* (II. 468) speaks of the *Hasti. Mahāt.* and the *Kamālā. Mahāt.* as having been written in 1679 (*Kaḷayukti*) and 1680 (*Raudrī*), respectively, without citing the relevant texts. The manuscripts of these works examined by us seem to contain no reference to these dates. From internal evidence, as set forth above, they have to be assigned, along with the other *Mahātmyas*, to the period c. 1678-1680.

22. III, 78:

Rasabhavam piridage bandhadesakam saitdage sabdarthado-
l posakpravasbhavamage nunnudigaloppambettu chelvosye sam- |
dhi-samdsam posatage Kannadadola Kanjard-Mahatmyamam-
rasikar mechchi pogaluvnam virachikam sarmantri-Lakshmiyaram ||

28. I, 101, 105, 108. *Posatadoḥnuḍiyinde; suprabandha-mārgam merevan-
tondi; ellar prēmade tīlhalipante.*

24. Vide colophon: *Vyākhyāna vistāramam . . . Karnaṭaka ṭippanadoḥ.*

in prose, being intended solely for popular enlightenment.²⁵ The *Paśchimaranga-Māhātmya* and the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* are poems in the *sāngatya* metre, the latter being written in prose also as *Yadugiri-Māhātmya*.²⁶ The *Māhātmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya, on the whole, constitute a new type of literature in themselves, in that they delineate Śrī-Vaiṣṇava tradition against a background of epic poetry, *bhakti* being the prevailing sentiment throughout. They are thus an important addition to the literature on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannada.

To almost the same period (c. 1678-1681) belong the *Bhagavad-Gītā-Tīku*²⁷ and the *Rukmāṅgada-Charitṛe*,²⁸ both written, as usual, at the instance of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. The former, a work in 18 chapters, is an intelligible Kannaḍa prose rendering (*tīku*) of the original Sanskrit text.²⁹ It embodies a clear and popular exposition of the philosophy of the Lord's message to Arjuna.³⁰ The latter work is a *champu* in 12 chapters, dealing with the story of Rukmāṅgada as narrated in the *Nāradya-Purāṇa*. It is intended to inculcate the merits of the *Ēkādaśi-Vratam*, devoutly observed by Chikkadēvarāja himself.³¹ The

25 *Ibid* *Kathāsaṅgatiyam sarvajānargo sulabhamāgri tīlvante*.

26 See colophon to the work quoted in *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 483 *Karṇāṭakavachana-rachanābhāṇamāda Yadugiri-Māhātmyadoḷ*.

27. Ms. No. K. 466—P. L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*

28 Ms. No. 18-5-18—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; also B. 41—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 467-468, 475-477) which speaks of this work as having been written in 1681 (*s. 1604, Durmati*) without, however, citing the relevant text. From the Ms. copy of the work (from the *Mad. Or. Lib.*) examined by us, we only note that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar observed the *Dvādaśi-Vratam* in October 1679 (*Siddhārtha, Āsvīja śu. 12*), at the time the work was written (I, 87). 1679-1681 appears thus to be the probable date of composition of the *Rukmāṅgada-Charitṛe*.

29. I, 67-68: *Tīṣṭva teraḍi Karnāṭakadim; Kannaḍadoḷ gūcharamappante*.

30. I, 69: *Ambujāmbakam vāncheyim naranol pēḷa rahasyatatva-makṣhīlārgam spaṣṭamappantu*.

31. I, 86-89, 98; see also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII of this work.

methodology adopted in both these works which are contributions to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature in Kannaḍa, is similar to that followed in the *Māhātmyas*.

During c. 1680-1691 Chikkupādhyāya appears to have written the *Śēśha-Dharmā*,³² the *Sātvika-Brahma-Vidyā-Vilāsa*³³ and the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*³⁴ (c. 1691). All these writings begin with invocations to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava pantheon in the same manner as the earlier ones. The *Śēśha-Dharma* is a prose work (*tīku*) in 25 chapters, translated from the *Āśvamēdhika-Parva* of the *Hari-Vamśa*. Chikkupādhyāya, as he tells us,³⁵ wrote it at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja for popular enlightenment, following the principles of Kannaḍa composition laid down in the *Bhāshābhūṣaṇam* (12th cent.). The *Sātvika-Brahma-Vidyā-Vilāsa* is a *champu* rendered, under the orders of Chikkadēvarāja (*ājñaptanāgī*), from the original Sanskrit work of that name. It deals, in 9 chapters, with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaitism* which continued to engage the attention

32. Ms. No. 18-3-23—P. L., *Mad. Or. Lib.*, also No. A. 193—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467, 468.

33. Ms. No. B. 44—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 480.

34. Pub. in the *Karnātaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, Nos. 45, 36 and 30, Mysore, 1914, 1911 and 1910, Parts 1, 1 and 5; also Mss. Nos. A. 99 and 100—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467. The Mss., referred to, contain no specific reference to Chikkupādhyāya, the author. They appear to have been copied by a scribe who went by the name of Venkaṭanarasāya, a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (see ff. 338-339). The colophons in the Mss. differ from those of the published work, which clearly mention Chikkupādhyāya's name; but the subject matter of the text is similar. The *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (l.c.) refers to the prose version of the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* and has no particulars about it. It, again, speaks of the work as having been written in 1691 (II. 468) without citing the relevant textual reference. The Mss. and the published work do not refer to the date. However, we are inclined to take 1691 as the probable date of the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, assigning it to the latest period of Chikkupādhyāya's literary activity (c. 1680-1691).

35. See v. 2 of each ch.

*Śēśha-Dharmakke tīkanasēśha-jaṇam tīlva terade Chikkupādhyāyam |
Tōṇise Chikkadēvēndram Bhāshābhūṣaṇada Kannaḍade virachisi-
dam ||*

of Chikkadēvarāja in an increasing measure during the period 1680-1696. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* is a prose treatise in Kannaḍa, translated from the original work in the form of a dialogue between the sages Maitrēya and Parāśara.³⁶ It is written in 5 parts' (*aṃśa*), each containing a varying number of chapters, and the whole dealing mainly with the philosophy of the principal incarnations of Vishṇu. Lucid, flowing and thoroughly enjoyable, this work typifies the new model *Hosagannaḍa* prose style that was evolved in Mysore towards the close of the seventeenth century. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* of Chikkupādhyāya has come down in 6 parts in the *champu* form also,³⁷ the prose version, however, being by far the more popular. Among other contributions of Chikkupādhyāya to the literature on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, perhaps assignable to the same period, are the *Tiruvāimoli-Ṭiku*,³⁸ a prose commentary in Kannaḍa on the original Tamil treatise of the great Nammālvār, and the *Padma-Purāṇa-Ṭiku*,³⁹ a prose version in Kannaḍa of the original Sanskrit work of that name. He is also credited⁴⁰ with having written the *Amaruka-Śataka*, *Vaidyāmṛta-Ṭiku*, *Arthā-Panchaka* and *Tatva-Traya*.

Timma-Kavi was, as he refers to himself,⁴¹ a Brāhman of Jāmadagni-gōtra, being an ardent devotee of God Vēnugōpāla. He was probably a disciple of a religious preceptor by name Gōpāla.⁴² He occupied an important place

36. See colophon to each part of the published work: *Maitrēya-Parāśara-samvāda rūpamāda Śrī-Vishṇu-Purāṇavemba prabandha*.

37. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 477-478.

38. *Ibid.*, 467, 489-490.

39. See *M. A. R.*, 1933, pp. 107-108.

40. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467

41. *Yad. Mahāt.*, I, 21; *Paśc. Mahāt.*, I, 11: Jāmadagnyanvayōdbhava; Śrī-Vēnugōpāla pādavanē jāta . . . bhringam; Vara-Vēnugōpālaka bhaktam.

42. See *Yad. Mahāt.*, I, 26; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, v. 10:

Hṛdayāmbhōruhaḍalligam nenedu Gōpālāṅghri-pankējamam |
Mudavettātanamujneyāntusurveṇi-vidvaddāyāśradham ||

in the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the protégé of Chikkupādhyāya,⁴³ at whose instance he wrote in Kannaḍa the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*,⁴⁴ the *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya*⁴⁵ and the *Paschimaranga-Māhātmya*⁴⁶ dealing, respectively, with the merits of the holy places, Mēlkōṭe, Tirupati and Seringapatam. All these are *champu* works. They belong to the same category as the *Māhātmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya (c. 1678-1680) alike in respect of methodology and subject-matter. The latest political event referred to in these productions is the siege and capitulation of Jaḍakana-durga (1675-1676) and Maddagiri (1678).⁴⁷ These works are, again, written in a sweet and flowing diction. Although *bhakti* is, as usual, the prevailing sentiment, the poet is at his best in his attention to minute details in describing Nature, and in his delineation of the erotic sentiment (*śringāra*), particularly in the introductory chapters.

Perhaps Timma-Kavi was the earliest contributor to the *Māhātmyas* as a type of literature during Chikkadēvarāja's reign, for, we learn, he completed the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* on February 2, 1677.⁴⁸ This work is in 16 chapters. The poet gives it the character of an epic treatise (*prabandha*) composed in the poetic prose style (*Karnāṭaka vachana rachaneya*).⁴⁹ An interesting feature of the work is that the subject-matter proper is dealt with from the fifth chapter onwards, the first four being devoted, respectively, to a delineation of the geographical features of the Karnāṭaka country (*bhūbhāga-varṇane*),

43. *Pasch. Māhāt.*, l.c. *Chikkupādhyāya-prasāda-niratam*.

44. Mss. Nos. B. 56—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and K. 431—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 492-495

45. Ms. No. B. 54—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 492-493, 496-498.

46. Ms. No. B. 37—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 492, 496.

47. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 35 and 63, for details.

48. See ff. 103 of Ms. K. 431: *Naḷa samvatsarada Māgha siddha daṣami* . . . *yoḷ* . . . *pūrn̄am*; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 493.

49. I, 23; also colophon.

pedigree, rise and fortunes of the hero, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*vamśa-vistāra-varṇane*; *nāyakābhyudaya-varṇane*), and his night adventures (*rātrivihāra-varṇane*) and amusements (*chaturanga vinōda-yuddha* . . . *mṛgayā vasanta jalakrīḍā-varṇanam*), including his visit to the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Mēlkōṭe (*Nārayaṇa sandarśanādi*). The *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya*, said to have been completed in 1679,⁵⁰ is in 10 chapters, written in the narrative style (*vastukada mārgadoḷ*).⁵¹ The *Paschimaranga-Māhātmya*, written c. 1679-1680, is in 5 chapters, also composed in the narrative style (*vastukarachaneyim*).⁵² Timma-Kavi was probably the author also of the *Chikkadēvendra-Vamśavali* (c. 1680),⁵³ a *champu* work of outstanding literary merit, containing several verses and prose passages—in a modified and highly polished style—from the first two chapters of his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*.

Mallikārjuna, another Brāhman poet of the period, wrote a Kannaḍa version of the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*⁵⁴ at the instance of Chikkupādhyāya (*Chikkupādhyāya-prērita Mallikārjuna prāṇita*), the work being completed on February 26, 1678.⁵⁵ This is also a *champu* in 12 chapters, and belongs to the same type of literature as the *Māhātmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi. The subject-matter, however, actually begins in the third chapter, the first two being introduc-

50. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.* l.c.: s. 1601, *Kaḷayukti*. The Ms. examined by us, however, was found to contain no date.

51. I, 63.

52. I, 55.

53. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, No. 6, Mysore, 1901. For a detailed discussion of the evidence in support of Timma-Kavi's authorship of this work as against the position of the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* assigning the same to Vēṇugōpāla-Varaprasāda, vide Appendix VI—(8).

54. Ms. No. B. 52—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 498-500.

55. XII, 61: *Pīṅgaladoḷ Phālguna suddha Paurṇomyoḷ* . . . *paripūrṇamāyitu*; cf. *Ibid.*, 498.

tory chapters which, besides the usual features, contain a descriptive account in an ornate style of both the cities of Mysore and Seringapatam under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Mallikārjuna refers⁵⁶ to his work as a pleasing poem (*manjula kāvya*). He is, perhaps, the most expressive and prolific writer of the school of Chikkupādhyāya. His diction is sweet and majestic. He is, however, at his best in depicting Nature and in delineating the erotic sentiment.⁵⁷

Mallarasa (Mallarasānka-Paṇḍita) was another poet of the period. He was a Brāhman of Śrīvatsa-gōtra and Kaimme-vamśa, son of Timmarasa-mantri by Tippāmbikā, disciple of Sadānanda-guru and resident of Nāravangala.⁵⁸ At the instance of Chikkupādhyāya, he wrote the *Daśāvatāra-Charitre*⁵⁹ (c. 1680), another *champu*, in 11 chapters, dealing with the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The poet speaks of the work as an epic (*mahā-prabandha*).⁶⁰ It is written in a melodious diction.

Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyangār, the minister), whose ancestry and official position we have elsewhere detailed,⁶¹ occupied the foremost place among the scholars and poets of the court of Seringapatam during the greater part of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.⁶² He was celebrated for his wide learning,⁶³ and was known to have written numerous delightful works in Sanskrit and

56. XII, l.c.

57. See, for instance chs. I—II.

58. *Daśāvatāra-Charitre*, I, 25-26; also colophon.59. Ms. No. B. 98—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 510-513.

60. See colophon to the work.

61. *Vide* under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.62. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 4 (*vachana*): *Paṇḍita-kavi-maṇḍala-khaṇḍalar*.63. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 4. *Aśśhakalānidhīyumenisi negaḷda*; *aśśhutantra-svatantrateym*. See also *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474, where Dēvachandra speaks of Tirumalārya as having been an erudite scholar of his age (*Tirumalārya vidyā-viśārada-nenṇidam*).

Kannāḍa on the *śāstras*, *smṛti* and *stōtra*, narrative and epic poetry, drama and poetics.⁶⁴ Indeed, so profoundly did he and his younger brother Singarārya impress their contemporaries that, towards the close of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, as Singarārya himself testifies to,⁶⁵ both of them had established themselves as the literary dictators of their day—learned in all the *śāstras*, skilled in the art of poetical composition and ever engaged in imparting instruction in various branches of the sacred tradition and in the abstruse doctrines of the two systems of *Vēdānta* (*Ubhaya-Vēdānta*). Tirumalārya's works themselves, in particular, we learn,⁶⁶ had attained considerable popularity for the melody of his diction and eloquence, and for the grandeur of sentiment delineated by him. They were often quoted too by his own contemporaries.⁶⁷

Perhaps the earliest among the dated writings of Tirumalārya extant are the *Tirumakūḍlu-Narasipur Plates* (1663)⁶⁸ and the *Chāmarājanagar Plates* (1675),⁶⁹ composed in the Sanskrit *kāvya* style.

The Copper-plates,
1663, 1675

64. *Ibid*, p. 4 (*varṇana*): *Pirulāṇi śāstra-smṛti-stōtra-granthangalam, valladinnun Sakkadadoḷam Kannadadolam bēre vēre kuṇṇidam sūsuva palavageya kāvya-nāṭakālankāram modalādu vastuka varṇaka-prabandhangalam gaḍayillade niravisiṃpar.*

65. *Ibid*, I, 18 (p. 5):

*Ivararvar sarasar samāna-charitar sārāṇu-raḷḷyunnatar
Vivādhānṇāya-tadagraṇṇama-sarahasārthangalam bōdhipar |
Suvinitar-kavitā-praviṇa-rabhrūpar-sarva-śāstraṇarn
Tivarindase jagakke Saumya-Narasimhāryōttamar putriḡa! ||*

66. *Ibid*, I, 11-12 (p. 4):

*Pranūise bhāvukar Tirumalārya sarasvatī sārchi chittamam
Tūṇiyade Ranganāthanōḷe nartasugum śruti-maṇḷi-rangadoḷ || ;
Piridum prauḍhatvamam perkaḷike kavivar kabbadoḷ-śāstradōḷ-men
Karani sāhityadoḷ bittaripoḷe rasanam Tirumalāryarge saḷgum ||*

67. See, for instance, *Ibid*, I, 10 (p. 8), quoting from the *C. Vi.* (V, 106) and the *A. V. C.* (III, 46); also works of Chikkadēvarāja and inscriptions composed by Rāmāyasaṃ-Tirumalārya, noticed below.

68. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23; see also Ch. X, f.n. 169.

69. *Ibid*, IV (2) Ch. 92—see ll. 106-107:

*Kauśikānvaya smāhu-vādhōralagasingarāryasyu |
Tanayastirumalāryō vyatānītāmbra-śāsana ślōkan ||*

The earliest of the undated works of Tirumalārya are, however, a series of hymns (*stavaḥ*), also in Sanskrit, composed by him under the Sanskritised form of his name, Śrīśailārya or Śrīśaila-sūri.⁷⁰ The following among these have come down to us. *Śrī-Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavaḥ*⁷¹ and *Śrī-Yadugiri-Nāyaki-Stavaḥ*,⁷² in 79 and 24 stanzas respectively, in praise of the principal God and His Consort presiding over Mēlkōṭe: *Śrī-Lakshmī-Nṛsiṃha-Stavaḥ*,⁷³ in 23 stanzas in honour of God Lakshmī-Nṛsiṃha of Seringapatam; *Śrī-Manjula-Kēśava-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁴ in 25 stanzas, devoted to God Saumya-Kēśava of Nāgamangala; *Śrī-Apratima-Rājagōpāla-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁵ in 18 stanzas, in eulogy of God Apratima-Rājagōpāla of Haradanahalli, the patron deity of Chikka-dēvarāja; ⁷⁶ *Śrī-Paravāsudēva-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁷ in 70 stanzas, dedicated to God Paravāsudēva of Dēvanagara—on the banks of the Kaundinī—of whom Chikkadēva was an earnest adorer; ⁷⁸ and *Śrī-Gōpāla-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁹ in 32 stanzas,

70. See the end of each *Stavaḥ* in *Y N. Stavaḥ*, etc. *Śrīśaila-sūri kṛtishu*.

71. Pp 1-80 in *Y N. Stavaḥ*, etc., edited with *Introduction* (pp. i-vi) by Mr. Jaggū Venkaṭāchārva of Mēlkōṭe—Pub V B Subbairya & Sons, Bangalore, 1934 (in *Telugu* characters), see also Ms No. A 612—P.; *Mys Or. Lib.* Some of the hymns from the *Y N Stavaḥ* (i.e., vv. 3, 6-9, 68), we are told, are recited to this day by devotees of the God at Mēlkōṭe during the *Mantrapushpam* and on such occasions as *Sankrānti*, *Yugādī*, etc (see *Editorial Introduction*, pp. iii-iv), an indication of the popularity of the *Stavaḥ*.

72. Pp. 81-85 in *Ibid*.

73. Pp. 86-90 in *Ibid*.

74. Pp. 91-95 in *Ibid*

75. Pp. 96-99 in *Ibid*.

76. P. 96, v. 2

Bhūmā sahītōdhyastē bhūmā Chikadēvarāja-bhūpasya |
Kshēmāya Haradanapurim Śrīmānapratima-Rājagōpālāḥ ||

See also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

77. Pp. 100-112 in *Ibid*

78. P. 100, v. 3:

Parandhama kshirōdadhi varuṇa bimbam Karigiriḥ
Vṛshādri Śrīrangam Yadugiritaḥ Dēvanagaram |
Hṛdambhōjam bhaktyā surabhī Chikadēvendra-nṛpatēḥ
Tava kṛṣṇasthānanyahāḥ kalayē māmakamapī ||

See also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

79. Pp. 113-118 in *Ibid*.

devoted to God Gōpāla, the tutelary deity of Tirumalārya's family, settled in the abode of his father Nṛsimhārya or Aḷasingarārya.⁸⁰ All these hymns reflect to a considerable extent the early predilections of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism under the influence and example of his companion and councillor Tirumalārya. Hence they are to be taken as having been written between c. 1673-1678, a period which synchronises with the earlier productions of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi also. These hymns, again, like the *Sāngatyas* of Chikkupādhyāya, occupy an important place in the devotional literature available to-day on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. Elegant, dignified, and full of religious and moral fervour, they are an index of Tirumalārya's high attainments, and are good specimens of his poetical style in classical Sanskrit.

Next we have the Kannada works of Tirumalārya, also undated. The earliest of these is the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvalī*,⁸¹ a prose work in *Haḷagannaḍa* dealing with the traditional history of the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House, down to Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. This work, as it has come down to us, is incomplete, since it stops abruptly with the invasion of Seringapatam by Śivappa Nāyaka I (in 1659) in the very first year of the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. It is conspicuous also by the absence of any reference in the text to its authorship. That Tirumalārya was the undoubted author of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvalī* and that it was his first literary production in Kannada are, however, obvious from the occurrence of passages from

80. P. 113, v. 3; p. 115, v. 14. *Viharatī Nṛsimhārya bhavanē; Śrīman-Nṛsimha-guruvarya gṛhēthavāsyāt.*

81. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-5), in the *Karnaṭaka-Kāvya-Manjarī Series*, No. 13, Mysore, 1895; also P. L. Mss. of this work—No. 1095 of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*, and No. 112 (in *Grantha* characters) of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ka. Ka. Oha.*, II. 461, 464-465.

it in his *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*,⁸² and from the order of precedence followed by Tirumalārya himself in his *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam*⁸³ while alluding to his other works. There are, again, indications in the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* that it was written at a time when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was becoming famous as *Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī* after curbing the local powers, and when he, at the height of his power, was asserting his claims to the sovereignty over the south as well (*Dakṣiṇadik-Chakravartī*)⁸⁴ The political achievements of Chikkadēvarāja during the early years of his reign, namely 1673-1678, were so important from the contemporary point of view that, as we have seen, they found adequate expression in the works of Chikkupādhyāya and other contemporaries of Tirumalārya. Indeed, while these writers attempted in their writings to invest Chikkadēva with all halo of an epic hero by recounting his pedigree and exploits, Tirumalārya seems to have found it convenient to go even a step further and strike an altogether new line by idealising and exalting his hero (Chikkadēvarāja) to the rank of a divinity—as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. That, at any rate, is how he has been depicted⁸⁵ by setting his birth and early life against the background of Vaishṇava tradition centring round the early history of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore. The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* appears, accordingly, to have been written not earlier than 1678 and not later than 1680. After invocation to Viṣṇu, the work begins with an elaborate account of the rule and exploits of Rāja Wodeyar (*Rāja-Nripa-Charitam*) with special reference to his conquest and capture of Seringapatam (1610) from Tirumala, the Viceroy-nephew of Venkaṭa I; and touches incidentally on the Vaishṇava tradition relating to the origin and founding of the

82. Compare, for instance, *C. Vs.*, III, 11, 142-144, with *C. Vam.*, 38, 160-161.

83. I, p. 6 (prose passage below v. 23).

84. See pp. 166-168; also Ch. XI, f.n. 69.

85. Pp. 146-151, 156-159, etc.

Ruling House of Mysore. This is followed by short notices of the reigns of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (*Chāmarāja-Charitam*), Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar (*Immaḍi-Rājarasa-Charitam*) and Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar (*Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Charitam*). Then we have a lengthy account of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*Doḍḍadēvarāja-Charitam*), father of Chikḱadēvarāja Woḍeyar (and ruler of the city of Mysore under Kanṭhīrava-Narasa), by way of giving prominence to the birth and early education and training of Chikḱadēvarāja as the heir to the throne of Mysore. At the end of this account is a brief but incomplete reference to the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar and uncle of Chikḱadēvarāja) in Seringapatam in succession to Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, with an indication of Chikḱadēva's position as *Yuvarāja* under Dēvarāja.

Though a prose work, the *Chikḱadēvarāja-Vamśāvali* is conceived throughout in the poetic vein. It is a piece of poetic prose, reading more like epic poetry superbly executed than as a plain prose narrative. Characterized by grandeur of diction, richness of imagery and beauty of the heroic and devotional sentiments delineated, it is a model of polished *Halugannaḍa* prose style in Mysore in the seventeenth century. From the literary point of view, therefore, it is invaluable as a classic. In estimating the *Chikḱadēvarāja-Vamśāvali* from the historical point of view, however, it is to be remembered that Tirumalārya writes not as a strict chronicler but as a poet working on the traditional material available to him at the time. His accounts of historical persons and events, as we have noticed in the earlier chapters, are therefore not unoften marked by poetic license and lack of chronological sequence, and are occasionally coloured by his personal predilections as well.⁸⁵ Due allowance must perforce be made for these limitations in utilising

⁸⁵ See, for instance, in Appendix II—(2) and V—(2) to this work,

the work for historical purposes. The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* is the earliest available work so far, embodying, in particular, a genuine traditional account of the course of affairs relating to the rise and progress of the kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Wodeyar (down to 1610) and his immediate successors (down to 1659). Used with caution and discrimination, it is of considerable value as a corrective to all accretions on the subject. From the contemporary standpoint, the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* is of unique importance as throwing a flood of light on the development of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Mysore in the seventeenth century;⁸⁷ it indeed has to be regarded primarily as a contribution to the literature on that religion in Kannaḍa, and as an index of Tirumalārya's profound knowledge of its philosophy.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*,⁸⁸ the next literary production of Tirumalārya, is a *Haḷa-gannaḍa champu* in 6 cantos (*āśvāsa*) dealing with the pedigree of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and his early life as Crown-prince under his uncle Dēvarāja Wodeyar. The poet styles it an epic, clearly mentions his name in the colophon at the end of each canto, and directly tells us that the work was written by him as a protégé of Chikkadēvarāja (Śrī-Chikadēva-Mahārāja *kṛpā-paripālita* Śrī-Tirumaleyaṛya *virachitamappa Chikadēvarāja-Vijaya mahā-prabandhadol*). In the colophon at the end of the sixth canto, he speaks also of the completion of the poem (*Chikadēvarāja-Vijayam mahā-prabandham sampūrṇam*), but the canto itself, as it has come down, is incomplete since it stops abruptly towards its close. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* is decidedly earlier than

87. See, for instance, sections on *Religion* and *Social life* in Ch. IX, for details.

88. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-5), in the *Karnāṭaka-Kavya-Manjari Series*, No. 17, Mysore, 1896; also *P. L. Ms.* of this work—No. 187 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 461-464.

the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* which not only mentions⁸⁹ it next in the order of precedence to the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali* but is also found to contain verses⁹⁰ from the former. It is, again, later than the *Paravāsudēva-Stavaḥ* and *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali* because it borrows⁹¹ freely from both these works. Also certain portions from the latter work are found versified⁹² in the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*. Further, the colophon to each canto of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* invariably refers to the titles of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, some of them being indicative of his achievements over his contemporaries, namely, the Nāyak of Madura, the Muhaminadans and the Mahrattas.⁹³ The latest political event within the direct knowledge of the poet at the time he wrote this work seems, obviously, to be the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam and its repulse by Chikkadēvarāja about April 1682.⁹⁴ In the light of these data, the composition of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* has to be fixed subsequently to 1682 but not later than 1686. The first canto in the work begins with the usual invocations to Viṣṇu, Lakshmi and the Ālvārs among others; and contains the traditional account of the creation of the world and of the origin and rise of the Yādava dynasty up to the advent of the Yadu princes to Mēlkōṭe and their settlement in Mysore as progenitors

89. *Vide* f.n. 83 *supra*.

90. Compare, for instance, *A. V. C.*, I, 26, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39-41, 43, and II, 3, 6, III, 17-18, 26, 43, with *C. Vt.*, V, 72, 101, 105, IV, 116, 96, V, 103, IV, 114, III, 17, IV, 120; and IV, 134, 127, 129, V, 107, IV, 138, V, 80.

91. Compare *Paravāsudēva-Stavaḥ*, vv. 10-12, 14-15, 18, 22, 47, 56, 61-62, 65 with those quoted in the *C. Vt.*, pp. 123-124 (vv. 1-12); see also references in f.n. 82 *supra*.

92. Compare, for instance, *C. Vam.*, 166-188, with *C. Vt.*, IV, 50-180.

93. *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalādhipa-vētaṇḍa-vilunṭhana-Kaṇṭhīra* (lion to the elephant, the lord of the Pāṇḍya country); *Bhūri-turushka-tushka-vana-dāvānala* (a wild fire to the forest, the mighty Turushkas); *Maraṭa-jhāṭa-mēgha* . . . *janjhāmla* (powerful gale to the forest of clouds, the Mahrattas). For details about the political events echoed in these titles, *vide* Ch. XI of this work.

94. See Ch. XI of this work, for details.

of the Mysore Royal Family. The next three cantos are closely modelled on the subject-matter of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali*. They deal, respectively, with the fortunes of the early rulers of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore, from [Hiriya] Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III down to Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar; the idealisation of Dodḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (and ruler of the city of Mysore under Kanṭhīrava-Narasa); and the birth, early life, education and training of Chikkadēvarāja, the hero of the work, conceived of and depicted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (*Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa*). The fifth canto mainly centres round the political events of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (younger brother of Dodḍadēvarāja Wodeyar and successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar), and deals with the daily routine, etc., of his nephew Chikkadēvarāja as Crown-prince (*Yuvarāja*) under him. The last canto delineates a picture of the night adventures of the hero (*i.e.*, Chikkadēva).

As a poetical work written on the classical model (*champu*), the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* is of considerable literary merit. It is a grand poem clothed in the most elegant language. Indeed, as Singarārya testifies,⁹⁵ it is characterized by beauty of diction, straightforwardness and propriety of meanings and sweetness of sentiments and eloquence. The terseness of Tirumalārya's poetical style, however, is occasionally counterbalanced by the variety of metres (like the *tripadi* and the *sāṅgatyā*) to which he freely resorts. He is undoubtedly at his best in his delineation of the erotic sentiment and exhibits a thorough acquaintance with the text of Vātsyāyana (*Kāma-śāstra*; *Kāma-tantrada vaisika-prakarana*),

95. See *Mitra Gō.*, I, p. 4, referring to an appreciation of the *C. Vi.* while quoting from it (p. 8, v. 10): *Andamāgi melpuvaḍeda sabudangaḷa eṟuveym saraḷamum, karameseva puruḷa pavaṇigeym sarasamumenisi tanisodeya sōneyante imdam kiviḷalge karegumi Tirumalāryara bāyḍoreya sarasatiya saipuvaḍeda sāhitya saundaryam.*

particularly in the last canto. That is an episode in itself, a sort of burlesque as it were, set against an ideal background of contemporary society, with a note of realism pervading throughout. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, as indicated above, treats of the traditional history of the rise of the kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Woḍeyar (down to 1610) and his immediate successors (down to 1659), on the same footing and under the same background as the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali*. At the same time, used with caution, it certainly is of greater importance than the latter as perhaps the only available contemporary source of information for the political history of the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673), particularly on the relations of Mysore with Ikkēri (1659-1664) and the siege of Ērōḍe (1667). No less significant is the work as a contribution to the literature on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannaḍa and as affording valuable evidence of the adoption of that faith by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.⁹⁶

Perhaps the latest work of Tirumalārya extant is the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam*,⁹⁷ a *Haḷagannaḍa* treatise in 4 parts (*prākaraṇa*) on poetics (*alankāra-grantha*), written at the instance of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.⁹⁸ It is so styled because it treats of the exploits of Chikkadēva in so far as these serve to illustrate the aphorisms (*sūtra*) of the science of poetics, *Apratima-Vīra* being only a title of Chikkadēvarāja which he is said to have acquired after curbing the pride of Śivāji (1677).⁹⁹ From internal

96. Vide Ch. XIII, for a detailed notice of the socio-religious data.

97. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. i-vi), in the *Karnāṭaka-Kavya-Manjara Series*, Mysore, 1981 (Second edition); also *P. L. Mss.* of this work—No. 109 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.* and No. 33 (*Apratima-Vīra-Yasōbhūshaṇam*) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 461, 465-467. Wilson refers to this work as *Chikkadēvarāja-Yasōbhūshaṇa* (*Des. Cat. Mack. Mss.*, p. 341).

98. I, 12: *Nravisu nim kabbada nuḍi |*
Vurulgaḷoḷḍoḍavinirava-nṇṇṇapratimam ||

99. Vide Ch. XI, f.n. 53, for details.

evidence, the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* was, it would seem, a product of the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. It appears to have been written just at a time when Chikkadēvarāja was securely established on the throne of Seringapatam and when he was enjoying the sovereignty of the Karnāṭaka country after subjugating the contemporary powers in all the directions. Further, the latest political event of Chikkadēva's reign within the living memory of Tirumalārya at the time of his writing this work was, we note,¹⁰⁰ the war with Ikkēri and the final acquisition of Arkalgūḍ from its chief Krishnappa Nāyaka (1694-1695). Chronologically, therefore, the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* has to be assigned to the period c. 1695-1700.¹⁰¹ The work begins with the usual invocation to Viṣṇu and with a brief reference to the pedigree and rule of Chikkadēvarāja personified as a divinity. The subject-matter proper is dealt with thus: On each item of the science of poetics, the relevant original *sūtra* in Sanskrit (from standard works of the classical school, like the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, *Pratāpa-Rudrīya* of Vidyānātha and *Kāvya-lankāra-Sūtra* of Vāmana) is first stated. This is followed by its gloss (*vritti*) in Kannaḍa, together with

100. *Ibid.*, f.n. 155-160.

101. Compare the *Editorial Introduction* (p. v) to the *A. V. C.*, which refers to the possibility of its having been written at a time when Tirumalārya was only a court poet (*i.e.*, before 1686), on the following grounds: firstly, that the exploits or achievements of Chikkadēvarāja, echoed in the illustrative examples of the *A. V. C.*, took place when Chikkadēva was *Yuvarāja* or Crown-prince (under his uncle Dēvarāja, 1659-1673); secondly, if it be assumed that Tirumalārya wrote the work during his period of office as Chikkadēvarāja's Prime Minister (*i.e.*, 1686-1704), it would be open to question whether he could have found time and leisure for literary pursuits amidst his onerous duties. This position is thoroughly untenable. For it does not consider in detail nor evaluate the internal evidence of the work bearing on the events of Chikkadēva's reign (1673-1704), but confines its attention only to certain verses in the text, borrowed from the *C. V.*, referring to the early life and career of Chikkadēvarāja (*i.e.*, during 1659-1673). Again, it was certainly not quite impossible for a person of Tirumalārya's capacity and attainments to attempt literary production during c. 1695-1704, which was the period of consolidation and peaceful government in the long reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

an illustrative example in the form of a verse or verses. Some of these verses are found freely borrowed from the earlier work of Tirumalārya, namely, the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, while most of the illustrative examples are explained in intelligible prose also. The first part deals with the types of poetical composition and their general characteristics (*kabbada lakkana*); the second treats of style, diction, sentiment and verbal figures (*rīti, śayye, pāka, vritti, śabdālankāra*); the third deals with one hundred types of figures of speech bearing on meanings of rhetorical expressions (*arthālankāra*); and the last with figures relating to sentiment (*rasālankāra*), and proof or testimony (*pramāṇālankāra*) as expounded by the neo-scholiasts (*poṣa-bijjevaḷar pēlvudam*).

Apart from the value of the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* as a text-book of poetics in Kannaḍa, the incidental references in the illustrative portion of it throw useful light on the relations of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar with his contemporaries, namely, the Nāyak of Madura, the Mahrattas, the Muhammadans and the local powers including Ikkēri.¹⁰² Indeed, on this topic, Tirumalārya writes from direct knowledge, giving prominence to the delineation of the heroic sentiment. Looked at from this point of view, the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* constitutes an important contemporary source of information for the political history of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, while it also bears evidence of the culmination of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal religion during the latter part of his reign.

Tirumalārya is also credited¹⁰³ with having written the *Paścimarangarāja-Stavaḥ* and the *Ēkādaśi-Nirṇaya* in Sanskrit, and the *Chikkadēvarāja-Śatakam* and the *Kīrtanegaḷu* in Kannaḍa. These have not come down

¹⁰². Vide Ch. XI, for details.

¹⁰³. See *Editorial Introduction* to the *O. Vam.* (p. 3), *O. Vi.* (p. 3) and *A. V. C.* (p. iv); also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 461,

to us so far. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Śatakam* is, however, found mentioned by Tirumalārya himself in the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam*¹⁰⁴ as a poetical work next in the order of precedence to the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vaṃśārāḷi*.

Singarārya (Singarayāngār II), second son of Aḷasingarārya and younger brother of Tirumalārya,¹⁰⁵ was, as already indicated, another prominent scholar at the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. He was, we note,¹⁰⁶ well known for his accomplishments in various subjects which he had mastered by the favour of Tirumalārya. Evidently he was a disciple of Tirumalārya, and had attained celebrity as an authority on matters literary.¹⁰⁷

Among his works in Sanskrit are a *Gloss*¹⁰⁸ (*vyākhyāna*) on the *Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavaḥ* of Tirumalārya, and a poetical piece named *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā*¹⁰⁹ (daily routine of Śrīśailārya). Both these works are conspicuous by the absence of the name of the author. But internal evidence goes to establish that Singarārya wrote them as a disciple of Tirumalārya. In particular, the commentator refers¹¹⁰ in the *Gloss* to Nṛsimhārya as his father, the latter being identical with the father of Singarārya and Tirumalārya, namely, Aḷasingarārya. The first stanza at the commencement of the *Gloss* occurs in the beginning of the *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā* also.¹¹¹ Further, there is a close similarity in respect of style of both these works as also an intimate acquaintance on the part of the author with the personality, character and works of

104. I, p. 6 (prose passage below v. 23).

105. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 3 (p. 2); see also Table in Appendix II—(4).

106. *Ibid.*, p. 2 (prose passage below v. 6): *Tirumalārya kṛpēyudēṇike-gaḷavaḍada palavum bijjegaḷim nēvanige gonḍu*.

107. *Ibid.* *Paḍa-vākya-pramāṇa-pārāvāra-pāriṇarendu jagadoḷ negaḷtirpar*.

108. See pp. 1-80 in the *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., noticed in f.n. 71 *supra*.

109. See pp. 119-128 in *Ibid.*

110. See p. 37 (gloss on v. 33): *Asmat-pitr-charaṇai-Nṛsimhāryaiḥ*.

111. See pp. 1, 119.

Tirumalārya, whom he regards as his preceptor (*guru*).¹¹² The *Gloss* appears to have been written about 1678-1680 since the *Stavaḥs* of Tirumalārya are themselves assignable to the period 1673-1678, and since the latest event referred to in the *Gloss*,¹¹³ namely, the celebration of car festival, etc., at Mēlkōṭe on the occasion of the birthday of Śrī-Rāmānuja in the month of *Chaitra*, is corroborated by a lithic record dated in 1678.¹¹⁴ The *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā*, on the other hand, is to be dated in or about 1700, since the latest event echoed therein¹¹⁵ is the visit of Tirumalārya (Śrīśailārya) to Madura and his political advice to the Pāṇḍyan prince there (c. 1698).

Both the *Gloss* and the *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā* are indices of Singarārya's attainments in classical Sanskrit. The *Gloss* contains a word-for-word explanation of each stanza of the *Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavaḥ*. Clear and authoritative, it evidences in a remarkable measure his thorough acquaintance with Sanskrit grammar, lexicon and poetics. The *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā* is composed in an elegant and dignified style and is full of religious and moral fervour of the poet as an earnest disciple of Śrīśailārya.

Only one Kannaḍa work of Singarārya is extant, namely, the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*,¹¹⁶ The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*, c. 1700-1704. a play (*rūpaka*) in 4 acts. It is perhaps the only available contribution to dramatic literature in *Haḷagannaḍa* (*Kārnāṭakam nāṭakam*), being an adaptation of the *Ratnāvalī*, the well-known Sanskrit work of Śrī-Harsha. Singarārya

112. See pp. 119-126, vv. 1, 4-6, 22, 44, 54-55, etc.; see also and compare the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. ii-iii) to the *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., assigning the authorship of the *Gloss* to Singarārya on grounds similar to the above.

113. *Vide* f.n. 110 *supra*.

114. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 94; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 126.

115. See *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 126, v. 41: *Śrīśaila-sūrvatha Pāṇḍya-nrpaḍya*.
... *rājñi sunitumupaśīya*.

116. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjarī Series*, Mysore, 1920 (Second edition); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 503-504.

clearly refers¹¹⁷ to himself as the author of the play. The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* is later than the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) of Tirumalārya, the *Dēvanagara Copper-plate grant* (c. 1686-1690) composed by Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya and the *Sachchūdrā-chāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690) of Chikkadēvarāja, for it quotes passages from these sources.¹¹⁸ It is, again, almost contemporaneous with the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700) because it refers¹¹⁹ to Tirumalārya as having completed all his works, including the treatise on *alankāra* (i.e., *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*), at the time Singarārya wrote this dramatic piece; and points¹²⁰ also to the last phase in the life of Tirumalārya when he had attained prominence as a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher. The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* has therefore to be fixed in the period c. 1700-1704, when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was ruling the kingdom of Mysore in peace and quiet, at the end of a long series of conquests by which he had consolidated his position as a ruler. The work begins with the usual invocation to Viṣṇu (Gōvinda). The plot of the play is similar to that of the *Ratnāvalī*, its prototype. It differs, however, from the latter in so far as the dramatist invents his own names for the characters, Vāsudēva (or Krishna) being made the hero, with Rukmiṇi as his senior queen and Mitravindā (the counterpart of Ratnāvalī) as the heroine (afterwards junior queen of Vāsudēva). Again, considerable space is devoted in the work to the delineation of the comic sentiment, the play being intended to

117. I, 3-5 (p. 2): *Singarārya-nusṛdam*; *Singarārya-roreda* . . . *nāṭakam*.

118. Compare, for instance, *Mitra. Gō*, I, 10 (p. 3) with *C. V.*, V, 106; and I, 9 (l.c.) with *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 77-79, and *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 44. Tirumalāchārya, referred to in the *Mitra. Gō*, (p. 3, *vachana* below v. 8), is identical with Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in the light of references cited here.

119. P. 4 (*vachana*); see also f.n. 64 *supra*.

120. *Ibid* (prose passage): *Dēśika-sārvabhaumareṇisidī-dvijarajar*.

be enacted under the very eye of Chikkadēvarāja on the occasion of *Vasantōtsava*¹²¹ of God Ranganātha of Seringapatam, evidently a very popular festival of the time. The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* is written in an eminently enjoyable style and, as Singarārya himself tells us,¹²² is characterized by a wealth of pleasing metres, directness of meaning, sweetness and beauty of diction, a happy association of words, figures and sentiments, and harmony of sounds. Altogether a unique contribution to the Kannada literature of the times, testifying to the activities and tastes of the court of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar during the last years of his reign.

Singarārya refers¹²³ in the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* to two more works of his, namely, *Rāghavābhyaḍaya* and *Gīta-Rangēśvara*. These, however, have not so far come to light.

A series of works either ascribed to or written by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar himself, are extant. The earliest of these is the *Bhārata-Vachana*,¹²⁴ a Kannada prose version of the *Mahābhārata* in Chikkadēvarāja's name (*Chikkadēva-Mahārāja-praṇītamappa ṭiku; Chikkadēvarāja virachitamappa Karnāṭa-bhāshā rachita . . . ṭippaṇadoḷ*), dealing with the *Śānti-Parva*, *Śalya-Parva*, *Gadā-Parva*, *Sauptikā-Parva*, *Aishika-Parva*, *Strī-Parva*, *Mausala-Parva*,

Chikkadēvarāja
Woḍeyar.

The *Bhārata-
Vachana*; the *Bhāga-
vata* (*Chikkadēva-
rāja-Sūkti-Vilāsa*), c.
1682-1686.

121. P. 1 (prose passage); see also under *Social life* in Ch. XIII of this work
122. I, 3-5 (p. 2):

*Kabbamaise mādhuvam sūutta; saḍvṛtta sampattiyim |
Beḷagindandade nuṇṇuvinderdege varpudyad guṇaslēshadim ||
Lalātālankriye gādhyamāgi sogasim kaṇṭhakke karnakke sar |
Taḷavattīrpuru . . . ; andambetta padakramangaḷinanē-
kālankriyābhikhyeyim |
Oheṇḍam mumbarivondu bhāvatatiyim chanchaḍrasasphūrtiyim ||
Oṇḍē ritiyōḷondē barpa duniyandāhlādāmam māḷkumā |
Nandam karmēge . . . nāṭakam ||*

123. I, 6 (p. 2).

124. Ms. No. 236—P. L.; Mys. Or. Lib.; also item Nos. 104-106, 108-109, 111-113 in the *Des. Cat. Kan. Mss.*, of the *Mad. Or. Lib.* (I. 190-201, 203-209, 213-220); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 455, 459.

Mahāprasthāna-Parva and *Svargārōhaṇa-Parva*. All these episodes from the great epic seem to have been compiled between 1682-1686, since the latest political event directly reflected in them (especially in the colophons to the *Śānti-Parva*) is Chikkadēvarāja's repulse of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam under Dādaḷ and Jaitaḷ (c. April 1682), and since they point to Chikkadēva as having been at the height of his power at the end of his campaigns against his feudatories (*Karnāṭa dharā-maṇḍalanum ; samasta sāmanta-nṛpa sarvasva sankramaṇa*). They begin with invocations to Gaṇēśa, Śārada, Vāsudēva, Krishna and Vēda-Vyāsa. Some of the colophons to the chapters refer also to Chikkadēvarāja's devotion to Yadugiri-Nārāyana and Mukunda. The *Bhārata-Vachana* is written in homely *Hosagannaḍa* prose style, and is another index of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as Chikkadēvarāja's personal religion during the intermediate stage (1680-1696). To the same period belongs the Kannaḍa prose version of the second section of the *Bhāgavata* (also in Chikkadēvarāja's name) entitled *Chikkadēvarāja-Sūkti-Vilāsa*.¹²⁵ The colophon to the work refers to Chikkadēvarāja as enjoying the sovereignty of the Empire (c. 1686) (*sāmrajyaśchikkadēvarāja-nṛpatēḥ*).

The next work of importance in Chikkadēvarāja's name is the *Sachchūdrāchārachārā-Nirṇaya*, c. 1687-1690. *Nirṇaya*¹²⁶ (*Śrī-Chikadēva-mahārājēna prañitēshu ; Śrī-Chikadēva-mahārāja kṛtishu Sachchūdrāchārā-Nirṇaye*), a treatise (*mahā-prabandha*) in 14 chapters (*adhikāra*) defining and codifying the rites and practices for a good Śūdra. The introductory chapter (*upōdghātādhikārah*) begins with the usual invocation to Vishṇu and deals with the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. At the end of

125. Ms. No. 16—P.L., Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha*; l.c.

126. Ms. No. A. 431—P.; Mys. Or. Lib.

the last chapter is a long prose colophon recounting a series of titles of Chikkadēvarāja, which reflect his achievements and the outstanding political events of his reign. The latest of these events incidentally referred to in both these chapters are Chikkadēvarāja's repulse of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (1682) and his acquisition of Bangalore from Ēkōji (1687). The poetical passages and the prose colophon included, respectively, in these parts of the work are evidently taken from the compositions of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya. Such borrowing, as is usual with Royal authors, does not, however, mean here anything more than that the king refrains, out of modesty, from speaking in praise of his own ancestry or exploits. Again, the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* is slightly later than the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* (1686) and almost contemporaneous with the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant* (c. 1686-1690), since the introductory chapter contains verses¹²⁷ which are found in both these documents. It appears further to have preceded Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to the Arasu families in October 1690. We would not, therefore, be far wrong in assigning the work to about 1687-1690. The *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* is a compilation in a mixture of prose (*vachana*) and poetry in Sanskrit, the subject-matter being taken from the 12th chapter of the *Śiva-Māhātmya* of the *Sūta-Samhitā* in the *Skānda-Purāṇa*. It is supported also by illustrative references from the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Manu-Smṛiti*. The work was, we learn, written with a view to bring about a much-needed social reform, namely, the uplift of the Śūdras and the preservation intact of the ideal of *Varṇāśrama-dharma* applicable to them as members of the fourth order of Hindu society. The subject-matter

127. Compare, for instance, *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 25-27, 37, 40, 50, 60-63, with *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 34-41, 50-53, 56-59, 62-65, 65-77; also I, 12-25, 28-32, 44-47, 50, 60-62, with *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 21-44, 46-53 55-68, 77-83, 83-85, 86-95.

proper begins with invocation to *Śrīśaila-Guru*. The chapters forming the work are devoted to the consideration of matters relating to a good Śūdra's privileges and duties. Among the topics dealt with are: definition of the nature of the Śūdra caste (*śūdra-jāti svarūpa*); rights and limitations of a Śūdra in respect of Śāstraic and Vēdic studies (*śāstra vaśyatva, vidyāsthānēshuchādhikārānadhikriye*); principal duties and practices observable by him (*mukhya-dharma*); determination of his privileges in regard to impregnation and other ceremonies (*nishēkādishu*); the *dīkshā*, etc., according to the *Pāncharātra* (*Pāncharātrōkta dīkshādi*); divine knowledge (*brahmajñānādhikāru*); daily prayers (*sandhyā karma*); pollution (*āśaucha*) and funeral rites (*karma-prayōga*).¹²⁸

Ascribed to Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar are a number of songs in Kannaḍa, composed in the *saptapadi* and *tripadi* metres. These have come down to us under the appellation of *Chikkadēvarāja-Saptapadi*¹²⁹ and *Tripadigaḷa-Tātparya*,¹³⁰ the latter being also known as *Śringāra-Sangīta-Prabandha*. The latest political events echoed in these works are Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to Arasu families (1690) and the acquisition by him of Sakrepaṭṇa and Chickmagalūr (1690).¹³¹ These songs are accordingly to be assigned to the period c. 1690-1695. They not only eulogise Chikkadēvarāja's exploits but also serve to illustrate his devotion to Viṣṇu. Further, they seem to reveal, and bring us into intimate touch with, the personality of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.

128. See ff. 10-13 (Introd. Ch.) referring to the scope of the work, etc. For a detailed exposition of the aims and objects of the *Sachchū. Nir.*, see under *Social life—Social legislation*, in Ch. XIII.

129. Ms. No. B. 67—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*: see pp. 168-282.

130. Ms. No. 18-6-6—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*

131. *Vide* Ch. XI, f. n. 149, for details.

Of, perhaps, greater interest and significance, however, are two Kannada productions entitled *The Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam* and the *Gīta-Gōpālam*, c. 1700-1704. Both these works are later than the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686), the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700) and the *Sachchūdhrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690), since they freely borrow verses from the first two sources and the long prose colophon in Sanskrit from the last-mentioned one.¹³⁴ Both begin with invocation to Vishnu (as Yadugiri-Nārāyana), and both are assignable to the period c. 1700-1704, which corresponds to the latest phase of Śrī-Vaishnavism as the personal religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. The *Binnapam*, however, is the earlier of the two and appears to have been written in or after 1700 when Chikkadēvarāja was, according to the work itself,¹³⁵ ruling Mysore in peace having subjugated his enemies (including the Koḍagu and Maleyāla chiefs) in all the eight directions (*endeseya pagegaladāngidudarim*). The *Gīta-Gōpālam* is slightly later than the *Binnapam*, since it contains poetical pieces and prose passages from the latter, though in a condensed form.¹³⁶ The colophon at the end of each of these works

132. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, No. 15, Mysore, 1905; also *P. L. Mss.* of this work—No. 32 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and No. 371 of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 455, 457-459.

133. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, Mysore (No. and date of publication not specified on the title page); also *Mss.*—No. A. 48 (P.) of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and Nos. 372-375 (P.L.) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 455, 459-461.

134. Compare, for instance, vv. 3-4, 10 of the *C. Bi.*, with *A. V. C.*, I, 25, III, 28, and I, 50; and verses on pp. 1-2, 5, 11, 16, 20, 24-25, 29, 33, 37, 41, 63 and 68 of the *Gi. Gō.*, with verses in *C. Vi.*, IV-V, and *A. V. C.*, I-III; also compare prose colophons on pp. 58-59 (of the *C. Bi.*) and pp. 38-39, 68-70 (of the *Gi. Gō.*) with the colophon on ff. 120-123 of the *Sachchā. Nir.*

135. See p. 4, para 2.

136. Compare vv. 5, 1-2, 6, 8-9 (on pp. 1-2 of the *C. Bi.*) with vv. 32, 1-2, 12, 13-14 (on pp. 19, 41, 63 and 65 of the *Gi. Gō.*); also compare, for instance, prose passages on pp. 5, 42-43, 47, 49-50, 52-55, 57-59, 60-62, 65-66 (of the *Gi. Gō.*) with *Binnapas* 19-30 (on pp. 41-57 of the *C. Bi.*). It is interesting to note the identity of the subject-matter treated of in these references.

refers to it as a *prabandha* and to the author as Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Śrī-Chikadēva-mahārāja virachitamappa divya prabandhangalo*). At the same time these productions evidence, as usual a free borrowing from, and are indicative of an acquaintance with, the earlier writings of contemporaries, particularly those of his minister Tirumalārya. Nevertheless there are sufficient grounds on which we can assign their authorship to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself. Firstly, the subject-matter of the texts is wholly permeated by the predilections, experiences and views of Chikkadēvarāja. Indeed his personality appears prominently throughout, and the reader is made to feel that he is being directly addressed by, and brought into intimate contact with, him. Secondly, the methodology of these works differs from that of the well-known contributions of Tirumalārya and his colleagues, in so far as the author here clearly states and develops his thesis with an individuality and zest all his own. Thirdly, in marked contrast with the works of Tirumalārya and other scholars, the prose and poetical style of these writings is fervid, yet homely, eminently popular and quite intelligible. Fourthly and lastly, although there is no independent evidence that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was an author himself, there is enough data at hand to hold that he was a person of many-sided tastes and accomplishments and that the possibility of his having tried his hand at literary ventures, particularly during the peaceful years of the latter part of his reign, is not altogether ruled out.¹³⁷

137. For details about the tastes and accomplishments of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, *vide* Ch. XVI below. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Oha.* (II. 455, 460) which, while ascribing both these works to Chikkadēvarāja, refers to the possibility of Tirumalārya having written the *Gr. Gō.* and passed it off in Chikkadēva's name, on the ground that verses from Tirumalārya's works (like the *C. Vi.* and *A. V.C.*) occur largely in it. This position is untenable since it eschews considerations of personal element, style, methodology, etc., above referred to, borrowals apart.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam*, as noticed in the preceding chapter, deals with the essence of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaitism*, in the form of thirty humble prose petitions (*Binnapa*) addressed by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar to God Nārāyaṇa of Mēlkōṭe, the tutelary deity of the Yadu race (*tān tanna kula-dēvateyappa Yādavagiri-Nārāyaṇanaḍidāvaregaḷge binnapam geyva nevadoḷ*).¹³⁸ The work commences with eulogistic passages in poetry and prose referring to or echoing Chikkadēvarāja's exploits and achievements. Then the Royal author sets out his objective,¹³⁹ namely, popularisation of the fundamentals of all philosophical knowledge among his subjects in readable Kannaḍa, in accordance with the well-known message of the Lord in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, to enable them all to attain salvation. The first ten petitions deal with the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being as creator, preserver and destroyer (*trividha-kāraṇanum*). The next eight petitions are centred round the romance of creation (*srṣṭi-krama*), with special reference to the universe, the elements, heaven and hell; and the last twelve expound the nature of salvation (*mōksha*) and the means of attaining it. The work reads throughout as a model piece of flowing *Halagannaḍa* prose, each *Binnapa* beginning with a stanza in the *kanda* metre by way of introduction. The *Gīta-Gōpāḷum* is a poetical work in two parts, modelled on the *Gīta-Gōvinda* of Jayadēva. It is devoted to an exposition of salvation for the masses in accordance with the teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, as is pointed out by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself.¹⁴⁰ Each part contains a series of songs in seven sections (*saptapadi*). Each section of the first part contains seven groups of songs,

138. P. 5.

139. Pp. 4-5: *Ellarumarivante Kannaḍa vatinoḷam melnuḍigalinde akhila tatvārthangaḷam sangatiḷḷisi; prajegaḷanibarum ihadoḷ sogavaḷḍapar; ivarge paragatiyumam sampādisavēḷḷudendāraydu.*

140. P. 3, v. 10: *Iḷgaroḷva Gītāda mūlādoḷē muktigatiya mogadōrisiḍam.*

all in the *tripadi* metre ; each section of the second part also embodies the same number of groups of songs which are, however, in the *panchapadi*, *tripadi* and *ṛkapadi* metres, their number varying. The songs, on the whole, seem to be modelled and improved upon those of the earlier works ascribed to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, namely, the *Chikkadēvarāja-Saptapadi* and *Tripadigaḷa-Tātparya*. They are occasionally interspersed by prose passages (*vachana*) briefly explaining the point at issue in each section. Both the parts are intimately connected with the explanation of the doctrine of trust in God's Grace.¹⁴¹ The first part (*pūrva-bhāga*), in particular, depicts the boyhood and sports of Lord Śrī-Krishna by way of giving prominence to Chikkadēvarāja's holding communion with and realizing the divine attributes of the Supreme Being;¹⁴² the second (*uttara-bhāga*) treats also of the doctrine of absolute surrender to Viṣṇu as the means of attaining salvation.¹⁴³ Delivered in a colloquial diction, the songs in the *Gīta-Gōpālam* have a fascination of their own ; they are soul-stirring and universal in their appeal and unfailing in the human interest attaching to them.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-Bīnnapam* and the *Gīta-Gōpālam* thus occupy an important place in the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature of the period as living expressions of that faith in its popular aspect.¹⁴⁴ Chikkadēvarāja's religion as propounded in the *Bīnnapam*, in particular, is not merely the intellectual acceptance of a remote deity but a passionate insistence on the love and mercy of God. This prose-poem of his is not to be deemed a petty study

141. P. 5: *Eraḍum bhāgaḍol . . . nambugeyemba tadupāyamam nīrāpisuvar.*

142. *Ibid.*

143. P. 41: *Mōkṣhamam sādhipudarke upāyamāda prapatti-svarūpamam nīrāpisuvar.*

144. For summaries of relevant extracts from these works, *vide* under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

or a simple exposition of mere theological opinion; it is the portrait of as variously gifted and fascinating a man as ever lived. Variously gifted, we say *advisedly*, because the legend of his having been a religious persecutor has well nigh buried the lyric poet, the great soldier, the thinking philosopher, the subtle politician, the brilliant diplomat and the humane ruler. This work enables us to see the whole man as he was. His portrait of himself, as sketched here, may cause controversy; but he has helped to kill the traditional portrait perpetuated through the centuries. His *Appeal*—such a self-revealing, humble name—is one of great charm and humanity and is, even in the religious literature of India, of quite unusual design. There is not another work which gives, in such brief compass, so attractive a presentation of the true inwardness of the Vaishnavite doctrine of Grace. It is one of the most successful attempts ever made to link up mystical Vaishnavite theology with the great doctrine of *Prapatti*. Only a devout, passionate and earnest Vaishnava, imbued with the truest spirit of the doctrine of Grace, could have written it. And when that is acknowledged, we acknowledge the fine spiritual atmosphere in which he lived, moved and had his being.

Another Śrī-Vaishnava scholar at the court of Chikka-dēvarāja Woḍeyar was Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya (or Tirumalāchārya) of Kaunḍīnya-gōtra. He was by profession, we note,¹⁴⁵ a reader of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, skilled in composing poems in Kannaḍa, Telugu

145. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 727-728, 730-781, and Sr. 100 (1724), ll. 91, 198-200:

Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalāryam Kaunḍīnyam Vaiṣṇavam kavim ||
Śrī Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārata-pārayaṇa-vihita-vṛttina-kṛtina |
Kavina Tirumalayāchāryeṇa . . . ||
Karnaṇḍādhra-susamskr̥ta-kaviti-gāndhārvakēshu yaḥ kuṣalaḥ |
Tēṇḍam Rāmāyaṇa-Tirumalayāchārya-sūṛiṇa . . . ||

and Sanskrit languages, and proficient in music. With the assent of Chikkadēvarāja, he composed the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant*¹⁴⁶ in Sanskrit and Kannada. The subject-matter of this grant, as referred to in the preceding chapter, relates to the year 1674, but the grant itself appears to have been actually composed at a considerably later date, since there are clear references¹⁴⁷ in it to the events of 1682 and since it records¹⁴⁸ also an additional share (*vritti*) granted subsequent to 1674. The earliest record echoing the events of 1682 is the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* dated in 1686; the next one is the long introductory chapter in the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690), narrating the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The *Dēvanagara Plate* seems obviously to be subsequent to the former and almost contemporaneous with the latter, since it contains verses¹⁴⁹ found in either of these latter sources. Hence it must be taken to have been composed between c. 1686-1690.

On the ground of similarity of style and language, the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* and the introductory chapter to the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (setting out the pedigree, etc., of Chikkadēvarāja, together with the long prose colophon at the end of the treatise), referred

Other works.

146. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115—see II, 160-161

Likhyatē tadānujneyā |

Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya viduṣhā tāmra-sāsanam |

Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 14-15) which places Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in 1722, solely on the authority of *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 and 100, though in the *M.A.R.* (1912, pp. 56-57, para 127), referring to the *Dēvanagara Plate*, the name of the poet (i.e., Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya) as its composer has already been noticed by the learned author of the *Kavi-Charite*. That Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya was a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja and that he lived through the reigns of the first two of the latter's successors, are now borne out from a study of all the records composed by him. See also f.n. 150 *infra*.

147. *Ibid.*, II. 86-95; see also Ch. XI, f.n. 99 and 106, for details

148. *Ibid.*, II. 459-476,

149. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 127 *supra*.

to above, have to be assigned to Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, although his name is not specifically mentioned in both of these works. These documents are drawn up in the approved *kāvya* style in Sanskrit. Indeed so melodious are the poetical passages of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya that Singarārya quotes from them in the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*.¹⁵⁰

Among the poetesses of Chikkadēvarāja's court working directly under the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence, were Honnamma and Śringāramma.

Honnamma and
Śringāramma.

Honnamma wrote the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*,¹⁵¹ a Kannaḍa poetical work in 9 chapters (*sandhi*) dealing with the duties of a faithful housewife. The poetess was, as noted in the preceding chapter, the bearer of Chikkadēvarāja's pouch (*sanchi*). She appears to have belonged to the fourth order of the Hindu society,¹⁵² and was attached to the household of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar since her teens (*pādadaḷigadoḷu baḷeda bālaki*).¹⁵³ She was, as she refers to herself,¹⁵⁴ an ordinary unlettered lady who wrote under the influence and favour of her religious preceptor Aḷasingarārya. Indeed Aḷasingarārya, we are told,¹⁵⁵ had once brought

150. I, 9 (p. 3); see also f.n. 118 *supra*. For details about the 18th century compositions of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, vide Ch. XVIII in Vol. II of this work.

151. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, No. 4, Mysore, 1893; also P.L. Mss. of the work—Nos. 644-645 of the *Oat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.*, II. 505-506.

152. See I, 20-34, also 9-10, where she speaks of herself as a humble, yet highly favoured, chambermaid serving under Chikkadēvarāja.

153. I, 84.

154. I, 22, 88, IX, 53, 55-56: *Ōleviḍiāru nā vōḍaḍarive; palavōḍugaḷinde palavu bijjegaḷinde palabage vātugaḷinde belevaḍeḍirpenendenḍisuvāḷalla; Aḷasingarāryanuḍḍama kṛpā vaiḍhavaḷe; negaḷiḍa maimoyindaḷi mahākṛti pēḷidenu; ā vupadēsavittarāryaru tanaga viāḥadoḷu pēḷidenu.*

155. I, 12-19 (pp. 8-4), 20-39; see also under *Position of women* in Ch. XIII. Compare the account of the poetess and her work in the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-2) to it and in the *Kar. Ka. Oha.* (II. 505), which refer to the possibility of Honnamma (the poetess) having been a native of

her literary and poetical talents to the notice of Chikkadēvarāja, who desired his principal consort, Dēvamma of Yeḷandūr, to have a poem composed by her (Honnamma). And Honnamma, thus encouraged, wrote the work. The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* is an undated poem. Internal evidence, however, goes to show that it was written at a time when Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was at the height of his power after his series of conquests in all the eight directions (*aṣṭadigvijaya lakshmiyaru*) during the early part of his reign,¹⁵⁶ and when Aḷasingarāya, father of Tirumalāya, had risen to eminence in the social life of the period as a leading Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical scholar.¹⁵⁷ In particular, the titles (namely, *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-Pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*, *Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya*) by which Aḷasingarāya is addressed in the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* are found repeated *verbatim* in two lithic records of 1678 referring to him.¹⁵⁸ The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* was thus a product of the period c. 1678-1680. The introductory chapter (*pīṭhikā sandhi*) indicates the scope and subject-matter of the poem. It begins with invocations to God Paśchimarangadhāma and Goddess Ranganāyaki of Seringapatam as well as God Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe). Then follows a reference to the ancestry of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and a brief notice of his rule

Yeḷandūr on the assumption that she was favoured by queen Dēvamma (of Yeḷandūr). There is, however, no independent evidence in the work itself as to the ancestry, nativity, etc., of the poetess.

156. I, 4 (p. 2). 157. IX, 51-53; see also under *Social life* in Ch. XIII.
 158. Compare *Hadī. Dhar.*, I, 12 (p. 3) and IX, 51, with *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 94 and IV (2) Kr. 45 of 1678 (cited also in Ch. XIII, f.n. 110). The similarity in respect of the titles occurring in all these sources is significant. Also compare *Kar. Ka. Oha.* (II. 505) which identifies Aḷasingarāya, mentioned in the text of the *Hadī. Dhar.*, with Singarāya, younger brother of Tirumalāya and author of *Mitra. Gō.*, a suggestion which is not warranted by evidence. Aḷasingarāya was prominent in Mysore during the early part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign also (up to 1685), and Singarāya, his son, during the latter part of it (from about 1696 onwards) — *vide* section on *Social life* in Ch. XIII; also works of Singarāya, above noticed.

and court and the circumstances under which the work came to be written. The poem, in the words of the poetess, is an embodiment of the essence of the philosophy of virtuous womanhood, an elixir of life, the quintessence of sublime truth and the secret of *dharma*,¹⁵⁹ being intended for study and practical observance by all good housewives.¹⁶⁰ The theme of the poem is adapted, and aptly illustrated by references, from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* (including the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Bhāgavata*, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* and the canonical texts of Manu and other law-givers, with which the poetess shows her acquaintance.¹⁶¹ The next eight chapters are centred round the subject-matter of the work proper. Each of these chapters begins with invocations to Vishnu and Lakshmi in their various manifestations. The second and third chapters deal, respectively, with the devotion of a good housewife to her husband and the nature of her services to him. The fourth chapter treats of her behaviourism towards her parents-in-law and other members in the family, and of faithful service to her husband. The fifth deals with the treatment to be accorded to her by her parents, brothers and sisters, parents-in-law and other relations; and touches on the responsibilities of parents in bringing up their daughters and bestowing them in marriage on right types of husbands. Chapter six is an exposition of the ethics of honourable wedlock, with reference to the happy companionship and co-operation of the married couple through life. Chapter seven depicts the state of renunciation and passionate longings of a virtuous lady separated from her husband during his long absence from his place. The next chapter deals with the daily

159. I, 39, 49, IX, 54 : *Sati dharma . . . idu pativratya-dharma-tatvada sūtra-vida-saṅjivana-mantra, idu paramārtha hitōpadēśada tiruḷu; dharma-rahasya.*

160. I, 60 : *Satiyaśodhuvuḍu, oḷvendiḍidharmada hadanarita-charisuvuḍu.*

161. I, 40, II, 29-50, III, 46-49, IX, 5, 14-15, 26-44.

routine of a devoted wife in her household. The last chapter is an earnest plea for single-minded devotion to and worship of Viṣṇu on the part of faithful housewives, at the end of their meritorious careers, as means of attaining salvation in accordance with the doctrines of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.¹⁶² The poem concludes with an expression of the indebtedness of the poetess to her preceptor Aṣiṅgarāya and an eulogy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's rule in Mysore.

The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* is in the main written in the *sāṅgatyā* metre. The close of each chapter, however, is indicated by a verse in the *kanda* metre (*sanchiya Honnamma nusirda kabbadoḷu . . . sandhi*). The work is a typical piece of *Haḷagannaḍa* poetry, its diction being grammatically pure, homely, easy-flowing, free from ornamentation and intelligible to a degree.¹⁶³ Throughout, the poem is expressive of the humility, earnestness and sincerity of convictions of an unsophisticated mind yearning for the maintenance unimpaired of the ancient ideals of Hindu womanhood, and for the preservation and promotion of domestic peace and felicity. Although, perhaps, Honnamma may be said to depict an idealistic picture of things, she maintains an intimate connection with the realities of contemporary life, in so far as she wrote under the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence of the times. Indeed she does appear prominently as a moralist working against a religious and philosophical background, and her poem is but an index of the popularity of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the court of Mysore about 1680. As an exceedingly interesting though a plain lettered ode, as an everlasting code of social ethics relating to the duties

162. See IX, 1-8, 10-13, 46-48, referring to the merits, etc., of *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, *hari-bhakti*, *kāmya-karma*, *utyu-naimittu-karma*, *rahasya-traya*, *pancha-samskāra* and *arthapanchaku-tatva* as means of salvation (*mukti*)

163. See I, 38: *Ellarumarivantejavātuyalinde solluvunu*, where Honnamma herself refers to the simplicity of her style.

and responsibilities of women as good housewives,¹⁶⁴ the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* occupies a unique place in the Kannada literature of Chikkadēvarāja's reign.

Śringāramma wrote the *Padmini-Kalyāṇa*¹⁶⁵ (c. 1685). She belonged to a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanical family, being a daughter of Chintāmaṇi-Dēśikēndra and disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Dēśika.¹⁶⁶ She was, as already referred to,¹⁶⁷ a young poetess favoured by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The *Padmini-Kalyāṇa* is a Kannada poem, also in the *sāṅgatyā* metre, describing the marriage between God Śrīnivāsa of Tirupati and Padmini.¹⁶⁸

By far the most important contributor to Vīra-Śaiva literature during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was Shaḍaksharadēva (Shaḍaksharaiya), particulars of whose ancestry, etc., we have elsewhere noticed.¹⁶⁹ Shaḍaksharadēva, we learn,¹⁷⁰ had attained celebrity, and been honoured by the cultured classes, as an expert in the art of composing poems in the Sanskrit and Kannada languages. His writings generally belong to the period c. 1655-1700, although, curiously enough, there is nowhere any reference therein to his actual position as one of the councillors of Chikkadēvarāja's cabinet. Among the extant works, in *Haḷagannaḍa*, of Shaḍakshari are the

(b) *Vīra-Śaiva literature.*

Shaḍaksharadēva and his works.

164. IX, 54: *Dharmada nenahu mareyadante kṛtiyāgi nṛnisi nelegolisi-denu.*

165. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 516-517.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ante*, Ch. XIII—see under *Position of women*; also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

168. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 517.

169. *Vide* under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

170. See colophons to Shaḍaksharadēva's works (i.e., *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnavali*, *Rajastekhara-Vilāsa*, *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya* and *Sabaraśankara-Vilāsa*): *Samskṛta Karmāṭaka bhāṣāmāya sarasa-prabandha-nirmāṇa-chaṭuri-dhruva*; *sarasajana-mānitoḥbhayakaviṭa-viśṭraḍa*; *ubhaya-kaviṭa-vichakshaṇa*. See also *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474, where Dēva-chandra speaks of Shaḍakshari as having been a distinguished poet of his age (*Shaḍakshariyu kavidekhara-nenisiḍam*).

Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa,¹⁷¹ *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijāya*¹⁷² and *Śabaraśankara-Vilāsa*,¹⁷³ all written in the *champu* style. The earliest of these is the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa*, a *prabandha* completed on January 30, 1655.¹⁷⁴ It deals, in 14 chapters, with the story of how prince Rājasēkhara, son of Satyēndra-Chōḷa, received capital punishment at the hands of his father for having caused the death of a child during his recreations in the streets of his capital city, and how he ultimately obtained salvation at the hands of Śiva. It is based on the original Tamil work of Tirugnāna-Sambandar (Pillai-Nāinār), first written in the form of an epic poem in Kannaḍa by Gubbi-Malla-nārya (c. 1513) in his *Bhāvachintāratna*.¹⁷⁵ A manuscript copy of the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa* appears to have been actually completed on July 9, 1673 (*Pramāḍīcha*?, *Śrāvana* śu. 6).¹⁷⁶ It was probably this copy which is said¹⁷⁷ to have been presented by Shaḍaksharadēva at the court of Chikkadēvarāja. The *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya*, also called *Basavarāja-Vijaya*, was brought to completion on January 28, 1677.¹⁷⁸ It is a *mahā-purāṇa* in 42 chapters, dealing with the life of Basava, founder of Vīra-Śaivism. From a manuscript of this work it would seem that a copy of it was made by one Ganjām Yatirājaiya by December 23, 1700.¹⁷⁹ The *Śabaraśankara-*

171. Ms. No. K. 67—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; also published work in the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 442-446.

172. Ms. No. K. 406—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 442, 446-447.

173. Mss. Nos. 67 and 357—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 442, 448-449.

174. XIV, 184: *Jayabāda Māga sūddha . . . tritīyeyalli . . . i kṛti paripūrṇamāyitu.*

175. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 443.

176. Ms. No. K. 67 (referred to in f.n. 171 *supra*), ff. 113, v. 185.

177. See *Raj. Kath.* (XII. 492, XI. 398), where Dēvachandra speaks of Shaḍakshari as having been well acquainted with Līlāvati and other narrative poems (*vastuka kāvya*), and refers to his (Shaḍakshari's) presentation of a copy of the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa* to Chikkadēvarāja and to his being honoured with grants of *maṭhs*, rent-free lands, etc., on the latter's appreciation of it.

178. ff. 163, v. 91: *Naḷābāda Māga māśada sīta-pakṣha panchamī.*

179. Ms. No. K. 406 (referred to in f.n. 173 *supra*), ff. 164 (ending).

*Vilāsa*¹⁸⁰ (c. 1690-1700) is also a *prabandha* in 5 chapters, dealing with the well-known sportive fight of Śiva (in the guise of a huntsman) with Arjuna. · Shaḍaksharadēva is further credited¹⁸¹ with having written in Sanskrit the *Kavikarṇa-Rasāyana*, *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali* and *Śivādhikya-Ratnāvali*. Only the first two of these works (c. 1680-1690) have, however, come down to us,¹⁸² and they are contributions to the devotional literature on Vira-Śaivism. The *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*, in particular, has also a gloss (*ṭippaṇi*) entitled *Bhaktānanda-Dāyini*, written by one Guru-Siddha-Yati.¹⁸³

Shaḍakshari usually begins his works after invoking Śiva and the deities of the Śaiva pantheon (*i.e.*, Gaṇēśa, Shaṇmukha, Nandi, etc.), and after referring to his preceptor (Chikkavīra-Dēśika) and the early Vira-Śaiva poets (*i.e.*, Basava, Channabasava, Prabhudēva, Mallāṇa, Hariśvara, Rāghavāṅka, Sōmanātha, Nijaguna-Śivayōgi and others). He invariably speaks of the excellence of his writings as stressing new modes of literary expression (*navīna . . . ukṭi*; *nava-kāvya*; *nūtana*; *poṣa rīti . . .*; *navīnamālankṛti*).¹⁸⁴ His diction is majestic, flowing and melodious, though his descriptions are in an ornate style. Altogether Shaḍaksharadēva's contributions are an index of the potency of Vira-Śaiva tradition in Mysore during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

180. From the order of precedence mentioned in a P. L. Ms. (No. 67, ff. 29-30) of the *Śabarastānaka-Vilāsa*, it would appear that the latter work was written subsequently to the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa*, *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya* and *Kavikarṇa-Rasāyana*. Hence we are inclined to place it within the latest chronological limits, *i.e.*, c. 1690-1700. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 448.

181. See Preface to *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*.

182. Ms. No. A. 61—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and B. 920 (Pub.) in the *Mys. Or. Lib.* In view of what has been stated in f.n. 180 *supra*, we have to assign these works to c. 1680-1690.

183. See p. 66 (colophon) of B. 920 cited above.

184. *Vide* Mss. cited in f.n. 171-173 *supra*; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II, 444-446, 448), quoting texts from the originals.

Among the Jaina authors of the period, Chidānanda and Chikkanna-Paṇḍita claim our
(c) *Jaina literature.* attention.

Chidānanda was, we note,¹⁸⁵ a poet, on whom the pontifical office at the Jain *maṭh* of Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa had been bestowed by his predecessor Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgindra who had left the place to Sōmavārpēt owing to certain serious local differences. At the time of Chidānanda's succession to the pontificate after the death of Chārukīrti, the same state of affairs, we are told,¹⁸⁶ continued at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, in consequence of which he had to go about on a tour through various parts of the country (*nānā nāḍugaḷolu sancharisi*). Ultimately, however, he was established in the pontificate with the assurance of safety (*abhaya*) promised by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

As a mark of gratitude to Chikkadēvarāja, it would appear, Chidānanda wrote the *Muni-vamśābhyudaya*,¹⁸⁷ a poetical work in Kannaḍa dealing with the rise and fortunes of the line of Jain sages at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, from the time of Vardhamāna down to Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgindra of the *Dakṣiṇācārya-Piṭha*. The poem, as it has come down, is in 5 chapters (*sandhi*) and is incomplete. The first chapter begins with invocation to Jina (*Vitarāga*) and contains verses of eulogy directly addressed to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and pointing to the excellence of his government tested with reference to the principles of the ancient science of politics, namely, the three-fold elements of power (*u t s ā h a - p r a b h u - m a n t r a - ś a k t i*) and the seven-fold elements of sovereignty (*saptāṅga*, i.e., *svāmi-mantri-mitra-kōśa-dēśa-durga-bala-lakṣaṇam*). In the second

185. *Munivam*, II, 89-92.

186. *Ibid.*, 93-101.

187. Ms. No. A. 198—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 508-510.

chapter, the poet sketches the pedigree of Chikkadēva by way of tracing the existence of friendly relations between the Mysore Royal House and the pontificate of Chārukīrti, especially since the time of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V (1617-1637). The subject-matter of the work commences from the third chapter.

The *Munivamśābhyudaya* has to be placed towards the close of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, since it presents a picture of him as a king ruling Mysore in peace after overawing the chiefs of Kongu, Kōḍagu and Maleyāḷa countries (c. 1700),¹⁸⁸ and since it is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita (1673-1686). It is written in the colloquial *sāṅgatya* metre, and is invaluable as affording us some insight into the character of Chikkadēvarāja as ruler of Mysore with toleration as an article of his political faith.

Chikkaṇṇa-Paṇḍita was a Jaina Brāhman of Kāśyapa-gōtra, son of a scholar by name Paṇḍita. Chikkaṇṇa - gōtra, son of a scholar by name Paṇḍita. Doḍḍārya.¹⁸⁹ He compiled the *Vaidya-Nighaṇṭu-Sāra*,¹⁹⁰ a work on Pharmacology in Sanskrit. It was, as he tells us,¹⁹¹ prepared in 1703 (ś. 1625) at the desire of physicians and experts (in various *śāstras*) of the court of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The work begins with invocations to the five great Jaina preceptors (*pañchaguru*), to Jina and Sarasvatī and to the earlier Jaina poets like Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Āditya and Simhasēna. It is in 14 chapters and deals with the preparation of drugs from ingredients of various classes (*varga*), such as grains, roots, plants, herbs, flowers, fruits, sandal, sugarcane and metals. The treatise was, as the compiler says, intended for practical application, to ensure the happiness of all living beings.

188. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 188, for details.

189. *Vaidya-Nighaṇṭu-Sāra*, ff. 1, v. 8.

190. Ms. No. 8680—P.L.; Mys. Or. Lib.

191. ff. 1-2, vv. 5-7, 9.

Among the miscellaneous works assignable to the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, the *Sarajā-Hanumēndra-Yaśō-Vilāsa*¹⁹² (c. 1700) is a Kannaḍa *champu* in 5 cantos, dealing with the history of Sarajā-Hanumappa Nāyaka, son of Sītārāma, chief of Tarikere-Santebennūr and a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja. The author of the work is Krishna-Śarma, a Brāhman of Bhāradvāja-gūtra and Yajuśśākha, grandson of Appāji and son of Paṭṭe-Timmārya by Tirumalāmbā. Skilled in poetical composition, he was, as he tells us, a devotee at the feet of Goddess Mīnākshi of Madura, and was the head of the guard establishment at the Palace of the king of Mysore, i.e., Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Mahisūra-rāḍ-gēha-dvārādhyaksha*). The *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharaṇīramaṇābhayadayaḥ*¹⁹³ (c. 1700), an anonymous epic poem (*mahā-kāvya*) in 5 cantos in Sanskrit, deals with the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House upto Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Lastly, the *Chikkadēva-Kempadēvammanavarā-mēlaṇa-hāḍugaḷu*¹⁹⁴ is a collection of Kannaḍa songs in the *sāṅgatyā* metre, in honour of Chikkadēvarāja and his principal consort Dēvamma, composed in or about 1703 (*Svabhānu*). The compiler does not mention his name but he seems to have been the son of one Narasaiya, a treasury official under Chikkadēvarāja (*Bokkasada-Narasa-vibhu-putranāgi*). Another Kannaḍa work, of unique popularity, though not written under the direct patronage of Chikkadēva, is the *Jaimini-Bhārata* (c. 1700)—dealing with the Āśvamēdhika-Parva of the Mahābhārata in 34 cantos (*sandhi*) in the *vārdhika-shatpadi* metre—by Lakshmiśa of Dēvapura or Dēvanūr (in the present Kaḍūr district), son of Aṇṇamānka of

192. Ms. No. B. 58—P.; Mys. Or. Lib.; see also and compare Kar. Ka. Oha., II. 528-529.

193. Mss. Nos. 21 (P.L., in *Grantha* characters) and B. 12. (P.) in the Maharaja's Sanskrit College Library, Mysore.

194. Ms. No. 18-6-5—P.L.; Mad. Or. Lib.; see ff. 130-131.

Bhāradvāja-gōtra and a devotee of the local deity Lakshmīramaṇa (*Dēvapura-nīlaya Lakshmīramaṇa*), whom he invokes.¹⁹⁵

Here we take leave of the authors of the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign and their contributions. The period was one of considerable activity. Despite the political troubles and the wars which resulted from them, the peace and order Chikkadēva evolved throughout his kingdom helped towards a Vaishnavite Revival, which may be said to have reached its culminating point in his reign. He was, perhaps, the first leader of the Vaishnavite Renaissance, which had its remote origin in the reigns of the Vijayanagar Emperors of the third and fourth dynasties. This Renaissance gave to the masses and the intellectuals alike a philosophy of life, a philosophy that linked life to spirituality as its sure sheet-anchor. The poetry of the period does not pretend to be a substitute for religion; this view is plainly discarded. Vaishnavite philosophy made poetry the handmaid of religion. But religion does not overshadow the living faith of man in his higher destiny, though it furnishes the poet his subject-matter. It is here that we see the highest blessing that Vaishnavism bestowed in its new setting. This, however, does not mean that all poetry became devotional; it is not so, as

195. Considerable controversy has, of late, centred round the nativity, date, etc., of Lakshmīsa, the author of this classic (Pub.). "*Dēvapura*," "*Surapura*" or "*Gīrvānapura*," occurring in the text, has been identified by some with Surapura in the present Hyderabad State, while the work itself is attempted to be placed in the 15th century. The trend of all the available evidence, however, is in favour of the identity of the place with Dēvanūr in the present Raḍūr district and of the poet being a Śrī-Vaishṇava Brāhman. Both on the ground of style and from references to Lakshmīsa in Kannada works of the 18th century (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 16, 67), the poem must be held to have been composed about, or slightly subsequent to, 1700 when the harassing wars between Mysore and Ikkēri had come to a close and Dēvanūr, situated on the borders of both the kingdoms, had begun to enjoy the blessings of peace. As to its popularity, it ought to suffice if it is said that there is hardly a Kannada knowing man who has not read it or heard it read (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2456).

we have seen above. The Vaishnavism of this period helped to bring back poetry and even what went by the name of philosophy to a sense of stability, of realism, of belief in a fixed order of things which makes life worth living and work worth undertaking. That is what animates and informs poetry of this period. With the Renaissance, the old order of scepticism, of unbelief, of idealism that is not rooted in the earth, is dissipated and we get in its place a poetry that expresses the absence of unbelief and implants a sense of deep spirituality, a spirituality that knows no bounds, which treats all alike, which sweeps in all humanity under its wings, and which has behind it a philosophy which avowedly takes the whole of experience into consideration and thus opens a vista for the man of action as much for the man of inaction in the true spirit of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.¹⁹⁶

196. See *Bhag. Gīt.*, VI, 3, which may be thus rendered. "For a Sage who is seeking Yōga, action is called the means; for the same Sage when he is enthroned in Yōga, inaction is the means."

CHAPTER XV.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(*contd.*)

Chikkadevaraja's measures of war finance—Contemporary evidence of the Jesuit Fathers—Their account—Its bearings—Examination of same—Its limitations—Narratives of Wilks and Devachandra (19th century)—Wilks's account—Devachandra's version—Narratives of Wilks and Devachandra compared—Their basic assumptions and limitations—Wilks, Devachandra and the Jesuit Fathers, compared and contrasted—Final evaluation.

WE have reached a stage in the narration of the story of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, where we may conveniently pause a little to consider an episode in it, to which brief reference has been made in an earlier chapter.¹

Chikkadēvarāja's
measures of war
finance.

This episode relates to the mode in which he is said to have raised money for carrying on his warfare. There are three definite reasons why we should consider this episode at some length. First, because it looms large in his life-history; secondly, it furnishes the key to his financial and administrative measures and the 'political motives underlying them; and thirdly and finally, it is necessary to evaluate the actual truth underlying it, as much in the interests of historical research as of the practical value attaching to it in the career of a great ruler.

There has come down to our times an account of what Chikkadēva did in order to meet the emergency created by war. This account is contained in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers of the time, and it is best to set down

Contemporary
evidence of the Jesuit
Fathers.

1. *Ante* Ch. XI: see text of f.n. 116-118.

here what they sent home as the information gathered by them. Writing of what occurred between 1684-1686, they stated :²

“ Attacked in the heart of his kingdom by the armies of Sambogi [Sambhāji], the king of Mysore, to provide for the expenses of the war, resorted, in the eastern provinces of his dominions, to exactions and cruelties so revolting that his subjects rose in a body against him and all his ministers. Stimulated by the losses which weakened him on all sides, driven by the impulse of the present sufferings without any thought of what was to happen, destitute, moreover, of sentiments of patriotism and national grandeur, like all enslaved people, they chose as their generals two Brāhmans, chiefs of the sects of Vishṇu and Śiva, and formed two large armies. The one composed of seventy thousand men marched straight against the fortress of Mysore and besieged the king who shut himself up there ; the second composed of thirty thousand men burst on the province of Satyamangalam and the adjoining countries. . . . After discharging their first fury on the officers of the king and many magistrates, the two generals took advantage of the occasion to vent their hatred against our neophytes and destroy Christianity.” “ The king of Mysore,” it is further stated,³ “ incensed at their (his subjects’) insolence, sent an army against them to carry fire and sword everywhere, and toss the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of age or sex. These cruel orders were executed. The *pagodas* of Vishṇu and Śiva were destroyed, and their large revenues confiscated to the royal treasury. Those idolators who escaped the carnage fled to the mountains and forests, where they led a miserable life.”

2. See in *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 292 : Louis de Mello to Noyelle, 1686.

3. *Ibid*, p. 194, quoting from Bertrand's *La Mission Du Maduré* (iii. 380-381).

Though the above letters of the Jesuit Fathers seem partly to exaggerate and partly to mis-state what had actually occurred in Chikkadēvarāja's own kingdom, there is need to hark back a little and examine the conditions that prevailed in it during the period the war for supremacy was going on in the distant south (1680-1686). Chikkadēva's war, ostensibly in favour of the Nāyak of Madura, was really, as we have seen,⁴ for the assertion of his own right of overlordship over the entire south as the most powerful surviving Viceroy of the old Karnāṭaka province of the Vijayanagar Empire. Since the death of Śivāji there was evidently a stronger sentiment in his favour in the south, while his own martial prowess helped to substantiate, even better, his claim to the title. The wars waged by Chikkadēva should have entailed great expenditure, and the expenditure had to be met. The flow of men and money into Madura could not evidently be kept up in an uninterrupted fashion, especially as he had to provide for the defence of his home-lands attacked by Sambhāji. One result of this was that the dependents of the Madura Nāyak, who had joined him or acknowledged his overlordship, either began to desert him or went over to others who claimed to occupy the broken-up kingdom of Madura. In these circumstances, Chikkadēva appears to have made a supreme effort to find fresh resources for carrying the war to a successful issue. The exact measures he took and the actual persons whom he selected for giving effect to those measures are lost to us, perhaps, for ever, for, beyond the Jesuit letters above quoted from, we have only the accounts of Wilks, the historian, and of Dēvachandra, the Jain author, both of whom wrote from the traditionary tales current in their own period (19th century). Thus we have three versions to compare and contrast in this connection—the Jesuit

4. *Ante*, Ch. XI : see under *Mysore and the South*, 1680-1686.

version, the story as narrated by Wilks and the tradition as developed by Dēvachandra. It will be seen from the sequel that while the version of the Jesuit Fathers is not possible of belief because of its palpable improbabilities and the patently confused character of the news which it embodies, the stories given currency to by Wilks and Dēvachandra are to a large extent echoes of excesses committed neither by Chikkadēva nor by his agents but ascribed to them by tradition which fastens itself to "some prominent person whose memory is fading; who has been dead, that is to say, for about a hundred years or less, if the real facts have never been widely known."⁵ But, before we pursue further this aspect of the matter, we may examine here the three versions we have referred to above.

First, as to the version of the Jesuit Fathers so graphically set out in their letters. Examination of same. There is, it must be stated at once, no evidence so far on the Mysore side, confirmatory of what we find in them. No doubt the statements made are of a contemporary character, but news travelled slowly in those days and much of it was gossip or truth, largely, if not wholly, diluted by hearsay. Such "testimony," even though contemporary, has to be received with great caution, especially when there is no independent evidence of any reliable kind to corroborate at least its principal points. The following statements are specifically made in regard to Chikkadēva : (1) to meet the cost of the war, he resorted, in the eastern provinces of his dominions, to exactions and cruelties so revolting that his subjects rose in a body against him and all his ministers; (2) taking advantage of his difficulties, his subjects chose two Brāhmins as their generals, one the head of the Vaishnavites and the other the head of the Śaivites; (3) each of these

5. *Vide* Appendix VI—(4).

generals, collecting a large army, discharged their fury first on the officers of the king and many of his magistrates and then attacked the Christian neophytes with a view to destroy their religion ; (4) the king, in his anger, sent an army against his subjects, which carried fire and sword everywhere and tossed the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of age or sex ; and (5) he also destroyed the temples dedicated to Vishnu and Śiva and confiscated their treasures to the royal treasury. The first of these statements is evidently an echo of the administrative and fiscal reforms undertaken by Chikkadēvarāja. The further statement that these were restricted to the " eastern provinces " is not correct, as we know his financial zeal and reforms, such as they were, extended to his whole kingdom. It is possible that they gave rise to some misunderstanding but the suggestion that they were intended specially as a lever to raise the cost of the war or were pressed through in an oppressive manner seems far from the truth. Much less can the suggestion that his measures led him into " exactions and cruelties so revolting " as to make his subjects rise in a body against him and all his ministers carry conviction. What makes it more incredible are the statements that his subjects chose two " Brāhman " as their " generals," one of the " Vaishṇava " and the other of the " Śaiva " persuasion, that each of these collected an immense army and that they jointly discharged their fury first on the officers of the king, then on his magistrates and then on the Christian neophytes with a view to destroy the Christian religion ! The story of the selection of the two " Brāhman generals " and their insurrection apart—wholly uncorroborated by any other evidence as it is—the concluding suggestion that they took hold of the occasion " to vent their hatred against the Christian neophytes and destroy Christianity," shows both the bias of the writer of the letter and the

petty character of some of the rioting that should have occurred in some restricted area. There is no independent evidence to believe that there was a widespread rebellion of the kind, alluded to, during Chikkadēvarāja's reign; nor is there any evidence that Christianity had by then so far advanced in this region as to invite such wholesale destruction at the hands of rebels whose grievances, if any, were primarily against the king and his ministers rather than against the poor Christian neophytes who were probably confined to the poorest classes at the time and who could not have occupied a territory so large as to include the whole of the "eastern provinces."⁶ There is manifestly not only some exaggeration here but also some religious bias against the king, in whose dominions such destruction of Christianity came to be canvassed. What follows is even more impossible of belief. It is said that the popular insurrection raised the ire of the king, that he sent an army against his subjects "to carry fire and sword everywhere and toss the rebels on the point of the sword, without distinction of age or sex," and that "these cruel orders were executed." The cruel punishment referred to here is the one of impaling people on the point of the sword (*Kazhuvikkēttaradu*), which, tradition says, a Pāṇḍyan king of Madura resorted to in that town in the case of the Jains after his own reconversion from Jainism to the Śaivite faith.⁷ There is a festival that is annually celebrated in Madura in memory of this event in the great Śiva temple there, and the story is current far and

6. The Franciscans found their way to Mysore from Goa about 1587. When the Jesuits arrived in the 16th century, they found Catholics in the Mysore territory, and a flourishing congregation at Seringapatam. Father Cinnami made Seringapatam the head-quarters of the Jesuit Kanarese Mission (*Mys. Gaz.*, New edition, I. 342). The eastern dominions of Chikkadēva extended to the Satyamangalam area, where the Portuguese Jesuits had founded the Kanarese Mission and had a centre of their own. Though there was a flourishing congregation in Satyamangalam, the rural parts had presumably not yet been invaded.

7. *Vide* Appendix VI—(5).

wide in Southern India. Evidently those responsible for transmitting the news of distant happenings to the Jesuit Fathers transferred the story of the supposed royal iniquities of a past period to Chikkadēvarāja, and the Jesuit Fathers—themselves probably familiar with the story in the Madura country—passed it on in their letters to their superiors at home. There is here a complete transference of old memories of alleged cruelties practised by a certain king to another king of a later date, which is just what sometimes happens when news—especially political news—is transmitted by word of mouth through long distances and through widely differing individuals. What makes the whole story even more difficult of credence is the further statement that the king destroyed all the temples of Vishnu and Śiva and confiscated all their revenues to the royal treasury. All that we know of Chikkadēva independently makes us pause and reflect whether, even if he were the cruel king he is described to be in these letters, he would have ever perpetrated such sacrilegious acts as these, however much he might have been offended at his subjects.

That those who conveyed news of the happenings in the eastern dominions of Chikkadēva to the Jesuit Fathers in the Madura kingdom believed in the truth of those happenings or that the Fathers themselves believed in them cannot be held to be a proof of their having actually occurred.⁸ But the fact that such news was conveyed

8. Often our eyes see things which are not actually in existence and our ears hear things which have no physical basis. This self-deception—or rather the capacity for self-deception—is well illustrated by a story told of Mr. George Bernard Shaw, commonly known as *G. B. S.* "Those letters *G. B. S.* recall to my mind," writes Mr. J. S. Collis, the well-known publicist, "a certain incident which has always seemed to me perfect as an illustration of the popular view of Shaw as well as a perfect symbol of the ways of eye-witnesses all the world over. The following conversation took place in Dublin city whose inhabitants have never cared much about Shaw." "I was talking," Mr. Collis continues, "with a friend about Bernard Shaw. My companion inveighed against the man's colossal

may be taken to be a pointer. We need not try to make history out of such news—news which probably was itself secondhand or hearsay—but we would be right in

conceit. 'I saw him at a hotel the other day,' he said. 'His car was outside on the drive and, believe it or not, just above the index number he had actually put a plate on which were inscribed in large letters—'G. B. S.'!' "My friend," adds Mr. Collis, "had seen 'G. B.,' the letters that cars from Great Britain carry abroad. But he had expected to see, he had wished to see, 'G. B. S.' And so—like a true eye-witness—he saw it"

In this connection, Samuel Johnson's observation is worth noting: "He who has not made the experiment, or who is not accustomed to require rigorous accuracy from himself, will scarcely believe how much a few hours take from certainty of knowledge and distinctness of imagery . . . To this dilatory notation must be imputed the false relations of travellers, where there is no imaginable motive to deceive. They trusted to memory what cannot be trusted safely but to the eye, and told by guess what a few hours before they had known with certainty."—Johnson's *Works*, IX. 144, quoted by G. B. Hill in *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Clarendon Press, Oxford), II. 217, f.n. 4. Johnson advised Boswell to keep a journal of his life and in doing so, said. "The great thing to be recorded (said he) is the state of your own mind; and you should write down everything that you remember, for you cannot judge at first what is good or bad; and write immediately while the impression is fresh, for it will not be the same a week afterwards."—*Ibid.*, II. 217. In a letter to Dr. Burney, Johnson wrote "Of the caution necessary in adjusting narratives, there is no end. Some tell what they do not know, that they may not seem ignorant, and others from mere indifference to truth. All truth is not, indeed, of equal importance, but if little violations are allowed, every violation will in time be thought little; and a writer should keep himself vigilantly on his guard against the first temptations to negligence or supineness."—*Ibid.*, IV. 861. Johnson insisted on a "superiority of understanding" on the part of a narrator of a story. *Appropos* of this, Boswell sets down the following conversation: "He told me that he had been in the company of a gentleman (Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller) whose extraordinary travels had been much the subject of conversation. But I found that he had not listened to him with that full confidence, without which there is little satisfaction in the society of travellers. I was curious to hear what opinion so able a judge as Johnson had formed, of his abilities, and I asked if he was not a man of sense. Johnson. 'Why, Sir, he is not a distinct relater; and I should say, he is neither abounding nor deficient in sense. I did not perceive any superiority of understanding.' Boswell 'But will you not allow him a nobleness of resolution, in penetrating into distant regions?' Johnson. 'That, Sir, is not to the present purpose. We are talking of his sense. A fighting cock has a nobleness of resolution.'"—*Ibid.*, II. 333-334.

The Jesuit Fathers saw in the news conveyed to them what they had heard about *Kazhuvikkettaradu* and believed that Chikkadēvarāja had practised it in his own kingdom!! Troublesome problems arise only from an inadequate description of events that occur in the world by means of a faulty language.

assuming that beneath even such news, wrongly conveyed or wrongly understood, there lurks something worthy of careful investigation. Indeed the laborious task of consulting all possible evidence and weighing conflicting accounts is necessary, if we are not to be misled into wrong conclusions. The Jesuit Fathers passed on what they heard or imagined they had heard and as they understood it. They were not writing the story of their own times with sober judgments formed on a review of all the known facts. They seldom had the means to test their sources when dealing with what they heard and recorded in their letters. Contradictions are often set down without the writer noticing them: like the narratives of mediæval writers in Europe, their letters cannot be relied upon unless we can verify them by collateral evidence. They never pretended to be historians of the scientific type and it would be wholly wrong to expect them, in the circumstances they were placed, to have been scientific in their method; and possibly they would have been so, if they had had our appliances for comparison. Their writings cannot be treated as history in the truest sense. What is even more remarkable is that their narrative fails wherever we could test it from facts independently known. Furthermore, even "traditions" current in the very country where these "cruel" deeds are said to have been perpetrated do not countenance the carrying out of such barbarous acts as we find given currency to in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers. These "traditions" are referred to by Wilks and by Dēvachandra. A narration of them will show how widely different they are from the versions sent home by the Jesuit Fathers.

Of these two, Wilks is the earlier, writing as he did about 1810. Though he does not specifically state his sources of information, he frankly admits that what

Narratives of Wilks
and Dēvachandra
(19th century).

he gives is the "traditionary account" which, he says, "has been traced through several channels to sources of the most respectable information." Writing more than a hundred years after the events, he had, in the absence of authentic information, necessarily to depend on "tradition" which had its own modes of transmuting facts. Certain similarities between his own version and that of Dēvachandra suggest a common source to both. It is possible that Wilks based his account on the oral information available both to himself and to Dēvachandra at the time, they being contemporaries. Lt. Col. Mackenzie, who carried out his Survey of Mysore in 1804, was a friend of Wilks and possibly knew Dēvachandra. Dēvachandra himself, a Jain Brāhman of Kanakagiri (Maleyūr), actually completed his work *Rājāvalī-Kathā* in 1838. In this work, he treats of the kings of the Karnāṭaka country (including those of Mysore) from the earliest times down to the nineteenth century. He writes, however, not as a critical historian but as a gatherer and chronicler of current tradition. Added to it, he was a full-blooded Jain and wrote with all the fervour of a good partisan who believed in the greatness of his own religion. Wilks's story is found detailed in different parts of his work. It is brought together here and presented in one conspectus, so that a complete idea may be formed of the "tradition" as Wilks received it.

"One of the earliest measures of this Raja's reign,"
writes Wilks of Chikkadēva,⁹ "had been

Wilks's account.

to compel the dependant Wadeyars and Poligars, who, like his own ancestors, had commenced the career of ambition by affecting in their respective districts to be addressed by the title of Raja, publicly to renounce that assumption of independence, to disclaim the local prerogatives of punishment

9. *Wilks*, I. 219-222.

and confiscation without previous authority from the Raja, and to revert to their original character of obedient officers of the government. This object was aided by first inviting, and then compelling them to fix their residence at Seringapatam ; by assigning to them offices of honour about the Raja's person, and gradually converting them from rebellious chieftains to obsequious courtiers. The insurgents in the districts were left, in consequence, destitute of the direction of their accustomed leaders, and the Jungum priests, deprived of their local importance, and much of their pecuniary receipts, by the removal of these mock courts from the provinces, were foremost in expressing their detestation of this new and unheard-of measure of finance, and in exhorting their disciples to resistance. Everywhere the inverted plough, suspended from the tree at the gate of the village, whose shade forms the coffee-house or the exchange of its inhabitants, announced a state of insurrection. Having determined not to till the land, the husbandmen deserted their villages, and assembled in some places like fugitives seeking a distant settlement ; in others, as rebels breathing revenge. Chick Deo-Raj, however, was too prompt in his measures to admit of any very formidable combination. Before proceeding to measures of open violence, he adopted a plan of perfidy and horror, yielding in infamy to nothing which we find recorded in the annals of the most sanguinary people. An invitation was sent to all the priests of the Jungum to meet the Raja at the great temple of Nunjendgode, about fourteen miles south of Mysoor, ostensibly to converse with him on the subject of the refractory conduct of their followers. Treachery was apprehended, and the number which assembled was estimated at about four hundred only. A large pit had been previously prepared in a walled inclosure, connected by a series of squares composed of tent walls, with the canopy of audience, at which they

were successively received one at a time, and after making their obeisance were desired to retire to a place, where, according to custom, they expected to find refreshments prepared at the expence of the Raja. Expert executioners were in waiting in the square, and every individual in succession was so skilfully beheaded, and tumbled into the pit, as to give no alarm to those who followed, and the business of the public audience went on without interruption or suspicion. Circular orders had been sent for the destruction, on the same day, of all the Jungum *muts* (places of residence and worship) in his dominions; and the number reported to have been in consequence destroyed was upwards of seven hundred. The disappearance of the four hundred Jungum priests was the only intimation of their fate received by their mournful disciples; but the traditionary account which I have above delivered has been traced through several channels to sources of the most respectable information, and I profess my entire belief in the reality of the fact. This notable achievement was followed by the operations of the troops, which had also been previously combined. Wherever a mob had assembled, a detachment of troops, chiefly cavalry, was collected in the neighbourhood, and prepared to act on one and the same day. The orders were distinct and simple; to charge without parley into the midst of the mob; to cut down in the first selection every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the Jungum priests); and not to cease acting until the crowds had everywhere dispersed. It may be concluded that the effects of this system of terror left no material difficulties to the final establishment of the new system of revenue; and there is a tradition which I have not been able to authenticate, that the Raja exacted from every village a written renunciation, ostensibly voluntary, of private property in the land, and an acknowledgment that it was the right of the state.

If such documents ever existed, they were probably destroyed in 1786."

"The sixth was," says Wilks in another part of his work,¹⁰ "the lawful share of the crop for which the Raja received his equivalent in money; and, from previous reasoning and subsequent fact, we have every cause to believe that he was unwilling to risk the odium of increasing this proportion in a direct manner. He therefore had recourse to the law of the Sasters, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes, which should compel him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of the landed assessment: and this is the arrangement which generally ensued; although, from the great discontent excited by the taxes, the compromise was generally made on the condition of excepting some one or more of the most offensive, and proportionally increasing those which remained; but the Raja, with that profound knowledge of human nature which distinguished all his measures, exempted from these new imposts all the lands which were allotted to the provincial soldiery in lieu of pay, according to the ordinary practice of the smaller Hindoō states, and thus neutralised, in some degree, the opposition to the measure, and ensured the means of eventual compulsion. Those who may be desirous of comparing the ingenuity of an eastern and a western financier, may examine the subjoined detail of these taxes. The whole system is stated to have been at once unfolded, with intimation that it would be gradually introduced according to circumstances; but the commotions which it produced by leading to measures of extreme severity, precipitated its total and abrupt introduction."

"The religious principles of the Raja," remarks Wilks in a different part of his work,¹¹ "seem to have been

10. *Ibid.*, 217-219.

11. *Ibid.*, 214.

sufficiently flexible to adapt themselves without difficulty to the circumstances of the times. There is little doubt that he was educated in the principles of the Jungum ; but he openly conformed to the ceremonial of the Vishnoo, which was the ruling religion. His early and long intimacy with Visha Lacsha, the Jain Pundit, whom on his elevation he had appointed his first minister, created a general belief that he was secretly converted to that persuasion, and an expectation that he would openly profess it ; and this circumstance was supposed chiefly to have influenced the Jungum to assassinate that minister. When Tremalayangar, a Vishnavite, became afterwards the confidential minister, the Raja evinced as strong an attachment to that persuasion : but political considerations alone would have rendered him the decided enemy of the religion in which he was supposed to have been educated. . . . The hostility and hatred of the Raja was farther increased by the opposition which the Jungum incited against his financial measures."

"The first fourteen years of this reign," Wilks writes elsewhere in his work,¹² "were occupied in these financial measures, interior reforms, and minor conquests ; but these reforms had rendered so unpopular the administration of the Jain Pundit, to whom they were chiefly attributed, that a plan was secretly concerted for his assassination. Chick Deo Raj had, without doubt, in the early part of his life, been educated in the doctrines of the Jungum, which was the religion of his ancestors : he had hitherto, since his accession to the throne, shewn no very marked attachment to any form of worship, but was supposed, from particular habits which he had adopted, and from the great influence of the Jain Pundit, to have conceived the intention of reviving the doctrines of that ancient sect. The Pundit was attacked and mortally wounded, while returning at night, in the usual

12. *Ibid.*, 107-108.

manner, from court to his own dwelling (1686) ;¹⁸ and as, in addition to religious motives, the Jungum had a deep account of revenge to retaliate, for the murder of their priests, . . . the suspicion of this assassination fell chiefly upon that people, and tended to confirm the alienation of the Raja's mind from the doctrines of their sect. He was much affected at the intelligence of this event, and immediately proceeded to the house of the minister to console him in his last moments, and to receive his advice regarding the choice of a successor. The advice was entirely unprejudiced, and he recommended, as the most able and honourable man of the court, a person of adverse religion, namely, Tremalayangar, a bramin of the sect of Vishnoo. To him the Raja gave his whole confidence ; and, in conformity to his advice, soon afterwards made an open profession of the doctrines of that prevailing religion. In other respects, the new administration was conducted on the same principles as the preceding, and with an equal degree of prudence and vigour."

Such, in the words of Wilks, is his version of the "tradition" as he received it, a "tradition" he believed in. We may now turn to Dēvachandra who wrote some twenty-eight years later than Wilks, though probably, as remarked above, he was one of those who, as an active gatherer and chronicler of tradition current during his period, was possibly also one of its oral disseminators, and as such one of those on whom Wilks himself was

18. Wilks (I. 107) places Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit's death roughly in 1686, *i.e.*, in the fourteenth year of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. Dēvachandra, however, does not specify the exact date of death, though from the extracts from his work, noticed in the sequel, we have to fix the event in 1686, allowing an interval of about two years for the course of affairs leading to it from the first outbreak of the Jangama agitation (October 1684). The latest available reference to Viśālāksha is in a lithic record dated January 24, 1685 [see *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 41, cited also in Ch. XIII, f.n. 79]. In the light of this document and the Jesuit letter of 1686 (cited in f.n. 2 *supra*), the death of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit must be held to have occurred not earlier than July 1686. Compare the *Editorial Introduction* (p. 2) to the *C. Vam.*, *C. Vi.* and *A. V. C.* referring to the Paṇḍit's demise in 1684, for which there is no evidence.

probably dependent to some extent. However this may be, Chikkadēvarāja was, according to Dēvachandra,¹⁴ governing the kingdom he had inherited, since February 1673 (i.e., from about three months after his accession),

with the counsel (*mantrālōchaneyim*)
 Dēvachandra's
 version of his minister Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit.

Chikkadēva's first administrative measure, aiming at the public weal, was the introduction of a land survey and settlement. A fixed assessment (*siddāya*) of six *hanas* per 100 measures (*kamba*) was introduced on lands of the first class, four on those of the middle class and two on inferior ones, exemptions being granted in respect of benevolences and compulsory dues therefrom (*kāṇike*, *kaḍḍāya*). While he was thus ruling his subjects and attending to his conquests, the Jangamas, being the proud possessors of many *maṭhs*, houses and rent-free lands all over the country, had become exceedingly powerful, and, fortified in the belief that the title *Wodeyar* was applicable to them alone and none else, began to consider themselves as virtual rulers of the kingdom. In October 1684 (*Raktākṣa*, *Āśvīja*), they, having come together, assembled a huge crowd of people, numbering nearly a lakh, on an extensive field near Tāyūr. Fencing the area with a thorny hedge and pitching up their camp within it, they appointed three from among themselves as their principal leaders, designating them as king, minister and commander-in-chief respectively. They then expelled the king's officials—who were enriching themselves in local parts—asserting their own claims to rule. The Jangama annoyance soon became unbearable. They stopped payment of revenue dues and organized armed opposition to established authority in the local parts. To Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, their reduction by ordinary means seemed well nigh impossible. At length, however,

14. *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 477, 482-485, 487-488, also XI. 387, 389, 391-392, 394-395.

Viśālāksha Paṇḍit's counsel prevailed. In accordance with it, Paridullā Khān (Faridullā Khān), an officer commanding 200 horse, was entrusted with the task of quelling the rebellion. He proceeded against the rebels, with his men fully equipped, and soon secured entrance to the camp of the leaders, feigning submission to them ostensibly as an adventurer in search of pasture (*charāyi*) below the Passes. The leaders were occupying their seats on an elevated ground. Believing in Paridullā Khān's words, they dictated their ultimatum (namely, the extinction of all legitimate rule and the establishment of their own sovereignty within three days) and tried to win him over to their own side. This led to an altercation, in the course of which Paridullā Khān pushed his opponents aside and instantly knocked them down with the aid of his arrows. Thereupon, a hue and cry followed in the camp; and the assembled crowds began to disperse in abject terror. On receipt of this news, the king (Chikkadēvarāja) ordered the demolition of the *maths* and houses of the Jangamas in the rural parts, and the confiscation of their rent-free lands. The Jangamas began to evade the issue by concealing themselves. A regular search for them was instituted by the king's officers. Gurikār Nanje-Gauḍa of Kamaravalli offered his services in the work of tracing out the rebels. He went about the country with his followers and succeeded in capturing a thousand Jangamas, most of whom were found plying the agricultural profession in disguise. These were brought in before the king who, in great wrath, had them all put to death (*arasam kōpisi yallaram pariharisidanu*). Further, on all those subjects who had made common cause with the disloyal Jangamas, he levied an enhanced revenue assessment. Thus, for every *varaḥa* of the original assessment, they were now required to pay an additional tax of 5 *haṇa-aḍḍa* under four items, namely, benevolences (*bēḍige*), currency

discount (*nānya-votta*), fee for grazing rights (*hullu-sarati*) and for observance of local usage or custom (*vyavaharane-bage*). Side by side, eighteen departments (*chāvaḍi*) for the administration of *sunka*, *pommu* and other items of taxes levied were established, and officials posted to supervise the revenue collections. All this added to the distress of the subjects. Meantime, the remaining Vira-Śaivas became thoroughly irritated with Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit. "This Jain alone," they deliberated, "is the main cause for the slaughter of the Jangamas, our preceptors, and for the uprooting of all our dwellings, *maths* and rent-free estates. Therefore he should be done away with." Accordingly they prevailed upon an individual by name Nāgaṇṇa, who had practised at arms. Nāgaṇṇa made friends with the followers of the Paṇḍit. One day, as the Paṇḍit was proceeding to the Palace seated in a palankeen (*śibgeyanēri*), the hireling flung himself at him and pierced him through leaving him unconscious, in which state he was conveyed home. At this intelligence, king Chikkadēva proceeded in person to see the Paṇḍit: he felt immensely grieved that all his power was lost. The Paṇḍit, in his last moments, recommended Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyaṅgār) as his successor in office, and passed away. In commemoration of the minister's services, the king issued a lithic grant, bestowing on Bommarasa, son of the Paṇḍit, the village of Yēchiganahalli as a *rakta-koḍige*. From hence, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar began to rule the kingdom with the advice of Tirumalārya. On one occasion, Chikkadēvarāja, having entrusted the general management of affairs to an influential person by name Doḍḍa-Dēvaiya in Seringapatam (*sarvādhikāradolirisi*), proceeded on an expedition in the north. At this opportune moment, the Vira-Śaivas, having assembled, apprised Doḍḍa-Dēvaiya thus: "Formerly, Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, as the foremost man in power, brought about the

destruction of our *maths* and houses. Now is your chance. Being a Vira-Śaiva, you have to do away with all the Jain temples in the kingdom." Accordingly, in September 1698 (ś. 1620, *Bahudhānya*, *Bhādrapada*), Doḍḍa-Dēvaiya, with the help of 10,000 labourers, demolished about 1,700 *bastis* situated in the neighbourhood of Mysore. Hearing this, the king ordered the stoppage of further molestation. Doḍḍa-Dēvaiya died in prison some time later.

In the early part of his reign, we are further told by Dēvachandra,¹⁵ king Chikkadēva, having inquired about the fundamentals of all religions, became convinced that Jainism was the most sublime of all and the Jaina mode of living (*Jaināchāra*) the purest. Accordingly, he enjoined on the inmates of his household to bring in water only after filtering it clean of all insects. Further, he would not accept certain things known to be obnoxious (*kelavu dōsha-vastugaḷam koḷḷade*). Being kindly disposed towards living creatures (*jīvadāyā-paranāgi*), he laid down that in lieu of the countless animals like sheep, etc., that were being slaughtered by vile persons to propitiate or appease the deities, only cocoanuts should be used. Following the advice of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, he also directed the construction of a *Chaityālaya* to Vardhamāna-Tīrthankara, near the Purāṇa-Basti in Seringapatam, setting up therein the images of the 24 Jinas; and further got sanctioned the performance of the *Mastakābhishēka* in Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa twice or thrice. In the latter part of Chikkadēva's reign, however, Tirumalārya, continues Dēvachandra,¹⁶ brought home to the king's mind the greatness of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava faith, and secured concessions and benefactions, grants of titles and insignias of office to individual adherents of that religion, making it not only pure and sacred but also great in the popular eye.

15. *Ibid.*, XII. 479-480, also XI. 987-989. 16. *Ibid.*, XII. 487, also XI. 988-994.

Many were converted into Vira-Vaishnavas in this manner. The scholar Chikkanna-Paṇḍita (Chikkaiya-Paṇḍita), Bommarasa-Paṇḍita and Dēvarasa, who were all Jaina Brāhmanas, accepted, with a view to ingratiate themselves into the king's favour, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava *mudrā* and put on the *ṭikā*, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava mark; and thus became avowed enemies of the Jaina faith. In short, Tirumalārya glorified Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism and carried on a vigorous propaganda of proselytism, putting the *ṭikā* on several people, impressing the *mudrā* on them and making the individual *Dāsas* strong in their professions of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.

Both Wilks and Dēvachandra, in the above extracts, speak of the administration of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as having been attended with some trouble during the early part of his reign. Each, however, has his own version regarding its origin, development and suppression. According to Wilks, the trouble originated from the discontent brought about by the curbing of the independence of the Wodeyars (including Jangama priests) and Pāḷegārs, and by the levy of "a variety of vexatious taxes" on the husbandman, in addition to the lawful share ($\frac{1}{8}$) of the government dues, by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar; under the working policy of his minister Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, it assumed the shape of open resistance to authority, though the promptness of the king prevented a formidable combination on the part of the insurgents; it was suppressed by the treacherous massacre of 400 Jangamas, leaders of the revolt, at the temple of Nanjangūd, followed by the demolition of more than 700 *maṭhs* of the Jangamas, the dispersion of the mob by the military and the forced renunciation of private property; and finally it ended in the revengeful and retaliatory murder of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit by the Vira-Śaivas (1686). According to Dēvachandra, on the other

hand, the government of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, during the early years of his reign, was beneficent ; trouble arose however, about the middle of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, when the Jangamas having become exceedingly powerful, began to assert themselves and incited the people to revolt ; it assumed the shape of an organized rebellion against established authority, the insurgents stopping payment of revenue dues and expelling the unpopular officials ; it was suppressed by the slaughter of the ringleaders, followed by the dispersion of the mob by the military, the destruction of *maṭhs* and houses and the confiscation of the rent-free estates of the Jangamas, the search for the fugitive Jangamas, the massacre of a thousand of them under the orders of the king and the levy of an enhanced assessment on the disaffected subjects ; it ended in the retaliatory murder of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit by the Vīra-Śaivas (1686), and later by the demolition of the Jain *bastis* by them (in 1698).¹⁷ The religion of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was, according to Wilks, flexible. In the early part of his reign, he was a Vīra-Śaiva ("Jungum") though openly conforming to the cult of Viṣṇu, while the Vīra-Śaivas, from his intimacy with Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, believed and suspected him to have been secretly converted to Jainism, expecting him to publicly adopt the latter faith, a circumstance which, it is suggested, influenced them (Vīra-Śaivas) to murder the Paṇḍit. Consequently, in the latter part of his reign, Chikkadēvarāja was definitely alienated from the doctrines of Vīra-Śaivism and openly professed [Śrī] Vaishṇavism under the advice and influence of Tirumalaiyangār.

17. The destruction of Jangama *maṭhs* in the first instance and then of Jain *bastis* by way of reprisal appears to be an invention strangely reminiscent of happenings of an earlier period. In the *Basava-Purāṇa* (1869) of Bhīma-Kavi, we are told that in the reign of Bijjala (1156-1167), Jain temples were destroyed by the Jangamas headed by Bhānta-Bāmaiya. The story of the destruction of Jangama *maṭhs* and houses during Chikkadēva's reign seems a sort of counterblast to this ancient exhibition of wrath on the part of Jangamas against the Jains.

According to Dēvachandra, on the contrary, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, in the early years of his reign, a confirmed Jaina, adhering to the tenets of that faith and encouraging the Jains under the advice of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit. Even in the latter part of his reign, Dēvachandra would make it appear, Chikkadēvarāja continued his predilections for Jainism despite the proselytizing tendencies of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism at his court under the influence of Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyāṅār), the new minister.

Wilks's account starts with his assumption that from the beginning Chikkadēvarāja's administration was based on the idea of all regal power being concentrated in himself, which led, in his opinion, ultimately to a public revolt. His view-point of the fiscal measures and policy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is wholly opposed to the administrative traditions current in the country and does not take adequate notice of the actual conditions under which Chikkadēvarāja worked. He believes in, and exaggerates, the story of the massacre of the Jangamas, while his conception of the evolution of Chikkadēvarāja's personal religion is governed more by political and economic considerations than by the probabilities of historical fact. Dēvachandra being himself a Jaina, his account is throughout characterized by bias in favour of Jainism as the religion of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. His picture of the sudden rise and revolt of the Jangamas under ideal conditions is rather inconsistent. His attribution of the massacre of the Jangamas directly to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is, again, a sheer exaggeration, if not a travesty of facts: it is both improbable and impossible and it contradicts his own statement that Chikkadēvarāja, as a staunch follower of Jainism, was kind to all living creatures. Further, his chronology is, as usual, vague and unreliable. He allows an interval of

twelve years to lapse between the murder of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit (1686) and the demolition of the Jain *bastis* by the Vīra-Śaivas (1698), which is incredible. Both these writers, as we shall further see below, differ also between themselves on certain points of detail connected with the Jangama agitation. These limitations apart, an examination of the accounts of Wilks and Dēvachandra in the light of other sources would go to show that there was some public disturbance in Mysore during 1684-1686, *i.e.*, about the middle of Chikkadēvarāja's reign :¹⁸ it appears to have been due not so much to religious persecution or political aggrandizement on the part of Chikkadēva as to fear engendered in the rural classes as to the effect of the fiscal measures introduced by him, which was fanned into flame by those who would be most affected by them, especially at just the time when Chikkadēvarāja was straining every nerve to maintain his foothold in the Madura country as against the Mahrattas. The disturbance that followed was quelled with a strong hand ; the ringleaders were put to death ; respect for order and authority was enforced without fear or favour by Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, which eventually brought about his own downfall ; and a system of checks and counter-checks introduced, by which the possibility of further disturbances was minimised. Neither the allegation that Chikkadēvarāja attacked the husbandman with "a variety of vexatious taxes" nor the story relating to *his* alleged participation in the sanguinary massacre of the Jangamas has so far been substantiated.¹⁹ There is not even a whisper of the

18. *Vide* Chs. XI and XII of this work, for references to the issue in its contemporary bearings.

19. Among modern writers, Rice accepts Wilks's account (see *Mys. Gaz.*, Old edition, I. 386-387) ; S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, pp. 300-301) interprets the fiscal position as a "revision of taxes which cost the life of the Jain Paṇḍit, the responsible author of the revision," and speaks of "a wholesale massacre of the fanatical Jungam priests" after the murder of the Paṇḍit, for which there is equally no evidence. The

latter incident, nor even a passing reference to it, in earlier Jaina works like the *Belgoḷada-Gommaṭēśvara-Charitre* (c. 1780) and the *Munivamśābhyudaya* (c. 1700), while the taxes levied by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar were no inventions of his but, in substance, a revival of the old ones to suit the changing conditions of the times.²⁰ Again, the trend of available evidence goes to show that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, from the beginning of his reign, if not from the early years of his life, a devout Śrī-Vaiṣṇava by faith and by profession, tolerant towards all sects and creeds, a just administrator aiming always at the happiness of his subjects, and an intensely humane personality.²¹ The accounts of Wilks and Dēvachandra being later writings, based on "tradition," coloured by political bias and religious prejudice, cannot prove acceptable in the absence of independent corroborative evidence. They are accordingly to be used with caution as authorities for this part of the history of Chikkadēvarāja's reign.

Nor are the differences between the accounts of Wilks and Dēvachandra on the one side and the Jesuit Fathers on the other less negligible. The Jesuit account represents the "exactions" as it stigmatizes the fiscal measures of Chikkadēva as the result of his military policy, and suggests that the people rose against him because of his "exactions" and the "cruelties" practised. Whether the "cruelties" were the result of

Wilks, Dēvachandra and the Jesuit Fathers, compared and contrasted.

Mys. Gaz., (New edition, II. iv. 2462-2463) doubts the accuracy of Wilks in regard to (1) levy of "vexatious taxes" by Chikkadēvarāja, and (2) the story of the latter's participation in the Jangama massacre; and views with a greater degree of probability the question of Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit being responsible in the main for the troubles which ensued during the reign.

20. *Vide* Ch. XII, for details about the taxes levied by Chikkadēvarāja. For particulars about taxation in ancient Karnāṭak, see *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 27 (1290), II. 45-50, MI. 95 (1506), II. 21-25, IV (2) Gu. 67 (1505), II. 16-20, etc. (Texts in the originals).

21. *Vide* Chs. XII, XIII and XVI, for details.

the reaction caused by the "exactions" is not clear, though they were presumably so. One of the Jesuit letters, at the same time, suggests that the people should have responded to the call of the king; it indeed charges them with a lack "of the sentiments of patriotism and national grandeur" and almost goes to show that their revolt was not justified from that point of view. It even seems to reiterate that they should have seconded the efforts of the king in his conquest for supremacy over the South. What follows in regard to the choosing of Brāhman generals—one of the Vaishṇava and another of the Śaiva faith—and the manner in which their large armies vent their fury on the officers of the king and his representatives and the poor Christian neophytes in the Satyamangalam area is not reflected in the accounts of either Wilks or Dēvachandra. What makes this more than incredible is that the king was a staunch Vaishṇava with undoubted good-will towards the Śaivas and Jangamas, as we know from other sources.²² Nor is the other statement that the king himself was besieged in his own fortress at Mysore confirmed by either of these authorities. As a matter of fact, between 1684-1686, the king, as we have seen,²³ was actually residing in Seringapatam. It will also be observed that "Brāhman" generals are made to take the leading part in the Jesuit account, while in the accounts of Wilks and Dēvachandra it is the Jangamas that figure prominently. Remembering the mutual animosities existing between the Jangamas and Jains, there is ground at least for the belief that the later version is an attempt on the part of Dēvachandra and his sect at making the Jangamas get the worst of it. Wilks's narration reflects evidently a version entirely different from that of the Jesuit Fathers, whose account unfortunately appears to have been based on wrong information or information which had been

22. See Ch. XIII, for details.

23. *Ante*, Chs. XI-XIV.

badly mutilated in transmission to them from Mysore to Madura, from which latter place they wrote. The suggestion of the particular kind of cruelty practised on Chikkadēva's subjects shows, if anything further at all were needed, how exaggerated should have been the news that reached them. There is not even a whisper of this horrible cruelty in either Wilks or Dēvachandra, though, as a good Jain and an ardent chronicler of wrongs done to Jains, Dēvachandra would have been the first to mention it, if it had been adopted against any set of them, and more so against the Jangama leaders or those whom the latter (Jangama leaders) misled into rebellion. Nor, again, is there any the smallest suggestion in either Wilks or Dēvachandra that the king indulged in the cruel order for the demolition of the "pagodas of Vishṇu and Śiva" or in the further statement that they "were destroyed" and "their large revenues were confiscated to the royal treasury." Nor, finally, is there anything in the accounts of Wilks and Dēvachandra that there was such a general massacre of the "subjects" of the king—as is mentioned in the Jesuit letters—as would necessitate their "escaping their carnage" and fleeing to "the mountains and forests" there to live "a miserable life." Wilks makes the whole thing an insurrection of the peasantry who hated the new financial measures of the king and who, having lost their national leaders, the Pālegārs, they having been compelled to live at the capital by the king, had fallen an easy prey to the Jangama priests who had, at the same time, lost their pecuniary receipts owing to the absence of the Pālegārs. There is not a word of all this in the Jesuit letters. Nor is there anything in them to suggest that the king was aiming at obtaining from his subjects a voluntary renunciation of their "private property in land" and an acknowledgment that "it was the right of the State." Dēvachandra also makes the Jangamas the fomenters of the insurrection in the

rural areas and he and Wilks agree when they state that troops were employed to put the insurrection down. The story of the employment of Faridullā Khān for the purpose, mentioned by Dēvachandra, though omitted by Wilks, is probably true; it is one of the few points on which Wilks agrees with him when he says that troops of cavalry were employed to disperse assemblages of mobs and cut down without parley "every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the Jungum priests)." Dēvachandra, on the other hand, makes the Jangamas the worst offenders—not merely leaders of the peasantry in the insurrection, but the very authors of the revolt. According to him, the annoyance caused by them soon became unbearable. Even the king's officials were not safe at their hands. He represents the king as ordering the demolition of their *maṭhs* and houses, the confiscation of their rent-free lands and, finally, the forfeiture of their very lives! The story is thus found full-fledged in Dēvachandra. Absolutely absent in the Jesuit letters, we find it as small as a man's hand in Wilks, but in Dēvachandra, the persecution of the Jangamas takes its final shape in a manner which shows how Jaina tradition worked up the whole story in such a form as would fully bear out its traditional hatred towards its hated oppressor, the Jangama priest. Nothing more seems necessary to show that the entire account of the Jangamas leading the revolt or of their being put to death in thousands—and that at the instance of Chikkadēvarāja himself, whatever his financial needs or political ambitions—is a product of the fertile imagination of Dēvachandra without the least basis for it. It is unnecessary to deny for this purpose that the Jangamas suffered like the rest of the peasantry; it may also be conceded that they were in sympathy with those who suffered with them as the result of the financial measures—if these did so suffer in fact; and it may also be granted that the king took

certain measures to carry through his fiscal schemes. It is possible too that certain of the Jangamas suffered heavily in the conflict that followed. But to say that the king ordered a general hunting down of the disguised and craven Jangamas, as Dēvachandra puts it, or ordered their massacre at Nanjangūd at the hands of expert executioners, as detailed by Wilks, is to ask posterity to believe in a story which does not figure even in a cryptic form in the contemporary account of the Jesuit Fathers; nor in the accounts of earlier Jain writers; nor in any of the many inscriptions of the period; nor even in the other writers of the time, who, belonging to other religious persuasions, might be expected to have made a point of it in their favour. It is a story too which is incredible from the point of view of what is known of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar from other sources, easily verifiable and absolutely untainted by sectarian animosities and religious or political prejudices of any kind. Finally it has to be remarked that the "tradition" which came to be thus worked up within about a hundred years after the death of Chikkadēvarāja bears on its very face the impress of successive additions until it reaches its finally evolved form in Dēvachandra. What in the Jesuit letters appears as a measure of finance for meeting the exigencies of war becomes a purely fiscal measure in Wilks, while in Dēvachandra there is no mention either of a financial or a fiscal measure as the cause of the insurrection. What again appears in the Jesuit letters as a general revolt of the people of the "eastern provinces" comes out as an insurrection of the peasantry led by the Jangamas in Wilks, and solely by the Jangamas themselves in Dēvachandra; and finally the objects of destruction, according to the Jesuit Fathers, are the Vaishṇava and Śaiva temples, while in Wilks they are 400 Jangama priests and more than 700 Jangama *maths*, and in Dēvachandra they are 1,000 Jangama

priests and all their houses and *maths* all over the rural parts. It is also worthy of note that while Wilks makes the fiscal measures the root cause of the insurrection, in Dēvachandra the enhancement of the assessment comes off as an after-effect, as the consequence, of the Jangama agitation, by way of punishing the agitationists for their disloyalty. It is thus clear that the "tradition" on which Wilks worked up his account of Chikkadēva's fiscal measures and the results that followed their introduction is one that has undergone much development during the course of a century and more that had elapsed since the events connected with them actually took place. "Tradition" has a tendency to grow, to transmute facts, and even to displace events by hundreds of years. If the treatment said to have been meted out to the Jains by an ancient Pāṇḍyan king can be transplanted in the 17th century to Chikkadēvarāja, why should not "tradition," a hundred years later, get itself busy especially in the hands of a writer of the poetic, not to say sectarian, type of Dēvachandra, and look like an actual "fact" of history in the setting in which it is made to appear by him? The truth is that traditional narrative—of which epic poetry is the highest form—deals with ritual drama, and not with historical fact. The real facts of a career, like all historical facts, have been, and could only be, ascertained, as has been authoritatively declared, from contemporary written records, interpreting the word "written" here in the larger sense as including inscriptions, etc.²⁴

If the view of Wilks were held to be true, then the history of Chikkadēvarāja's reign would be nothing more than a chapter of crimes and misadventures. But that would be plainly distorting the whole of his life-story

Final evaluation.

24. See Appendix VI—(4), on "What is Tradition?" for a just appreciation of the historicity of tradition.

and what he did for his country and what he attempted to do in the direction of a settled and orderly form of government for Southern India as a whole. Nobody has yet accepted the remark of Horace Walpole that the history of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, and many others besides, is like reading the history of "highway robbers." The saner opinion has been that even amid the bloodied records of a king's life—to-day we may even justifiably say, a nation's life—we find jewels of culture, ornaments of wit and treasures of useful invention. It is these that redeem our faith in man and it is these again that restore our hope in his future. We have to remember thus much at least if we are to read history aright or to purpose. In the case of Chikkadēvarāja, there is reason to believe that neither his policy nor his actions ever reached that extreme point which landed him in or necessitated the perpetration of dark deeds even for the purpose of gaining selfish ends. Granting for the sake of argument that the version of Wilks is true and that it is founded in truthful tradition, the utmost that would have to be said would be that he was served by a minister who possibly exceeded his instructions or went beyond the limits of what might be called ministerial responsibility. We know that Chikkadēva came to the throne quite peaceably. He was king of the whole country and all its people. Amongst his own people, he knew neither friend nor foe, for he came from Hangala to succeed to the throne and had held aloof from every one connected with his predecessor. To bring peace and order into the land, to gain for it the supremacy that belonged to it as the rightful successor to Vijayanagar claims in the South, and to rule the country justly and well, were his objects. These would have been difficult of achievement even to a wise and experienced ruler during the period his life was cast in; and to Chikkadēva, who was only twenty-eight years old when he ascended

the throne, they should have been well nigh impossible. But he seems to have known by instinct how to govern and make laws, how to choose his ministers wisely, and how to get the best out of them. With these good qualities he had the pertinacity to keep steadily to what he distinctly aimed at; this was to strengthen and bind together the country he ruled over and the additions he was constantly endeavouring to make to it, so that his kingship might extend over the whole of the south of India. To this end, he made himself the centre of all power. He mapped out his plans; he chose the men to carry them out; he remembered everything, he thought of everything, and he cared for everything. When busy with his wars in the distant south or the equally distant north-west, he found time to think of reforms in the administrative and social structure, not excluding even his Palace household. Nothing, indeed, seemed to escape his eye or his hand and that is possibly the main reason why his reign seems so full of action. Nor did he forget his Maker or his responsibility to Him. He was deeply religious, though religion with him did not mean mere bigotry or superstition.

Everything that is known of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar from the reliable sources pertaining to his period shows him to have been a popular king and a king too who was interested in his work. He might not have succeeded in all that he strove for or attempted. It is given to no human being to achieve everything he aims at. That Chikkadēvarāja failed in some of his objectives only shows that he was but a human being. Perfection cannot be; and is not, claimed for him. A man below or above humanity is rightly termed a monstrosity and Chikkadēva was neither. He loved his people, his country and his kind. In his work—of administration and reform—he was helped by his minister Viśālākṣha-Paṇḍit, evidently a man of ready wit, who had been his colleague-at-studies

and whom, when he became king, he had made his Minister-in-chief. Evidently Chikkadēvarāja had grown to like him and begun to trust him as only an intimate friend would. Between the two—aided by the rest of the cabinet—they seem to have managed the business of the country. The nearest parallel we can think of in English History to the relationship that existed between them is that of Henry II and Thomas Becket. If Becket met his fate at the hands of assassins, so did Viśālāksha. Henry's outburst in the one case led to the murder of Becket in the cathedral; but in the case of Viśālāksha, it was the minister's own unpopularity that led to his death in the streets of Seringapatam. If Henry's remorse was genuine, Chikkadēva's sorrow was sincere, for he knew the extent of the loss he had sustained. All that we know of Chikkadēva makes us doubt whether the causes that led to Viśālāksha's death can be set down to his master. We now know that the reforms—fiscal and administrative—were themselves not of a kind to raise the ire of the people against the king. If that be so, then the manner of giving effect to them—purely an executive act—must have been such as to render the minister not only unpopular but also hated. There must have been something in the *modus operandi* of the minister, that rendered the scheme itself unwelcome, if not odious, in the popular eye. This should have helped to transfer the responsibility for pushing them through from the minister, whose duty it was to give effect to it, to the king who was, perhaps, neither aware of the exact methods employed nor of the extent to which punitive steps had descended for giving effect to them. The minister was by religion a Jain and that was enough to suspect his *bona fides*. When the measure affected the local peasantry who were more or less in the hands of priests, whose relationship with the Jains as a class was something other than cordial, all the

conditions necessary for an insurrection were evidently present. What followed may be inferred from the letters of the Jesuit Fathers, though there is reason to believe that there was evident exaggeration in the manner in which the recalcitrants were dealt with. It may be conceded that the minister crushed the insurrection with measures which were harsh even for his times and the harshness, as a matter of course, came to be attached to his sovereign as the probable person who should have sanctioned it. The sequel shows that this should have been so. The minister died and the whole incident closed. The king chose as his minister the person recommended by Viśālāksha, but then too there was no evidence of popular discontent. The king had nothing to fear from his people, and there was no danger of a rising against him. The people were true to him and to his new minister, though the latter was a person of the choice of the hated Viśālāksha himself. The people indeed—at least the chief malcontents—had no common cause against him, and they were silenced by the turn that events had taken. Viśālāksha's choice of his successor was excellent and the king's approval of it proved evidently magical in its effects. It might be that the king, immediately order was restored, beat down one by one the remaining leaders of the agitation and thus put down quietly what would, in less capable hands, have given occasion for further trouble. Though Chikkadēva, moderate in his use of victory, spared the masses who had been misled, he did not evidently let go his grip over the leaders whom he so weakened that they could do nothing against him. After this insurrection, the Pālegārs and religious leaders lost still more of their power, and the king's ascendancy over the whole kingdom became nearly absolute. But the memory of the insurrection and the hatred conceived by the populace against the minister, whom the country

held responsible for the whole trouble—the manner of his death is witness to this—long survived the event, and in due course tradition built round it a tale that has puzzled as much historians of the period as the veracious seeker after the truth, wherever it might be.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

Domestic life: Queens, etc.—The Kalale Family—Death of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar, November 16, 1704—His personality, accomplishments and character—Contemporary testimony as to his greatness—His insignias and titles—An estimate of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar: As a political builder—As a politician—As a ruler—As a religious and social reformer—His conception of human equality—As a “Maker of Mysore”—Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar in the 18th century literature—His claim on posterity.

LIFE in the Royal household at Seringapatam during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was ordinarily one of peace and felicity. We have reference¹ to Chikkadēvarāja attended by his queens and served by chambermaids (holding in their hands the pouch, spittoon, staff, tassels, goblet and fans) and accomplished ladies of the court, proficient in dancing, music (vocal and instrumental) and poetry among the arts. Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is further credited² with having improved the management of the Palace household by instituting twenty-two departments and organising their administration. Dēvājamma, daughter of Lingarājaiya of Yeḷandūr, was his principal queen (*p a t t ā d a - r ā ṇ i*,

1. See *Hādī. Dhar.*, I, 3-8 (pp. 2-8); also *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamma*, ff. 130, v. 2; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 30, and *Yād. Mahāt.*, ff. 82 (prose passage), etc.

2. *Annals*, I. 128. The departments, referred to, related among others to treasures (*bokkasa*), robes (*javaḷi*), swords (*katti*), king's apartments (*sammukha*), beddings (*hāsige*), interior chambers (*ola-bāgilu*), *nāma-tṛiṭha*, establishment of servants of the *Mysūru-hōbḷi* and *Pattāṇada-hōbḷi*, stables (*lāya*) of horses, elephants, camels and cattle, presents and benevolences (*kāṇike*), jewels (*aḍave*), body-guards (*maigḍvalu*), cavaliers (*rāsutaru*), urgent calls (*avasaraḍa hōbḷi*), attendants, etc.

paṭṭadarasi).³ She is identical with “Kempadēvamamma,” “Dēvāmbā,” “Dēvamāmbā” and “Dēvamamma” of Yeḷandūr, prominently mentioned in literary and other sources.⁴ She was an ideal lady,⁵ pious and ever devoted to her husband.⁶ Among other queens of Chikkadēvarāja were⁷ Dēvamamma (daughter of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya of Kaḷale), Kempamma (daughter of Sōmarājaiya of Mūgūr), Chikka-Muddamma (daughter of Chāmarājaiya or Chāmaiya of Yeḷandūr), Doḍḍa-Dēpamma (another daughter of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya), Doḍḍa-Muddamma (daughter of Dēvaiya-Arasu of Kaḷale), Kempananjamma and Gauramma (daughters of Virarājaiya of Hullahaḷli),

3. *Annals*, I. 104; *I.M.C.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 55; *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 305 (referring to Dēvājamma of Yeḷandūr); see also *Hadī. Dhar.*, cited in f.n. 4 *infra*. Dēvājamma (*Dēvamāmbā*) is referred to in the *Dēvanagara Plate* (c. 1686-1690) as the daughter of Lakshma-Varma of Bālēndu-nagara or Yeḷandūr (see *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 101-102). Perhaps Lakshma-Varma, mentioned here, was the surname of Lingarājaiya of Yeḷandūr.

4. See *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamamma*, ff. 131; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, cited in Ch. V, f.n. 156; *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 98, 101, 103-104; *Hadī. Dhar.*, I, 3, 11, 16 (pp. 2-4); also *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 63.

5. *Hadī. Dhar.*, l.c.; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 134.

6. See *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 95-96, 98, where Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya refers to her thus:

Satishu mānyāsu satishu chāśya
Śrī-Dēvamāmba mahishī nṛpasya |
Pativratāṇām gaṇanā prasangē
Śrī-Dēvamāmba prathamābhīdhēya ||

See also *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 96-98, repeating the above.

7. *Annals*, I. 104-105; *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 63-64 (compared). According to the *Annals* (l.c.), the first two queens of Chikkadēvarāja (i.e., Dēvājamma of Yeḷandūr and Dēvamamma of Kaḷale) were married to him in February 1662, and the next eight (*aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*) in June 1679. All his queens, it is interesting to note, came from Arasu families which were either in friendly alliance with or closely related to the Royal Family. The *Hadī. Dhar.* (I, 4, p. 2) also refers to the eight queens (*iṣṭaguneyareṇbaru, rāṇiyaru*). Further, we learn (*Annals*, l.c.), these eight queens were married to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar with the *Arka* rite (*arka vivāha purasaravāgi vivāha māḍikonḍa aṣṭa-mahishiyaru*). *Arka* is the Sun-plant *Calotropis gigantea*, a small tree with medicinal sap and rind, the larger leaves of which are used for sacrificial ceremonies. *Arka* signifies also the *membrum virile*. Marriage with the *Arka* plant is enjoined to be performed before a man marries a third wife, who thus becomes his fourth, *vide* Appendix VI—(6), for a detailed notice of *Arka* and the ritualism of the *Arka* marriage.

Dēvīramma (daughter of Basavarājaiya of Hullahalli) and Kāntamma (daughter of Krishṇaiya of Kottāgāla). Dēvājamma of Yeḷandūr, the principal queen, was, it would seem, the most favourite consort of Chikkadēvarāja. Her memory is perpetuated by a votive *maṇṭapa* (of nine *ankaṇams*), to the north-east of the principal pond (*kalyāṇi*) at Mēlkōṭe, with her name inscribed thereon (*arasi ammanavaru Yaḷavandūra Dēvājammanavara sēve-maṇṭapa*).⁸ Of the junior queens of Chikkadēvarāja, Gauramma appears mentioned in a lithic inscription dated November 3, 1690,⁹ recording her gift of the *Gōpāla-sarasu* pond for the Goddess (*Amma*) of Talaku, south of the town of Maddagiri. By his senior queen Dēvājamma, Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar had a son (b. 1672) by name Kaṇṭhīrava (afterwards Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar II).¹⁰ He is also said¹¹ to have had a daughter by name Dēvājamma (b. 1680) by Doḍḍa-Muddamma of Kaḷale, one of his junior queens. Among other members of the Royal Family, Kaṇṭhīravaiya (Kaṇṭhīrava-Arasu), younger brother of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, appears to have stayed¹² in Seringapatam holding a subordinate position during the reign. A lithic record, dated June 17, 1676,¹³ registers the consecration by him of the image of Paṭṭābhirāma in Sōmanāthapur and his grant of the village of Uḷagere for its maintenance.

8. *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Sr. 805 (*M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 23, para 76); *I. M. O.*, No. 18-15-20, p. 55; see also *Annals*, I. 141.

9. *Ibid.*, XII Mi. 15: s. 1612, *Pramōduta*, *Kartika* sū. 12; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 88.

10. *Annals*, I. 105, 165 (compared); *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, I. 58, II. 56 (compared); also *E. O.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (1716), v. 49:

Tasmāchchṛī Chikkadēva-nṛpa makutaṇṇār Dēvamāmbōdarābḍhau |
Vishṇōramśēna jātaḥ . . . Kaṇṭhīravēndraḥ ||;

and III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 103-104.

11. *Annals*, I. 105.

12. See *Annals* (I. 187), according to which Chikkadēvarāja is said to have specially got constructed a miniature palace (*Chikkaramane*) in Seringapatam for the residence of Kaṇṭhīrava-Arasu with his family.

13. *E. O.*, III (1) TN. 96: s. 1598, *Nāḷa*, *āshāḍha* ba. 2.

From the domestic, no less from the political, point of view, it is of interest to note that the Kaḷale Family. the Kaḷale Family came into greater prominence and into increasing contact with the Mysore Royal House during this period. Mallarāja III, eldest son of Mallarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempē-Arasu and grandson of Karikāla-Mallarāja II, continued to be the chief of Kaḷale till December 1679 when, having no issue, he was succeeded by Doḍḍa-Mallarājaiya or Mallarāja IV (1679-1719), a nephew of his and eldest son of Daḷavāi Kumāraiya of Kaḷale.¹⁴ Kumāraiya himself having been foremost in the service of the kingdom of Mysore since 1667, appears to have brought about this arrangement, under which, while he aimed at securing direct succession in his own line to the sovereignty of Kaḷale, he also sought to cement the bond of relationship between the Mysore and Kaḷale families and paved the way for opportunities to promising members of the Kaḷale House to serve as Daḷavāis of Mysore. Indeed, as we have seen,¹⁵ Kumāraiya was himself the father-in-law of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, having given two of his daughters (Dēvamma and Doḍḍa-Dēpamma) in marriage to him. His brother Dēvaiya-Arasu likewise married his daughter (Doḍḍa-Muddamma) to Chikkadēvarāja. Further, on the retirement of Kumāraiya in May 1682, he was succeeded in the office of Daḷavāi of Mysore by Doḍḍaiya, a nephew of his and second son of Muppina-Kāntaiya of Kaḷale.¹⁶ Doḍḍaiya held the office with conspicuous ability, during 1682-1690. Again, Mallarājaiya, younger brother of Doḍḍaiya and last son of Muppina-Kāntaiya,¹⁷ was the Daḷavāi of Mysore between 1696-1698. The foundations of greatness of the House of Kaḷale in the history of

14. K. A. V., ff. 16, 38; see also Table XIII.

15. *Supra*; see also under *Daḷavāis* in Ch. XII, for details about the periods of office of Daḷavāis from the Kaḷale Family.

16. K. A. V., ff. 18; also Table XIII.

17. *Ibid.*

Mysore had thus been laid, and developed, already during 1660-1704.

The progress of Kaḷale was coeval with the advance of Mysore into a first-rate political power in the south of India. Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar had been reaching his sixtieth year and was, from all the available evidence, in the full possession of his faculties to the end of his reign, directing the affairs of his kingdom with vigour and determination. The religious vein in him, though strong and pulsating with life, did not prove an obstacle to his work as a warrior and statesman. He was rather unfortunate in one respect and that was the physical weakness of his only son Kaṇṭhīrava who, as we shall notice in the sequel, was both deaf and dumb. What makes him great in the eyes of posterity is the singular equanimity with which he evidently bore this infirmity in his son and successor. The existence of steadfast and loyal ministers like Tirumalaiyaṅgār and others of his cabinet must have proved a consolation to him in his thoughts on what might happen to his son and to the throne when it fell vacant. His ripe spiritual wisdom, his developed sense of dependence on God's grace and his undaunted courage should have contributed fortitude enough to sustain him in the firm belief that his kingdom would be safe in the keeping of God. When the hand of Death was on him on November 16, 1704, in the sixtieth year of his age and the thirty-second year of his reign,¹⁸ he should have passed away, if not with contentment, at least in the hope that the kingdom he had built up with such assiduity, zeal and military valour would, despite the frailty attaching to his son,

18. *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, II. 31: *Tārana, Kārtika* ba. 30. There was a solar eclipse on this date (see *Ind. Eph.*, VI. 211). See also *Mys. Raj. Cha.*, 92; *Raj. Kath.*, XII. 488, and *Annals*, I. 154. All the authorities cited, it is interesting to note, are unanimously agreed as to the date of death of Chikkadēvarāja.

continue unimpaired for generations to come. His queens, however, are stated to have not observed *sati*.¹⁹

Under the influence of his early education and training,²⁰ the personality, accomplishments and character of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar attained, as his reign progressed, a harmonious development and a remarkable state of maturity, which profoundly impressed his contemporaries. Possessed of exceptional personal strength, courage and prowess,²¹ he was, as he appears to us from contemporary sources, a handsome personage (*Chenniga Chikadēvarāya*),²² with features characteristic of a great man destined to rule as a sovereign²³—features suggestive of budding manhood, charming round face, large lotus-like eyes, well-proportioned nose, soft arms, round chest, well-built thighs, tender feet, white complexioned body, pleasing countenance and excellent voice.²⁴

In civil society, his personal beauty was a source of attraction to those around him,²⁵ while on the field of

19. *Annals*, I, 155. This departure from the established usage perhaps points to the humanitarian influence of Śrī-Vaishnavism during the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign.

20. *Vide* section on *Early life of Chikkadēvarāja* in Ch. XI, for details.

21. See *Yād. Mahāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 15; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 121; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 47-48, 51; *Pasch. Mahāt.*, I, 43-47; *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 86; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 7: *Dōrbāla simha-vikramanum*, *unnata bāhu-parākramam*; *anupama parākramam*; *surādri hema-saṭa dhairyam* *uddāhata sauryam*, etc.

22. *Hadi. Dhar.*, see *kanda* verse at the end of each chapter.

23. *C. Vam.*, 168: *Mahāpuruṣa lakṣhaṇa*; *anga-pratyanga chakravartī lakṣhaṇa*.

24. *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 54; *Śrī. Mahāt.* (of Mallikārjuna), II, 32-33; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 29 (prose passage); *Yād. Mahāt.* (of Timma-Kavi), II, ff. 32 (prose passage); *C. Vam.*, 168; *C. Vi.*, IV, 69-72; *Munivam.*, I, 9. Among the expressions found used in the texts are: *Rūpigoppuva javvana*; *kendavareyam pōlva muḍḍu moga*; *ananamindu vendu*; *bagasegaṅgal*; *nayanam lasadutpala*; *niḷdu nasu bāgida mūgu*; *naḷi tōl*; *erḍe baṭṭitāda*; *tōḍe bāḷeya kamba*; *melnāḍe*; *pādamam jānise pādamamendu*; *achcha bilpogeda mayyi*; *prasanna vadandravinda*; *siridani*.

25. *Kamand. Nī.*, II, I; *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 81, 88; *C. Vi.*, V, 105; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 110; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 54: *Abhinava kandarapavatara*; *nūtana pushpadāṇa*; *bhāmini-hṛdaya-grāhi*; *mahā-saundaryadīm striyaram . . . manniṣi*.

battle he was a terror to his enemies.⁹⁶ Master of the science of arms and the different arts of warfare and of horsemanship and elephant-riding,⁹⁷ he would personally lead his mighty army (horse and foot) on the field, fight against heavy odds like a daring hero (*kaḍugali*), deftly (*kara-chamatkṛtiyim*) cut off his adversaries (*i.e.*, hostile powers) at the point of his famous sword *Nandaka* and make himself conspicuous by displaying his shining standard, the *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, as an emblem of victory (*jayaśrī vilasita naṭana*).⁹⁸ The accomplished person that he was,⁹⁹ Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was celebrated as a distinguished scholar of his age.⁹⁰ He had a subtle

26. *Dw. Sā. Cha.*, I, 81-82; *Hast. Māhāt.*, I, 88; *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 44; *Sat. Br. Vi.*, I, 46; *Vairi-bhikaran*; *Kalyendu raṇarangadoḷ*; *arvāya mahā timirārka*; *madavat kunjara simha*; *raṇasphurana bhavaranendu*.
27. *C. Bi.*, pp. 58-59; *Gr. Gō.*, pp. 38-39, 69-70; *Mbh. Śānti.*, ff. 8 (col.); *Sachchū. Nṛ.*, ff. 120-121 (prose passage); *Astravidyā Bhṛṅgurāmanum*; *āhavakālā tvētarāhananum*; *asvārōhaṇa kalādhariḥkṛta rēvantanum*; *gajārōhaṇa kalādhariḥkṛta jayanta*, *maghavantanum*, etc.
28. *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 48; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, II, 31; *Kamālā. Māhāt.*, I, 118-121, also ff. 29 (prose passage); *Ruk. Cha.*, I, 79; *Rhag. Gi. Tī.*, I, 60; *Mbh. Śānti.*, l.c.; *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 46; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, P. 22, vv. 115-116; *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 59-60; *Sachchū. Nṛ.*, I, 37; *A. V. C.*, I, 21, 23, 30, 37-38, III, 20, 36, 43, 44, 68, IV, 13; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 8; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, II. 61-63; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, II. 63-66; also III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), II. 58-70. Among the expressions found used in the texts are: *Uttungāśva sanghātu smādhura bṛndābbhuta pattiyukta nyasēndachakra sarvasvādīm*; *suttalādirchida ripugaḷa mottamanu sadedu*; *dhuradoḷ saṁnyamanoggugaidu ripugaḷam geldu*; *Nandaka kṛpānbhirāmanum*; *Nandaka rakta dhārā parishikta*; *Nandakamene meregumapratima-nṛpa khaḍgam*; *Nandakākhyā khaḍga khaṇḍitārati nṛpa maṇḍala . . . sṛgāhārā sammāryta*; *poḷevu yuddha Garuḍa-dhvajam*. In the poetical language of most of the contemporary sources, the sword *Nandaka* is conceived as a woman, a stage-dancer in the hands of Chikkadēvarāja on the field of battle, clothed with the blood of the enemies (see, for instance, in *Kamālā. Māhāt.*, I, 113: *Raṇarangāṇanuloḷ sunandaka kṛpāna nāṭyanṛmanī rakta-vasanōpētam*).
29. *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 45; *C. Vi.*, V, 105; *Mitra. Gō.*, p. 3 (prose passage); *Munivam.*, I, 154; *Sarasam*; *supraudhi*; *alampugāra*; *kalānidhi*.
30. *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 43-44; *C. Vi.*, V, 105; *Śringāra-Sātaka-Sāṅgatyā*, ff. 188; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 7; *Munivam.*, I, 157; *Songs on Chikkadēvarāja and Kempadēvamma*, ff. 180: *Ohaduram, nṛpuṇam, kaḍujēnam, kaḍeyoḷ*; *sāravichara kōvida*; *mahāvidviṣham*; *vidyāpravaiṇa*. See also *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474, where Dēvachandra speaks of Chikkadēvarāja as having been the foremost among the learned celebrities of his age (*Chikkadēvarājarasam kōvida-tikhamāṇi-yenīsidam*).

mind capable of grasping the learned arts³¹ and quick in comprehending the sentiments of others (*chāru-rasajnam*).³² He was a brilliant conversationalist (*vāk-kōvidam*) and took a keen interest in debates and discussions among scholars in his court (*śāstrigaḷa vāda*).³³ To talk with him once was, in the opinion of a contemporary poet, to wish for more talks with him, and to him who had not conversed with him even once, the desire was to find an opportunity to do so. "If the nectar is only known by the name," this poet asks, "is it possible not to yearn for a drop of it? When you have had a taste of it, is it possible not to hunger for it the more?"³⁴ An expert in all arts and sciences,³⁵ Chikkadēvarāja had dived deep into their secrets (*sarva sukalegaḷaḷagutṭa tilidu*).³⁶ In particular, as we learn from another contemporary,³⁷ he would personally test the weapons, diamonds, horses and elephants required for his use (*āyudha ratna vāji gajamam tānē parīkshikkumām*). Well-trained in the study and appreciation of music and literature (*samantu kuśalam sangīta-sāhityadoḷ*),³⁸ he was an ardent lover of them and had a thorough knowledge of their fundamentals.³⁹ He was himself an expert among the lutists (*vaiṇīkarōḷ pravīṇa nereyam*),⁴⁰ having

81. *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, P. 20, v. 108, *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 54; *Sale viśvat satkalā prauḍhiyanure tṣīyal sūkshma mādanarangam nelegonḍirukun*.

82. *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 69.

83. *Ibid.*, II, 1; *Ruk. Oha.*, I, 97.

84. See *Chāṭupadyamaṇṣamanjari*, vv. 46-54 (Ed. by V. Prabhākara Śāstri), quoted in the *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2461.

85. *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 110; *Śrī. Mahāt.*, II, 81; *O. Vi.*, V, 105; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, l.c.; *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 54; *Mbh. Śānti.*, l.c.; *O. Bi. and Gi. Gō.*, l.c.; *A. V. C.*, I, 19; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 7; *Sakala kulā nilayam*; . . . *pravīṇa*; . . . *dharanam*; *vividha kalā pravīṇam*; *kalā kōvidam*; *śāstrōrusāruṇabhāvam*; *akhilā śāstrangaḷōḷ*, etc.

86. *Munivam.*, I, 7.

87. See Singarārya in *Mitra. Gō.*, l.c.

88. *Ibid.*; see also *O. Bi. and Gi., Gō.*, l.c.

89. *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 22, 28 (prose passage); *Yād. Mahāt.*, II, 62, also ff. 29 (prose passage); *Paśch. Mahāt.*, I, 44; *O. Vi.*, V, 105; *Mbh. Śānti.*, l.c.; *Div. Śū. Oha.*, I, 81; *A. V. C.*, I, 10; *Sangīta-sāhitya rasapramōḍita hṛdayanam*; . . . *kōvidam*; . . . *rasajnam*; . . . *anēka sāhiti*; *mādhuryatara sangīta-śravaṇa-līla*; *sangītada sāhityadoḷpanārayāḷu*.

40. *Mitra. Gō.*, l.c.

been taught to play scientifically on the instrument (lute), to the extent of endowing it with life and enrapturing his audience.⁴¹ Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to Chikkdēvarāja Wodeyar as the guiding spirit, nay as the creator, of the literary movement of his reign and to the works ascribed to or written by him. Undoubtedly, in the literary and cultural spheres, he dominated the most notable circles of his time.⁴² Himself a connoisseur of literary merit,⁴³ he had a high standard of appreciation, and appears to have initiated a policy, in pursuance of which literary works were to be produced along up-to-date lines, yet without breaking away from the earlier traditions. Thus, we learn, he used to keep himself engaged in the enjoyment of writings characterized by symmetry in respect of form, sentiments delineated, diction, style, descriptive powers and figures of speech used (like similes, illustrations, etc).⁴⁴ Further, it seems to have been his desire that authors attempting literary productions in Kannada prose and poetry should aim at popular understanding and appreciation (*ellar prēmāde tiḷidālipante; aśēsha janam tiḷiva terade; ellarariviniṃ*) while paying due regard to beauty of form, sentiments, verbal embellishments, modernity in the medium of expression, use of *kanda* and other

41. C. Vi., IV, 111-116: *Biṇeyanī kumāra Chikadēvam . . . nādam svara prakramam . . . nuṇchara . . . chārṅgaṇḍire tāṇa tāṇaḍoḷ pavaṇaritaṇtu bājisuvinaṃ . . . prāṇam bandudu jantra bijjege . . . kivvoḍe pokku . . . chētanavṛtti mottāḍoḷ . . . savidāniyindamē sameḍudemba vikalpaḍe tōrpudu; see also C. Vam., 176-181.*

42. *Kāmand. Nt.*, I, 69; *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 47; *Sat. Br. Vi.*, I, 47: *Praudhāgraganyam; nūtana śhitya vijnāna gishpati bhāsvanmati; pāṇḍiti mahimeyam.*

43. *Mbh. Śānti.*, O. Bi. and Gi. Gō., l.c.: *Śhityarasaparikṣā-nikasha-prastaranum; śhityavidyā-nikasha-prastaranum.*

44. *Chikadēvēndra-Vam.*, p. 28 (prose passage); *Yād. Mahāt.*, ff. 29-30 (prose passage); *Kāmand. Nt.*, l.c.: *Atimadhuratara-śhityavidyā-vishayāmurakta-mānasa; vara-śhitya-vinōḍi; rūpa-rasa-pāka-sāyyāriti-varṇaṇōpamōt prēkṣā-bhāvachitrādi-guṇa-saṃmītra-sudhā-rasāyana.*

varieties of metres and melody of diction.⁴⁵ The extent to which these standards were realised is, perhaps, borne out by the literary achievement of the reign described in the chapter relating to it. Of, perhaps, greater importance to us is the keen interest he evinced in the history and culture of his country, for he was known to have "directed an extensive collection to be made of historical materials, including all inscriptions then extant within his dominions, which were already reported to be voluminous."⁴⁶ In this he reminds us of Rāja-Rāja, the great Chōḷa ruler. Magnificent, prosperous and happy, of sweet and good words and pleasing manners, calm and gentle, prudent, stainless, adhering to the established course of conduct, kind-hearted and generous,⁴⁷ Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was, as he is depicted to us by his contemporaries, an intensely human character. With a thorough control over his passions and with a

45. See *Hasti. Mahāt.*, I, 101, 105-108; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, III, 73-75, 78-79; *Śu. Sap.*, I, 19; *Bhag. Gi. Tī.*, I, 67; *Śēsha-Dharma*, v. 2 (col.); *Śrī. Mahāt.*, col., etc.: *Esakam bettu . . . rasabhaḥvalan kṛtī rīti sadārtha; posatādoḷ nūdi; padabandham posatāge kanda tatryim nādvṛtta sandōhadim; kēlva jana brindakkellam śravya sanpāda munmuttīre*. For details about these productions, vide Ch. XIV of this work.

46. See Wilks's *Preface* to his *Mysoor*, I, pp. xxii-xxiii, where he obviously records a genuine tradition fresh in the memories of his contemporaries in Mysore.

47. *Sat. Br. V.*, I, 46-47; *Paśch. Mahāt.*, I, 43-44; *Kamala. Mahāt.*, I, 110; *O. Vi.*, V, 105; *Chikkadēvendra-Vam.*, pp. 22, 29 (prose passage); *Yad. Mahāt.*, II, 62, also ff. 32 (prose passage); *Venkaṭa. Mahāt.*, I, 54; *Yad. Mahāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 15; *Munivam.*, I, 9, 148, 153; see also *E. O.*, III (1) Sr. 14 (1686), l. 46: *Vaibhavadolekalpasala, atyanta sampadanum, abhyudayamam paḍedoppuva, bhāvukam; vimayōkti, madhuramaya bhāṣaṇam, oḷvātugan, ānanda-dāyakanum, janānandakaram, utsavadoḷe Rāmanum; śāntam, nayāśīlam, gāmbhīrya; vivēkaśālī, ucchitaynam; akalanka, vimāla-manam; nēmagātram, dharmā-niṣṭha; sadayam, dayāpayōdhi; udārah, chāgi*. Cf. *Nāyaks of Madura* (p. 220) which refers to Chikkadēvarāja as "the niggardly king of Mysore," on the authority of Taylor (*Or. Hist. Mss.*, II, 224-226), by way of bringing out the greatness of Mangammā of Madura (1689-1706) contrasted with the former (i.e., Chikkadēvarāja), her contemporary. There is absolutely no evidence in support of this characterization. Taylor's authority is itself a later tale on the hostile Madura side. It is not entitled to credence in the face of the strong testimony of incidental references from local sources cited in this chapter.

mastery of the sciences of politics and diplomacy,⁴⁸ he had a deep insight into the character of his councillors while remaining an enigma to them (*sakala sāmājīkaroṣava tiliḍu nijaprakṛtiyanavarge kāṇisada*).⁴⁹ His government was that of a true Kshatriya, deeply rooted in the ancient ideal of *dharma* (*rājadharmam*), which had as its objectives punishment of the wicked and protection of the good (*duṣṭa-nigraha śiṣṭa-paripālanam*) and promotion of happiness of all his subjects in general and of Gods, Brāhmins and the dumb creation typified by the cow in particular.⁵⁰ Gifts to Brāhmins (implying the leisured class), reverence and liberality towards poets and the learned, relief to the needy, dependents and the deserving, mercy and assurance of safety to supplicants, affection for his followers, kindly attention towards his subjects, gracefulness towards the fair sex, above all devotion to Viṣṇu—these were the cardinal features of Chikkadēva's character as the ruler of a growing kingdom.⁵¹

48. *Munivam.*, I, 9, 11, 20; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 44, 48; *Div. Sū Cha.*, I, 81, 86; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 29-30 (prose passage); *Yād. Māhāt.*, ff. 32 (prose passage): *Ariṣaḍvargavaniradarisi*; *nīritigaḷaḍhikōḍḍi-panavāge*; *prabhū-mantrītsāha-śaktitraya-vāḍēdu parama-saptāṅga-rājyaḍoḷu*; *nīti-nīdhāna*, *nīti-vidyā-vidārādanu*, *nīti-prakāradim*, *sāma-dāna-bhēda-dāṇḍa-chaturōpya-kūśala*, etc.

49. *Munivam.*, I, 148.

50. *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 48; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.* and *Yād. Māhāt.*, l.c.; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 8; *C. Bi.*, p. 4, also col.; *Hādī. Dhar.*, IX, 60; *Gī. Gō.* and *Sachchū. Nir.*, col.; *A. V. C.*, III, 45, 151, IV, 17, 28; *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 76-77. Among the textual expressions are: *Sarvajana, anbar prajegāl, sakala prajākātānūm*; *dēva-gō-vipra-santati santasa-dolirke, dēva-brāhmaṇa paripālanam pradhānam gaidu, dēva-brāhmaṇa rakṣhaṇāya prithoi-samrājya-dikṣā-bhṛts*.

51. *Kanala. Māhāt.*, I, 150; *Venkaṭa. Māhāt.*, I, 54; *Kāmand. Nī.*, I, 69; *Paśch. Māhāt.*, I, 44; *Div. Sū. Cha.*, I, 82; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 20-21, vv. 108-109, also pp. 28-30 (prose passage); *Yād. Māhāt.*, II, 54, also ff. 29 (prose passage); *Sāt. Br. Vi.*, I, 46-47: *Dānade vipraaram, kavi-jana-hṛdayābhīṣṭamittu, piridu mannaṇeyim budharam, ātritaughamanudattauddryadim, arthi-jana chintāratna, pātravanivaham; ānata-prajeyam satkrpeyim, abhaya-pradānadindānataram; kaḍu kūrmeym svakīyanuchararkaḷam; prajeyanādaradim, prajeyam lalaneyim; vīṣṭasādim māniniyarkaḷam, saundaryadim strīyaram; ramādhipanam bhaktiyim, haripādābja makaranda sanmadhukaram; sarvajānanupālana satpradhānam guṇam*.

Literary flourishes apart, contemporary testimony to the greatness of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar is very weighty indeed. Contemporary testimony as to his greatness.

Mallikārjuna, in his *Śrīranga-Māhātmya* (1678), observes: ⁵² "There are no sovereigns who do not perform obeisance to Chikkadēva, no chiefs who do not do homage to him, no warriors who do not regard him as a hero, no enemies who do not seek his protection, no Brāhmins not gratified by his gifts, no tract not impressed with the emblem of his sovereignty, and no venerable persons not duly honoured by him." Tirumalārya, in his *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700), ⁵³ speaks of him thus: "In this world there are none greater than Chikkadēva; if there be, they must only be in ancient writings. None are equal to him; if there are, they are only his reflection. Opponents he has none; if there are any, they are only for amusement in sports; nowhere else are they to be seen."

Among the insignias and titles of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar were: *Dharaṇī-Vārāha* (boar), *Gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa* (double-headed eagle), *Birudantembara-gaṇḍa* (champion over those who say they have such and such titles), *Malepa-nripa-madamardana* (curber of the pride of refractory chiefs), *Advaita-parākrama* (of peerless

52. II, 35:

Maṇiyada rāyarilla besaḡaiyada manneyarilla
Śīranendenāsada virarilla śāranendenada śātravarilla |
Dānadim daṇiyada viprarilla nījamudreya-nottada dēsamilla
Mannanegoḷadāryarilla Chikadēva-nṛpam dhareḡaṇmanembina||

Compare with this what Vijnānēśvara, the famous author of the *Mitākshara*, wrote of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (1078-1112): "There has not been, there is not, and there will not be, on the surface of the earth, a city like Kalyāṇ; and never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramāṅka seen or heard" (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. ii. 808).

53. II, 2:

Jaḡadoḷ Śrī-Chikadēvanim piriyarillettānu-muṇṭādoḡam
Baḡeḡoḷgum paḷavātinoḷ doreyumiḷlettānu-muṇṭādoḡam |
Baḡeḡoḷgum pratibimbadoḷ malevarillettānu-muṇṭādoḡam
Baḡeḡoḷgum preṇayāparādhaividhiyoḷ meyḡōradinnellīyum ||

prowess), *Sangara-Bhīma* (champion on the field of battle), *Hindurāya-Suratrāṇa* (Sultān of Hindu kings), *Āndhra-kshitīndra-hṛdaya-śūla* (a trident to the heart of the Telugu chief, i.e., Nāyak of Madura), *Dakṣiṇadik-Chakravartī*, *Tenkāṇa-Rāya* (Emperor of the South), *Karnāṭaka-Bhūmaṇḍalādhīśvara*, *Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī*, *Śringāra-Karnāṭa-Chakri* (Emperor of the Karnāṭaka country), *Yādavakulōddhāraka* (establisher of the Yadu race), *Mahishapuravarādhīśvara* (Lord of the city of Mysore), *Paśchimarangapurī-simhāsanādhīṣṭhitam* (established on the throne, i.e., sovereignty, of the city of Seringapatam), *Mahārājādhirājaparamēśvara* (Emperor of kings) and *Apratīma-Vīra* (unparalleled hero).⁵⁴ Some of these titles show unmistakably the high position Chikkadēva had attained to in Southern India as a ruler.

Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar lived and worked in times of exceptional difficulty and stress. From the beginning of his reign, it was his avowed ambition to maintain the territorial integrity and independence of the kingdom of Mysore on the one hand and, on the other, to advance further as a representative of or rather as the political heir to the imperial traditions of Vijayanagar in Southern India and the Karnāṭaka country. In seeking to realize that ambition, he successively came into conflict with numerous powers, the Nāyaks of Madura and Ikkēri, the local chiefs, the Muhammadans of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and the Mahrattas under Śivāji and Sambhāji. Prospects of southern expansion of Mysore under him, as far as Madura and Trichinopoly, were bright up to 1682 but became gloomy and were definitely, though temporarily, arrested by the harassing wars of Sambhāji during

54. See, *C. Vi.*, col.; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, pp. 96-90 (prose passage); *Yād. Mahāt.*, ff. 27-32 (prose passage); *Mbh. Sānti.*, col., *C. Bi.*, *Gi. Gō.* and *Sachchū. Nir.*, col.; *E.O.*, III (1) Sr. 94, ll. 8-5; IV (2) Ch. 92, ll. 58-60; *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 155-159, 430-440; also references cited in f.n. to Ch. XI of this work.

1682-1686 and the advance of Mughal arms into the south of India in the succeeding years, i.e., 1689-1696. All these adverse circumstances, however, resulted in limiting his jurisdiction only up to the forts on the eastern frontier of Mysore, overlooking the south. In the other directions, he achieved a great deal of success. While systematically extending the kingdom of Mysore in the western and central Karnāṭak at the expense of local chiefs (like those of Ikkēri and Maddagiri) and foreign powers (like Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa and the Mahrattas) during 1673-1687, he withstood and repulsed the Mahratta attacks on Mysore in 1677 and 1682, quickly recovered from the crisis of 1682-1686, and maintained unimpaired his diplomatic relations with the Mughal Empire (1687-1700). The net result of his policy was that during the last years of his reign (1698-1704), when Aurangzib was engaged in his ever-deepening struggle with the Mahrattas in the Deccan, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar had not only ensured the integrity and independence of the kingdom of Mysore as a bulwark against the Mughal Empire in the North but had also been sufficiently well-established in his claim to the sovereignty of the South and the Karnāṭaka country, and was in fact at the zenith of his power, an achievement creditable in no small measure to his untiring personal exertions and the activities of his Daḷavāis.

To the student of history the reflection occurs that it was a public calamity that the ill-starred conditions of his time did not favour Chikkadēva with complete success in his southern campaign. With it the chance of the restoration of an orderly government throughout Southern India was lost for another century until the *Pax Britannica* made it possible. The results of the unfortunate check that Chikkadēvarāja received in that direction and in his attempt at the assertion of supremacy over

the territory which for ages Vijayanagar had held together and ruled over, made themselves increasingly felt with the lapse of years. What Chikkadēva's success might have meant it is needless to contemplate now ; it were really profitless to consider a " what might have been." But it is patent enough to a chronicler of the times that his ill-success signified the loss of a strong central government that Chikkadēva alone—of all the men of the time in the South—could have bestowed on the country as a whole. Neither the Mahratta king nor the Mughal Emperor could have done this. The Mahratta king was carrying on a warfare in the South not so much for founding a central government, with a view to extending the benefits of an orderly administration, as for getting footholds in it which might help in the future for collecting the *chauth* and the *sardēśmukhi* from its chiefs and princelings. The imperialism of Śivāji, Aurangzib and their successors differed widely from that of Chikkadēva's ideal of an Empire.⁵⁵ If what Chikkadēva attempted for his kingdom is any guide to what he might have aimed at for the larger territory he tried to conquer, there is hardly any doubt, it would have denoted a system of governance under which the blessings of peace and order were to prevail over the whole of the South for some decades at least. Aurangzib's fight over the Southern Muhammadans consumed all his talents and treasury, and the extension of his rule over the South, even if it had materialized, would not have brought for the people the reign of a sovereign who intended peace and contentment for the conquered tracts. In any case, it would not have spelt a system of administration which would have recalled to the Hindus of the South a continuation of the orderly Vijayanagar rule to which they had grown accustomed for well nigh four centuries. The passing away of Chikkadēva

55. On the relative claims of Mysore, the Mahrattas and the Mughals to Empire in the South, *vide* Appendix VI—(7).

(in 1704) thus meant to the South something more than the loss of a Śivāji or an Aurangzib. So long as Chikkadēva lived there was the chance of a restoration of order in the South, a restoration which the interests of the country and its people needed from the days of Venkaṭa I (1586-1614), the Vijayanagar Emperor, and a restoration, too, which would have been in keeping with its own past traditions and culture. Whatever the Mughal or the Mahratta may have been for their homelands, they were essentially different to the kingdoms of the South which had had a civilization and a settled government of their own. His death, as we shall see, meant the loss for all time of such a chance, with the result that the way was open for the pretensions of the Mahrattas and the Mughals (including the Nawābs of Arcot and the Nizām) in later days, to levy contributions from the feudatories of the old dérelict Empire, or to lay waste the country which taxed not only their resources but also strained those of the common people so much that the very presence of the armies of these demanders proved a signal for a general exodus of the inhabitants of towns and villages. The threat of an invasion thus proved worse than a war actually carried out, a state of affairs which added to the misery of the people who neither had peace nor security for another century.

Chikkadēva was a born ruler of men. He was essentially a man of action. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest of his

As a ruler.

race. He aimed high but did not go beyond the possible. His government was a centralized despotism of the benevolent type, usually conducted along traditional lines. His administrative measures and works of public utility reveal a personality far in advance of his South Indian contemporaries, a personality with an ardent desire for reform of old institutions to suit the changing conditions of the times, and with a genius for initiation

and execution of new ideas and schemes. His fiscal regulations were as strict as they were just, for they aimed at the standardization of revenue dues and provision of facilities to the ryots on the one hand and, on the other, at reducing to the minimum, chances of disaffection on their part. He linked the civil, criminal and revenue sides of the administration in such a way that control and governance during difficult times was rendered easy and possible. In the matter of foreign relations, he, much like Śivāji, refused to seek the aid of outsiders, though he maintained diplomatic relations with the Mughal. A devout Śrī-Vaiṣṇava by faith and profession, he evinced a keen interest in the philosophy of that religion while tolerating other sects and creeds. Numerous were his gifts and acts of piety. Cities, towns, and Brāhmanical settlements in local parts, which were as ever before the vanguards of spiritual and temporal culture, were in a flourishing condition under him. As head of the social order, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, in keeping with the ancient ideal of *Varnāśrama-dharma*, strove hard to maintain social well-being in the country. His court was noted for its dazzling splendour and magnificence, being thoroughly expressive of the tastes and culture of the times to which he belonged. Himself an accomplished person and an engaging personality, he gave an impetus to the development of Kannada literature as the means of popular education, ushering in a new era in the literary history of Mysore. His encouragement to and patronage of scholars and poets was proverbial. Regular and systematic in his habits and pursuits as he was, his domestic life was marked by peace and happiness.

With Chikkadēvarāja, religion was the rock-bed of social well-being. Religion divorced from society was as nothing to him. Here we see religious duty identified with

As a religious and social reformer.

social duty. Sin is an offence against the latter and not the former. Redemption, it would seem to follow from this standpoint, is tantamount to liberation from association with unhelpful society, a society that discards human sympathy and human good-will towards its own kind. Conduct is greater than mere profession of belief. Religion is, in this sense, the fountain-head of morality and that is morality which has its supreme sanction from religion. We can now appreciate why Chikkadēva stresses duty in one's own sphere in the true spirit of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. He inculcates the view that if human solidarity is to be achieved peacefully, it is necessary for each in his own place to do his duty selflessly and thus help towards harmonious action. That is a doctrine that has its value as much in the national as in the international sphere even to-day. It would seem that in the religious and social domain, as in the political and administrative, Chikkadēva realized the limits of human action. If it is the first duty of a reformer to prevent any future reformation, Chikkadēva splendidly succeeded in his attempt. To those who think that they can by a stroke of the pen remould society or remake religion, here is something to unlearn, if not to learn.

Monarchs have seldom condescended to become the preceptors of their subjects. If some praise is due to Aśoka for the care with which he propagated the *Law of Piety* and to Justinian for reducing a laborious system of law into a short and elementary treatise understood by the youth as much of Rome as of Constantinople and Berytus, then some credit is also due to Chikkadēva for the diligence with which he attempted to teach those committed to his charge the solidarity of humanity. To him all human beings—the four orders of the Hindu social life—were one, each being indissolubly bound up with others and all being one single whole for the common good. His

His conception of human equality.

conception of equality transcended law. It was something more than equality in the eye of the law. It was equality in the eye of God, for all who worship Him or in His name are, according to him, equal before Him and attain to everlasting life. That is a conception of equality which is not only great but also one which stands unique in history.

A worthy contemporary of Śivāji and Aurangzīb, a consummate warrior, a strenuous political builder, a shrewd administrator, a humble seeker after truth and an intensely human personage of many-sided tastes and attainments, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar must be reckoned, from the materials now available to us, a typical character of Southern India during the latter part of the seventeenth century. He is undoubtedly entitled to rank high as a "Maker of Mysore." He is, perhaps, best remembered by the most enduring monuments of his rule, the *Chikkadēvarāja-sāgara-nālā* and the *Dēva-nālā* (*Chikkadēvarāja-nālā*), canals in the present district of Mysore. His reign thus fully exemplifies the truth of the well-known saying, "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war."

The influence of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar on the generation of writers immediately after his death was profound. He figures prominently in the literature of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ In particular, one literary work, belonging to the reign of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar II (1704-1714), significantly echoes the memory of his greatness as a warrior-king of Mysore.⁵⁷ Another work,

Chikkadēvarāja
Wodeyar in the 18th
century literature.

56. See, for instance, *E.O., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, Nj. 295 (1716); III (1) Sr. 64 (1722) and 100 (1724), TN. 63 (1749), and IV (2) Yd. 17, 18 (1761); also *infra*.

57. *Anangaviṣaya-Bhāṣa*, pp. 2-3: *Nirantara-duranta bhuja-kunta balakrānta śmānta śmānta nighāta nija-mudrāṅkita jaya-stambha Śrī-Chikkadēvarāja prithvi-ramaṇa*.

belonging to the reign of Krishnarāja Wodeyar I (1714-1732), vividly points to the glory of his reign.⁵⁸

Chikkadēvarāja stands out in history by reason of his exceptional personal quality, which makes him more noteworthy than his contemporaries. Among the rulers of the new states that had grown up out of the wreckage of the old Vijayanagar Empire, he was easily first. His greatest claim on posterity is that he laid the foundations of a government which stood for peace and order. He may be said to have realized that order was as important for cultural progress as peace itself. During the thirty-two years of his reign, the country, despite the wars he fought, enjoyed the blessings of a settled government. The literary activity of the period is the best evidence of this great blessing. After the fall of the resuscitated Vijayanagar Empire at Penukonda, an interval of nearly a hundred and fifty years from the death of Venkaṭa I (1614), the last great ruler of that illustrious line, till the memorable reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore (1672-1704), is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of a series of kings—beginning with Śrī-Ranga III (1614) and ending with Śrī-Ranga VII (1759)—who successively occupied the Imperial throne of Vijayanagar. During the same period, Mysore, as we have shown,⁵⁹ rose from the position of a mere viceroyalty to the proud status of a sovereign seat, which, under the capable rule of a discerning king, Chikkadēva, was fast taking the place of the old Imperial House (of Vijayanagar) itself, a king who might have deserved a statue among the best and bravest of the successors of ancient Hakka and Bukka. Chikkadēva's kingdom suffered a temporary eclipse because, as

58. *Sakala-Vaiś. Sam.*, pp. 2-4 (Introd. Ch.).

59. *Vide* Chs. V, VI, VIII, X and XI of this work, for the political evolution of Mysore during 1610-1704.

we shall notice, weaker sovereigns began to appear in the line of succession, who were neither fired by the same zeal nor possessed of the same capacity to manage men and things. The ideals and objectives aimed at by him—the ideal and objective primarily of a united South against the aggressive Mughal who tried to break through the frontier states and destroy what was left of the ancient Hindu land—were lost sight of by those who immediately came after him. Servants tended to become masters and loyalty to get displaced by rank treachery. The usurpation of Haidar was only ended by the devotion of trusted leaders who again and again asserted the principle of right over might and held aloft the high principles of service, devotion and loyalty, and amidst all kinds of difficulties owned no other duty to the Sovereign House of Mysore but that of duty done for the sake of duty.

APPENDIX I.

(1) ON THE DERIVATION OF "WOḌEYAR."

Woḍeyar: Kan. plural and honorific form of *Oḍeya*, lit. lord, master; spelt variously as *Oḍeyar*, *Woḍeyar*, *Waḍeyar* and *Waḍeyaraiya*, in inscriptions and literary works of the Vijayanagar and Mysore periods. In Tamil, the word occurs as *Uḍaiyar*, as in Chōla inscriptions among others. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Vīra-Śaivism was the predominant creed in the Southern Karnāṭak. This is evidenced by the fact that the word *Woḍeyar* not infrequently appears in the literature of the period in a modified form as *Vaḍēr* or *Waḍēr*, a term of respect by which Jangama priests were, and are even now, addressed.

(2) ON THE DERIVATION OF "MYSORE."

Mysore: Derived from *Mahisha* (or *Maisa*) + *ūru*, lit. buffalo town. Popular mythology associates the place with the destruction of Mahishāsura, the buffalo-headed monster, by the consort of Śiva, worshipped by the Mysore Royal House as their tutelary Goddess, i.e., Śrī-Chāmuṇḍēśvarī of the Chāmuṇḍi Hills, Mysore. There has been considerable discussion among scholars, for some time now (see App. J in *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 3118-3120, for a summary), on the derivation of the word Mysore, which they generally take to connote a tract or territory variously identified as *Mahisha-maṇḍala*, *Erumai-nāḍu*, *Mahisha-rāshṭra*, *Maisa-nāḍu*, *Māhi-shmati*, etc., referred to in inscriptions and literature. The Sangam poets (6th cent. A.D.) in particular, as is well known, refer in their works to *Erumai-yūran*, a name which has been taken to mean "he of Mahishapura

or Mysore" (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III, *Introdn.*, pp. xxi, xxv), and latterly attempted to be identified as a chief of Yemmiganūr (see *Mys. Gaz.*, 3120). Although the last word has not yet been said on the subject, enough data is at hand to hold that a portion of the present State of Mysore, including the place called Mysore, was either coterminous with, or formed part of, the extensive tract known as *Mahisha-maṇḍala* or *Maisa-nāḍu* (*Mahisha-nāḍu*) in ancient times (*vide* Ch. III of this work, for documentary details). Equally significant is it to note the survival of the name of the place in its earlier forms as *Mayisūr* and *Mahisūr* in the inscriptions down to the sixteenth century A.D., and its gradual transformation to *Maisūru* (Mysore) in the seventeenth. The word in its Sanskritised form *Mahishāpura* appears side by side with the earlier forms in the epigraphical and literary records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By way of literary flourish, it is spelt also as *Mahīśūra-pura* (lit. hero town) by later writers.

(3) ಹೃದೇವು.

This word is defined thus: "A circular bastion-like structure of stones, etc., at some distance from a village, in which peasants endeavoured to secure themselves in the time of a sudden attack from marauders" (Kittel, *A Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 1673). At the time of which we are writing (*i.e.*, 14th-15th cent.), *hṛdēvu* could not mean anything more than a sort of fort irregularly laid out.

(4) PURAGĒRI.

Relying obviously on the *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, Wilks (I. 41-42) refers to Puragēri as "Pooragurry" (? Puragaḍi) and interprets it as an old name for Mysore. He also states (*l.c.*) that Mysore ("Mysoor" from "Maheshhoor—Mahesh-Asoor") was a new name assigned to "Pooragurry" in 1524 after the construction of the fort. It

has, however, been pointed out (*vide* Ch. III) that Mysore was known as *Mayisūr* as far back as the twelfth century. Hence Puragēri, in the period referred to, would only mean an outskirt or suburb of Mysore, which was considerably improved by Hiriya-Bettāda-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III (1513-1553) by the erection of a fort, and raised to the status of a town (*Mahisūru-nagara*), in 1524. See also and compare the *Muddarāja Urs Ms.* cited in the *Annals* (II. 87-88). The reference to cannons said to have been placed on the bastions of the Mysore fort (*Annals*, II, 89-92) is, however, applicable to a later date, since this is not mentioned in the original of the *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, examined by us.

(5) THE TEMPLE OF KŌḍI-BHAIRAVA IN MYSORE.

This is the place where Yadurāja and Kṛishṇa are said to have halted after their visit to the Chāmunḍi Hills according to the tradition narrated in the *Annals* (*vide* Ch. III, for details). It is situated behind the Triṇēśvara temple, and south of the Sōmēśvara temple, Mysore Fort; and is dedicated to Bhairava, known as Kōḍi-Bhairava (lit. Bhairava at the outlet of the tank). "The image of Bhairava, about 3 feet high," states the *M. A. R.* (1922, p. 2, para 8) noticing this monument, "has for its attributes a trident, a drum, a skull and a sword. It is flanked on the right by a female chauri-bearer and on the left by a female figure, apparently Bhadrakālī, with a bill-hook in the uplifted right hand."

(6) THIRTY-THREE VILLAGES.

The names of twenty-nine out of thirty-three villages, referred to, are traceable in the *Mys. Dho. Vam.* (ff. 6-7). These are: *Mahisūra* (Mysore), Eeranagere (Vīranagere), Maluhalli, Beechanahalli, Yenṇe Māragonḍanahalli, Ruva-
[? Ramma] nahalli, Kenabāyanahalli [? Kyātabōyanahalli], Sātagahalli, Dēvarasanāyakana-pura, Mālāgāla,

Darihalli, Mankahalli [*? Mandakahalli*], Madagarahalli, Marasehalli, Hechige, *Kemba*, Mārahalli, Tālūr, Durachitanahalli [*? Dūra*], Māvinahalli, *Hemmanahalli*, Angaḍihalli, Mādihalli, Kētanahalli, *Kenchalagūd*, Nagarahalli, Yaḍahalli, Maḷalagāla, Yaḍahallipura. Most of these villages are extant, their forms being slightly changed; and are situated in the Mysore and Nanjangūd taluks (see *List of Villages*, 82, 110, etc.). Places over which branches of the Mysore Royal Family held direct sway towards the close of the sixteenth century, are indicated in italics.

APPENDIX II.

(1) SIEGE OF MASURU, AND NOT MYSORE, IN 1593.

According to Ferishta, " In 1593, Munjum Khan, the Bijapur general, besieged Mysore belonging to Venkatadri Nayak, accompanied by Arsappa Nayak and Ganga Nayak ; and the place was reduced in three months and 20 fine elephants taken. Munjum Khan was proceeding rapidly in his conquests, when the rebellion of the king's brother in Belgaum occasioned his recall and left the affairs of Malabar once more in an unsettled state " (Briggs, III. 176). The siege of Mysore, referred to in this passage, is incorrect. Mysore, in 1593, was yet a small town under Rāja Woḍeyar, who was gradually becoming prominent by his aggressive policy against the local chieftains in the Seringapatam Viceroyalty. The fort of Mysore was then being strengthened by him. Moreover, Rāja Woḍeyar was, about this time, a feudatory of the Seringapatam Viceroy Tirumala II (1585-1610). That Munjum Khān, the Bijāpur general, should come all the way to besiege the town of Mysore without taking Seringapatam and other places, seems inconceivable. A close reading of Ferishta, however, would go to show that what he meant was a place near Ikkēri under Venkatādri Nāyaka. Again, since we are told that Munjum Khān was obliged to go back immediately to Bijāpur to attend to the Pādshah's affairs, and since Malabar (probably Malnād or part of the country bordering on it is implied here) is mentioned as the scene of his operations, it seems obvious that the Khān's activities were confined to the outlying part of the Karnāṭaka country, where the place referred to was situated. Indeed he could not have retraced his steps immediately, had he really been as far south as Mysore itself. The

penetration of the Bijāpur Muhammadans into the South (i.e., Seringapatam and Mysore) did not begin until 1638-1639 (*vide* Ch. VIII of this work, for details). The occurrence of the word Mysore in the passage from Ferishta, has therefore to be otherwise explained.

In the *Keladi-Nripa-Vijayam* (V. 73), we have the following :—

Venkaṭappa Nāyakam Rāmarāyar pālbenṇe umbali-gendu munnitta Māsūra-simeyam kattikoḷalaidida Manjula Khānanam murida.

From this passage we learn, Māsūru-sīme, granted as a rent-free estate (*umbali*) by Rāma-Rāya (of Vijayanagar) for the supply of milk and butter, belonged to Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri (1582-1629). Its occupation was attempted by Manjula Khān (a Kannada colloquial for Munjum Khān), who was repulsed by the latter. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, referred to here, is to be identified with the Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Ferishta. He was also known as Hiriya-Venkaṭappa Nāyaka according to the *Ke. N. V.* In his inscriptions he is mentioned as Venkaṭādri [see *E.C.*, VII (1) Tl. 38, 56 and 58]. Venkaṭādri cannot therefore be identified with Venkaṭapati-Rāya (of Vijayanagar) as has been done by Sewell (see *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 218-219), nor can the place referred to be Mysore, as both he (l.c.) and the Rev. H. Heras (*Āraṇḍi Dynasty*, I. 418) take it to be. Māsūru-sīme, mentioned above, occurs in inscriptions also [see *E.C.*, VII (1) and VIII (2) Sā. 1, Nr. 33 and Sk. 324]. Māsūr is an extant village in Sāgar taluk (see *List of Villages*, 147). In the light of these references it would be obvious that what Ferishta meant was Māsūru, near Ikkēri in Sāgar taluk, ~~Shimoga~~ district. Possibly *Mysore* was a corruption of *Māsūru* since Ferishta wrote in the seventeenth century. There is thus enough evidence to hold that *Māsūru* was the place actually besieged by Munjum Khān in 1593, and not *Mysore* [based mainly

on the notes in f.n. to the article on *Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar* in the *H. Y. J. M. U.*, Vol. III, No. 2, Reprint].

(2) POETICAL WORKS ON THE SIEGE OF
KESARE (1596).

The *K.N.V.*, *C.Vam.* and *C.Vi.* being essentially poetical works, there is a tendency in them to make earlier events as having taken place at a later period and *vice versa*. In other words, tested with reference to the authority of inscriptions and chronicles, these works are conspicuous by the absence of chronological sequence of events described in them. Thus, in the *K.N.V.* of Gōvinda-Vaidya, the siege of Kesare is made to appear as having taken place towards the close of Tirumala's rule in Seringapatam (III, 94-96). Secondly, the curbing by Rāja Woḍeyar of the power of the chiefs of Bēlūr and Narasimhapura (Hoḷe-Narasipur), a later event, is mentioned as though it preceded the siege of Kesare (III, 50-51). Thirdly, Tirumala's retreat from Seringapatam, also a later event, is spoken of as if it followed immediately after the siege of Kesare (III, 95). Similarly, in the earlier part of the *C.Vam.* (2), Tirumalārya makes it appear as if the siege of Kesare took place immediately after Rāja Woḍeyar resolved to expel Tirumala from the Viceroyalty of Seringapatam, consequent on the latter's treacherous retreat during Venkaṭa I's action against Virappa Nāyaka of Madura. In fact, however, Tirumala's expulsion happened fourteen years after the siege of Kesare itself. Tirumalārya himself, in the other work of his, namely, the *C.Vi.*, makes it obvious that Tirumala's expulsion was resolved upon by Rāja Woḍeyar, after the siege of Kesare (II, 52-55). A detailed study of the *C.Vam.* itself, in the light of other sources, brings this out prominently. Again, in the *C.Vam.* (8-10) as in the *C.Vi.* (II, 29), among other

events, the curbing by Rāja Woḍeyar of the chiefs of Kannambāḍi, Talakāḍ, Bannūr, Arakere, etc., clearly a later achievement, is made to appear as having preceded the siege of Kesare; and some of these chiefs are even made to bring about the action against Rāja Woḍeyar by insinuating Tirumala. Evidently Rāja Woḍeyar's conquest of Seringapatam (1610) and the events immediately preceding and succeeding it, have been uppermost in the minds of the poets (*i.e.*, Gōvinda-Vaidya and Tirumalārya). Hence the juxtaposition noticeable in these works. Allowing a fair margin for the poetical conception of events and the literary flourishes, these texts are drawn upon for an almost contemporary picture of the course of transactions connected with the siege of Kesare. Both in regard to this topic and the other political events of Rāja Woḍeyar's reign, these poetical works are to be understood in their chronological setting with reference to the more specific authority of the chronicles compared with one another. Compare *Āraṇiḍu Dynasty* (I. 342-343, 419, etc.), where the Rev. Father Heras criticises the story of Tirumala's retreat from Madura and the subsequent details recorded in the *C.Vam.* as "untrustworthy" and "a concoction of the poet for justifying Rāja Woḍeyar's capture of Seringapatam," etc.—a position not warranted by a detailed study of the texts.

The composition of Tirumala's army during the siege of Kesare, according to the *K.N.V.* (III, 23-44), was as follows: Rāmarājendra of Hadināḍu was with 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 50 elephants; the lord of Rudragana (chief of Piriāpaṭṇa) with 20,000 foot and 50 elephants; Nanjarāja of Talakāḍ with 16,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 30 elephants; Timma Nāyaka of Kereyūr with 8,000 foot, 500 horse and 20 elephants; Bairendra, son of Sāla Nāyaka, with 10,000 foot, 500 horse and 20 elephants. There were also levies (numbers not specified in the text) from the chiefs of Narasimhapura (Hoje-Narasipur) and

Bēlūr, from Dāsa Nāyaka of Nuggehalli, from the chiefs of Kenge (Kengēndra), Kōlāla, Ballāpur and Bangalore, and from Timmapparāja, Pradhāni Appi-Setṭi, Immaḍi-Jakka, Pummāni-Pāmi Nāyaka and Guṇḍi Nāyaka—altogether a force consisting of a lakh of foot, seven to eight thousand horse and two hundred rutting elephants (III, 35). Among the leading elephants which graced the army on the occasion, were: Birudina-Kaṇḍeya, Rāya Gajāṅkuśa, Ganganagōlu, Mīsara-Gaṇḍa, Bōyala-Pōtārāja, Madana-Gōpāla, Narasimha, Tirumala-Rāya, Tiru-Venkaṭanātha, Morasara-gaṇḍa and Kastūri-Ranga. According to the *C.Vam.* (14), there were in all, on the occasion, one lakh of foot, twelve thousand horse and one hundred elephants. There were levies from Ballāpur, Kōlāla, Punganūr, Māgaḍi, Bangalore and other parts of *Morasa-nāḍu*, consisting altogether of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 20 elephants; forces of the chiefs of Talakāḍ, Yeḷavandūr (Yeḷandūr), Ammachavāḍi, Terakaṇāmbi, Kōṭe (Heggaḍḍēvankōṭe), etc., places in the interior of the province (*oḷa-nāḍu*), comprising 2,500 foot, 500 horse and 25 elephants; from Malnāḍ (including Bēlūr, Keḷadi, etc.), consisting of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 20 elephants; from Chintanakal, Chiknāyakanahalli, Bāṇāvar, Basavāpaṭṇa, Sīra and other parts of the Bēḍa dominions, making up 2,500 foot, 500 horse and 5 elephants; also from Raṇa-Jagadēva-Rāya, Timma Nāyaka of Kereyūr and others, consisting in all of 24,000 foot, 4,000 horse and 15 elephants, while the main army of Tirumala (*mūla-baladoḷ*) was composed of 30,000 foot, 3,000 horse and 30 elephants. Compare *Ancient India* (p. 283), where S. K. Aiyangar doubts the probability of the actual presence of these numbers (of the *C.Vam.*) on the field. The numbers, however, in the light of both the texts, appear to have actually taken part in the action, scattered and encamped in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, Mysore and Nanjangūd,

though the works are not much in favour of the efficiency of this miscellaneous rabble.

(3) SOME VERSIONS OF RĀJA WOḍEYAR'S ACQUISITION OF SERINGAPATAM (1610).

The prevailing version is that Tirumalarājaiya, the Vijayanagar Viceroy at Seringapatam, having been afflicted with a fatal cancer (*bennu-phaṇi*), sent for Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore and desired him to hold the charge of Seringapatam on his behalf, saying that he (Tirumala) would go to Talakāḍ, Tirumakūḍlu and other sacred places for being cured, and that if he happened to breathe his last, Rāja Woḍeyar was to hand over charge of the city to the chief of Ummattūr. Tirumala then went over to Talakāḍ where he died shortly after, and Rāja Woḍeyar entered into the government of Seringapatam on February 8, 1610 (see *Mys. Dho. Vam.*, ff. 2; *Mys. Nag. Pūr.*, pp. 28-29; *Beṭṭadakōṭe-Kaif.*, p. 86, etc.). The *Annals* (I. 23-24, 29-30, 45) also gives a similar account, with slight variations. Śrī-Ranga-Rāya (? Tirumala), afflicted with a fatal cancer, deliberated with his councillors thus: "Rāja Woḍeyar, our friend, who is the most powerful ruler, has stood us in good stead on some occasions. Born in the Yadu race, he is the proper person to occupy the throne and rule the country. Since he has defeated some Pāḷegārs and extended his territories, he will naturally take Seringapatam also, if some one else is appointed." Accordingly, Śrī-Ranga-Rāya sent for Rāja Woḍeyar, narrated to him the story of the acquisition of Seringapatam and the throne by his ancestors, bestowed upon him both the throne and the kingdom, and, accompanied by his two wives (Alamēlamma and Rangamma), proceeded to Mālangi, near Talakāḍ, where he died some time later.

These versions, it will be seen, refer to the acquisition of Seringapatam by Rāja Woḍeyar as an act of "conditional

transfer" and "gift" or "bequest" respectively, consequent on a "fatal cancer" Tirumala was said to be suffering from. They, however, seem to indicate a later attempt to justify Rāja Woḍeyar's acquisition from the point of view of Tirumala. For there is nothing in the earlier sources to show that Tirumala was suffering from any bodily ailment at the time of Rāja Woḍeyar's occupation of Seringapatam, and that he made any arrangement with Rāja Woḍeyar for the administration of the Viceroyalty. Indeed epigraphical evidence points to Tirumala having been alive as late as 1626, sixteen years after he left Seringapatam. [see *E. C.*, III (1) Nj. 181; also *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 2203-2208]. The story of the "fatal cancer" is, perhaps, applicable to Śrī-Ranga II of Vijayanagar (1574-1586), who, as we shall see below, appears to have spent his last years in Seringapatam, and not to Tirumala.

Wilks (I. 49-52), while referring to and rejecting this "tale of singular bequest of confidence and friendship" as contrary to all probability, writes: "The acquisition of Seringapatam, in 1610, . . . is related in different manuscripts, with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel. . . . Forty-six years had now elapsed since the subversion of the empire from which the Viceroy had derived his original powers. This sinking and fugitive state, foiled in the attempt to re-establish its government at Penconda, had now renewed its feeble efforts at Chundergherry. The Viceroy himself was worn down with age and disease: his Government, long destitute of energy, had fallen into the last stage of disorganization, faction, and imbecility: it is not improbable that, foreseeing its impending destruction, he concluded the best compromise in his power with his destined conqueror; and the manuscript of Nuggur Poṭṭia even details the names of the persons,

probably of his own court, who had combined (as it is stated, with the permission of Vencatapetty Rayeel, who then reigned at Chundergherry) to compel him to retire. All that can be determined with certainty is, the quiet retirement of Tremul Raj to Talcaud, where he soon afterwards died ; and the peaceable occupation by Raj Wodeyar of the fort of Seringapatam."

In examining Wilks's position, we have to note, there is no evidence to show that Tirumala "was worn down with age and disease." On the contrary, enough data is at hand to hold that he was about forty-five years when he retired from his charge of the Viceroyalty (see *Mys. Gaz.*, 2208 ; also *C. Vam.*, 28, according to which Tirumala was just approaching his old age in 1610). Nor is there any ground to believe that he concluded "the best compromise in his power" with Rāja Wodeyar. Indeed we have seen how Tirumala, by provoking Rāja Wodeyar, brought about his own downfall in 1610 (*vide* Ch. V). As for the statement that Tirumala "quietly retired to Talcaud," Wilks relies here mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, which he refers to as the manuscript of Nagara Puṭṭaiya. An examination of this manuscript in the light of other sources would go to show that the "quiet retirement" was resolved upon by Tirumala only on the *Rāya-nirūpa* of Venkaṭa I, his uncle. It was merely an aspect of the situation and Wilks is just nearer the point so far. The *K. N. V.* and the *C. Vam.* (utilised in *Ibid*), however, to a considerable extent enable us to clear the "mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel," referred to by Wilks.

Dēvachandra, in his *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 455-464), gives an account of Rāja Wodeyar's conquest of Seringapatam from Tirumala, drawing freely upon the *C. Vam.* But he is hardly reliable when he loosely writes thus (X. 285-295, 313-318, 371, XII. 449-450, 464-465, etc.) : "Rāja

Woḍeyar I, a posthumous son of Dēvarāja of Mysore, was established in the kingdom of Mysore by his Jain adherents. With their help he ruled the country and received from Śrī-Ranga-Rāya of Vijayanagar the charge of the Seringapatam province in 1585-1586, when the latter was suffering from a fatal cancer. Śrī-Ranga went over to Talakāḍ where he died, his wives committing *sati*. Thereupon Rāja Woḍeyar I began to rule from Seringapatam. He died after some time. Then Ramarājaiya and his son Tirumala, from Vijayanagar, occupied Seringapatam. From hence the descendants of Rāja Woḍeyar had to rule only in Mysore. In 1609-1610, Rāja Woḍeyar II, one of these, conquered Seringapatam from Tirumala and continued to govern from there." The only element of probability in this version seems to be the death of Śrī-Ranga II (1574-1586) by cancer in or about 1586. There is little truth in the story of reconquest to regain a lost possession, built up by Dēvachandra.

(4) ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe*.

Noticing this work in the *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series* (Mysore, 1917), the Editor, Mr. M. A. Ramanuja Aiyangar, attributes its authorship to one Pradhāni Tirumalārya who is said to have flourished in the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, and states: (i) that this Tirumalārya, a descendant in the line of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava preceptors of the Vijayanagar rulers, formerly resided in Mēlkōṭe early in the seventeenth century; (ii) that he came into intimate touch with Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, who was often visiting Mēlkōṭe; (iii) that he was instrumental in moving Venkaṭapati-Rāya (Venkaṭa I) of Vijayanagar to confer upon Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore the *śime* of Seringapatam as a present or gift; (iv) that thereupon Rāja Woḍeyar went to Mēlkōṭe and bestowed upon the relatives and disciples of this Tirumalārya three

agrahāras with 128 *vrittis* (yielding 1,024 *varahas*) in Muttigere, Hādanūr and other villages; (v) that after this grant Rāja Woḍeyar requested Tirumalārya to stay with him in Seringapatam as his preceptor; (vi) that Tirumalārya at first refused the offer but afterwards, being much prevailed upon by Rāja Woḍeyar, was taken by him to the capital city (Seringapatam) and appointed his *Pradhāni*; (vii) that Tirumalārya was a great friend of the Royal House in Seringapatam, and died somewhere in the middle of the reign of Kaṇṭhīravanarasarāja Woḍeyar I (1638-1659); (viii) that Tirumalaiyangār (Tirumalārya), the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, was the great grandson of this Tirumalārya (*i.e.*, son of his grand-daughter); (ix) that the two brothers Tirumala Rao and Nārāyaṇa Rao of the times of Haider and Tipū (1761-1799) were the descendants of Appājappa, son of Pradhāni Tirumalārya (the author of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe*); and (x) that these two brothers belonged to the family of this Tirumalārya according to the genealogy secured by Lt.-Col. Wilks also (see *Editorial Introduction* to the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe*, pp. i-iv).

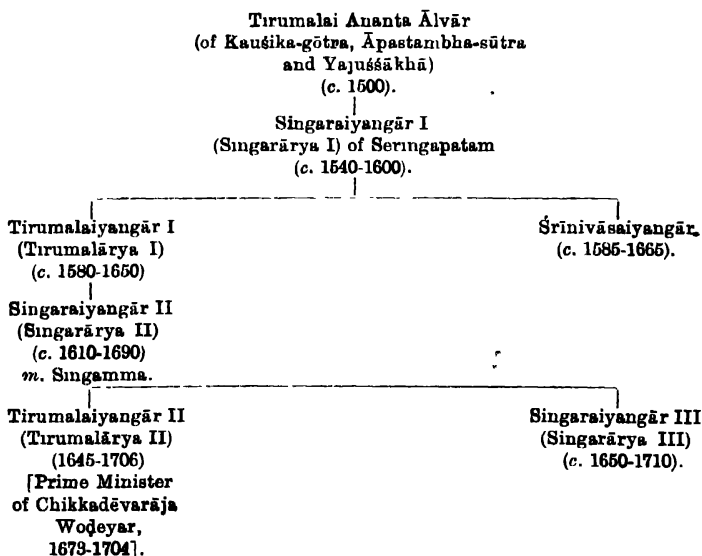
Thus, the Editor of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe* distinguishes three persons by name Tirumalārya, the first one being, according to him, a Pradhāni of Rāja Woḍeyar; the second a minister of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar; and the third the agent-in-chief of Mahārāpi Śrī-Lakshmamanniyavaroo of Mysore. And he assigns the authorship of this work to the first of these. He states that the text could not have been written by Tirumalaiyangār, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, because (i) he was not known as Pradhāni Tirumalaiyangār; (ii) it is nowhere mentioned in his works that he was conducting the office of *Pradhāni*; (iii) there are many differences in style as between this work and the works of Tirumalaiyangār (as, for instance, the *Chikkadēvarāya-*

Vamśāvalī, *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, etc.); (iv) Tirumalaiyangār invariably refers to Chikkadēvarāja in his writings, but such a reference is conspicuous by its absence here; and (v) the style of this work is based on ancient models and it is possible that the Vaishṇava background for the text, in the introductory chapter, later served as a guide to Tirumalaiyangār while writing his own works. Further, he adds, Tirumala Rao of the eighteenth century could not have been the author of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe* as he spent a greater part of his lifetime in political and diplomatic activities (*Ibid*, pp. i-ii).

An examination of the views of the Editor of the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe* shows that they are not based on any authentic sources of information, which, again, are neither quoted nor referred to in his *Introduction*. The only inscription cited [namely, *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 157] does not prove that Rāja Woḍeyar made the grant of *vrittis* to the disciples and relatives of (Pradhāni) Tirumalārya, nor does it even mention the latter's name and designation. This document is only a grant to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmins in general by Rāja Woḍeyar for the merit of his parents. There is no clue in the *Karṇa-Vrittānta-Kathe* itself in support of the position that Tirumalārya was a *Pradhāni* of Rāja Woḍeyar. Even Wilks, who is referred to, does not support the Editor's view that Pradhāns Tirumala Rao and Nārāyaṇa Rao were descendants of (Pradhāni) Tirumalārya. Wilks, in fact, holds that between Tirumala Rao and Nārāyaṇa Rao themselves there was considerable disagreement as to their descent. Further, the genealogy furnished to him by the brother of "Tremal row" is said to have shown that Tirumalaiyangār, the Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja, was the "alleged ancestor" of the former (Tirumala Rao) (*Mysoor*, II. 239, f.n.). There is also this additional

point to remember that if it were true that Tirumalaiyangār (Tirumalārya)—friend and co-student of Chikkadēvarāja—and his family were directly descended in the grand-daughter's line from the alleged (Pradhān) Tirumalārya—as is held by the Editor—he (Tirumalaiyangār) would not have missed mentioning, if not actually enlarging on, that point in his works.

All that the available evidence seems to point to is that there was regular succession in a line of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers in Mysore, exercising their influence on the Mysore Royal Family probably from the time of Rāja Woḍeyar. The genealogy of this line of teachers according to the testimony of inscriptions and literary works is as follows :—



[Based on *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 13 (1664), ll. 19-21; and 94 (1678), ll. 10-14; TN. 23 (1663), ll. 92-93; IV (2) Ch. 92 (1675), ll. 106-107; and Kr. 45 (1678), ll. 10-14; also *C. Vam.*, 163; *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 3; and Commentary

on the *Y. N. Stavah*, etc., p. 1, v. 1; p. 119, v. 1. Singaraiyangār I, in Sr. 13 (l. 20), is referred to as "Chennapyāji Singaraiyangār." If "Chennapyāji" is taken to be a scribal error for "Chāmappāji," then this name would be in keeping with his position as the preceptor of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar according to the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*, referred to in the text of Ch. V.].

APPENDIX III.

ON THE EARLY DAḷAVĀIS OF MYSORE.

Wilks appears to have had some misconception regarding the early Daḷavāis of Mysore. Indeed, while indicating that he had no access to the “*genuine* history of the Dulwoys,” during the period of Chāmarāja’s rule (1617-1637), he points out that in the manuscripts of the family history of the Daḷavāis available to him there is no reference to “Veecrama Raj” (Daḷavāi Vīkrama-Rāya), his name itself having been “obliterated from their annals” (I. 56-57). If Wilks be understood to refer here to the manuscripts of the Daḷavāi family of Kaḷale, he does seem to be under an impression that from the beginning the Kaḷale Family regularly furnished Daḷavāis to the rulers of Mysore. We have, however, seen how, towards the close of Rāja Woḍeyar’s reign, there was an agreement between Kaḷale and Mysore regarding the furnishing of Daḷavāis by the former to the latter (*Ante*, Ch. V), but there is so far no evidence that it was observed by the Kaḷale Family till rather late in the seventeenth century. We have also seen how Karikāla-Mallarājaiya, the first Daḷavāi designate of the Kaḷale House, resigned his office, and how Rāja Woḍeyar, in the last year of his reign, had to make his own choice in the person of Beṭṭada-Arasu (*Ibid*). Beṭṭada-Arasu continued in office under Chāmarāja Woḍeyar and he was followed by three others, namely, Bannūr Linganna, Basavalinganna and Vīkrama-Rāya, all locally chosen (*vide* text of Ch. VI, for details as to their periods of office). Beṭṭada-Arasu and Vīkrama-Rāya were connected with the Mysore Royal Family, being natural sons (*gāndharva-putrā*)¹ of Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother of

1. Sons by marriage by the *Gāndharva* as distinguished from the *Brahma* form of marriage.

Raja Woḍeyar, while Bannūr Linganna and Basavalinganna were private persons belonging to the Vira-Śaiva community (see *Annals*, I. 63). There seems accordingly no reason why these early Daḷavāis should figure in the annals of the Kaḷale Family as Wilks appears inclined to think. The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* itself, relied upon by Wilks but not perhaps thoroughly examined by him in the original, refers to all the four Daḷavāis of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar in regular succession (I. 66). Stray inscriptions also, as we have shown (*vide* Ch. VI, f.n. 6 and 42), refer to two of these. We have thus enough data bearing on the "genuine history" of the early Daḷavāis of Mysore. Another misconception Wilks appears to have been labouring under was that in the period of Chāmarāja's rule the office of General and Minister was held by one and the same person, namely, Vikrama-Rāya (I. 56). But, we know, these two were distinct offices, held by separate individuals (*vide* text of Ch. VI: see under *Ministers, Daḷavāis, etc.*). A third misconception of Wilks is in regard to the rôle of Daḷavai Vikrama-Rāya as the supposed minister of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar. He writes (I. 57): "The preceding Raja [Chāmarāja Woḍeyar] had succeeded to the government at the early age of fifteen. We may conjecture from subsequent events that his minister had found him of an easy temper; and in the mode so familiar to Indian courts of modern and ancient date, had, by inciting and corrupting his natural propensities, plunged him into habits of low and licentious indolence; and thus kept him through life in a state of perpetual tutelage." There seems absolutely no foundation for this conjecture. Wilks speaks as though Vikrama-Rāya was the only Daḷavai and minister of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar throughout the latter's reign, and makes his statements more in the light of later happenings than the realities of the case. We have, however, seen that Vikrama-Rāya was the fourth

and last Daḷavāi of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar, succeeding to the office in 1630. It thus becomes hard to accept the state of affairs conjectured by Wilks, which is quite opposed to the spirit of the materials now available to us (*vide* text of Ch. VI).

APPENDIX IV.

(1) MUPPINA-DĒVARĀJA WOḌEYAR AND HIS SONS.

The *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 53-54) refers to the Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of the *Annals* (I. 16, 95) as Muduka-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, "Muppina" and "Muduka" (lit. old) being synonymous with each other. According to the former manuscript (I. 53-54, II. 55, compared), Muppina-Dēvarāja had two wives, Hiriamma (Dēvājamma) and Kiriamma (Kempamma). By the first, he had a son by name Yeleyūr Dēparāja Woḍeyar, who saved Rāja Woḍeyar's life from the hands of the assassin Singappa Woḍeyar in 1607 (*vide* Ch. V), but of whom, however, little is known during the subsequent period. By his second wife, Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar had four sons, Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*b. Durmati, Phālguna* ba. 3, Monday: February 18, 1622), Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*b. Prabhava, Jyēṣṭha* ba. 5, Friday: May 25, 1627), Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and Maridēvarāja Woḍeyar, the last-mentioned being further referred to as the youngest of the four (*yivarellariḡū kiriḡavaru*) (see also Table IV). All these four sons of Muppina-Dēvarāja are found referred to in the earlier and contemporary sources (*vide* Tables II-III; also Ch. X), but the only difference lies in the order of precedence followed, Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar and Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar being mentioned in the manuscript as the second and third sons respectively of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, whereas in the former sources Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar is invariably spoken of as the second, and Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar as the third son of his. We make use of the genealogical data of the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, subject to correction in the light of earlier documents, the order of precedence followed therein being preferred.

(2) ON THE USURPATION AND FALL OF
DALAVĀI VIKRAMA-RĀYA.

The following is a summary of the traditionary account of the usurpation and fall of Dalavāi Vikrama-Rāya, as narrated in the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (I. 45-51, II. 55 compared): On October 11, 1638 (*B a h u d h ā n y a*, *Āśvīja śu.* 14), three days after the death of Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar, Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar proceeded from Nallūr to Mysore, with a view to being installed; and took up his residence at the local gymnasium (*garaḍi-mane*). On the 19th (*Āśvīja ba.* 7), however, Dalavāi Vikrama-Rāya left Seringapatam on a tour in the State, leaving ten servants in the personal service of Kanṭhīrava. He returned to the capital about a month later, *i.e.*, on November 17 (*Kārtika ba.* 7). To Kanṭhīrava this was a trying situation, since Vikrama-Rāya was caring for his own ends. Two of Kanṭhīrava's faithful attendants, namely, *S u ṇ ṇ a d a - R ā m a* and Mahanta, pointed out to him that Vikrama-Rāya had killed by poison the preceding ruler Immaḍi-Rāja Wodeyar, and that, intent on securing power for himself, he was bestowing offices on his own men. They sought also Kanṭhīrava's permission to put an end to the usurper. Meanwhile, in Seringapatam, Rangapataiya, an adherent of Vikrama-Rāya, having caught scent of these deliberations, advised him, on his return from the tour, to proceed to Mysore some time later. Vikrama-Rāya, feigning, for all outward purposes, to be loyal, went thither forthwith and showed himself up to Kanṭhīrava. After an interview he retired to his residence. About two hours later, on the night of the same day, Vikrama-Rāya went to the backyard of his residence attended by a torch-bearer, to answer the calls of nature. It was a dark night. As previously arranged, the two attendants of Kanṭhīrava (namely, *Suṇṇada-Rāma* and Mahanta)

descended the parapet wall of the backyard and fell upon the torch-bearer putting out the light. Sunṇada-Rāma, the first attendant, then stood in front of Vikrama-Rāya. "Who is it?" asked he. "Sunṇada-Rāma," was the reply. "Ah! I am undone by this wretch." So saying, Vikrama-Rāya flung a goblet at him. Evading the blow, Sunṇada-Rāma engaged Vikrama-Rāya in a hand-to-hand fight, in the course of which the former went down and was being almost overpowered by the latter. At this juncture, Sunṇada-Rāma whispered to the Mahant (the other attendant): "Are you ready?" "Are you up or down?" asked the Mahant. "Down," was the reply. At this, the Mahant thrust himself at Vikrama-Rāya and made short work of him. On November 22 (*Kārtika* *ba.* 12, Thursday), Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar succeeded to the throne of Mysore and he proceeded to Seringapatam on December 8 following (*Mārgaśīra* *śu.* 12, Monday. The week-day was, however, actually Saturday).

Curiously enough, the manuscript is silent as to what happened during the period of fifteen days intervening between the alleged assassination of Vikrama-Rāya and Kaṇṭhīrava's first visit to Seringapatam after his installation. There is an air of suspicion and loose sequence of events in that part of the narrative relating to the assassination of Vikrama-Rāya and subsequent details. Compare Wilks (I. 58-59) who closely follows the account as detailed in the manuscript, and S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, p. 290) who adopts Wilks in the main.

(3) ON THE *Muhammad-Nāmāh* AS AN AUTHORITY ON THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM (1639).

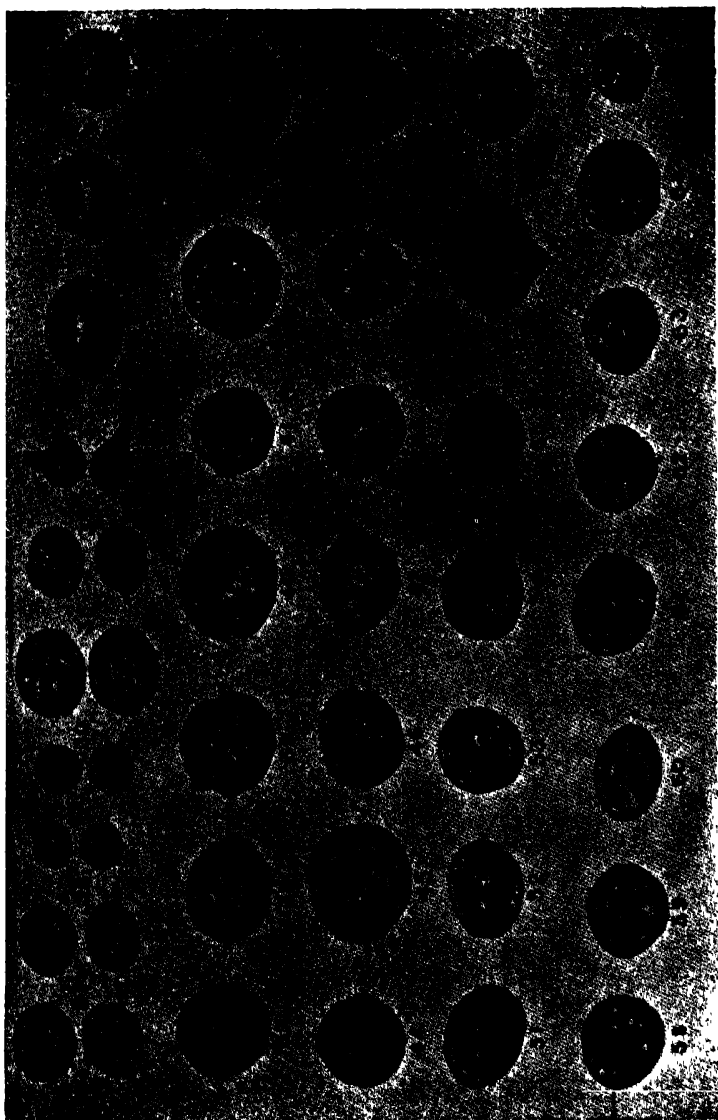
According to the *Muhammad-Nāmāh*¹ (pp. 170-171), a contemporary official history in Persian by Zahur bin

1. Quoted by J. Sarkar in his article, *A Page from Early Mysore History*, in the *M. R.*, November 1929, pp. 501-502. See also his article, *Shahji Bhonsle in Mysore*, in *Ibid.*, July 1929, p. 9, briefly touching on the subject.

Zahuri, the siege of Seringapatam (*Srirangapatan*) took place in 1639: "Randaula Khan (who had lately been given the title of Rustam-i-Zaman) left Shahji Bhonsle in charge of the recently conquered fort of Bangalore and marched from that place in order to punish the Rajah of *Srirangapatan*, who was inordinately proud (or refractory) When he arrived near the fort of *Srirangapatan*, his troops began to fight and encircled the fort. After fighting and exertion on both sides had been protracted for nearly a month, the Rajah sent his envoy to Rustam Khan, saying 'Please leave the fort of *Srirangapatan* to me, as you have done to other (Rajahs) cherished on the salt of the August State [*Bijapuri Government*], and lay before the throne the five lakhs of *hun* in cash and presents of various kinds which I am offering.' Rustam-i-Zaman, at this submission of the Rajah, reassured him with promises of Adil Shah's favour, and seeing that the rainy season was near, he left Qazi Sa'id there with Kenge Nayak to take delivery of the indemnity agreed upon and himself returned to Court The Qazi, on getting the money promised by the Rajah of *Srirangapatan*, started for the Adilshahi capital. Kenge Nayak rebelled."

The reference in this version to the "Rajah of *Srirangapatan*" is to Kanthirava-Narasaṛāja Wodeyar I of Mysore. The account on the Mysore side, as we have seen (*vide* Ch. VIII), is marked by definite chronological data and by fuller local details relating to the siege of Seringapatam and is corroborated by more than one particular source of information. The *Muhammad-Nāmāh*, on the other hand, though it has the merit of being contemporary, is relatively vague in regard to chronology, cause of action, and details of the campaign.²

2. See also S. K. Aiyangar's criticism of the Persian sources on the Bijāpur invasion of Mysore, in his article, *The Rise of the Maratha Power in the South*, in the *J. I. H.*, Vol. IX, p. 204.



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Its version seems to be based on reports compiled at a place remote from the scene of action and is, further, not corroborated by independent evidence so far. If we are to take literally the "submission of the Rajah," referred to, it is very much to be doubted whether Kanṭhīrava, after the crushing defeat he seems to have inflicted on Raṇadullā Khān, would have ever countenanced the idea of sending an envoy to the latter and offer him cash and presents in token of his submission. The contradiction is thus obvious. The submission may not have been an actual fact, although from an examination of all the available materials it seems probable that Raṇadullā Khān ultimately raised the siege of Seringapatam and retired to Bijāpur after the conclusion of a truce with Kanṭhīrava, and after having effected a mutually valuable settlement for the future safety of the Bijāpur possessions in Mysore. Such a settlement seems to have been readily acquiesced in by Kanṭhīrava in view of the prospective benefits assured to him under the truce (see *Ibid*, for details).

(4) KANṬHĪRAVA'S COINAGE.

Of the coins of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I we have lately an account by Dr. M. H. Krishna in the *M. A. R.* (1929, pp. 31-32). The available type of *Kanṭhīrāyi-haṇam* issued by Kanṭhīrava is familiarly known as *Agala-Kanṭhīrāyi-haṇa* (*Agala*, lit. broad) as distinguished from the well-known *Gidḍa-Kanṭhīrāyi-haṇa* (*Gidḍa*, lit. small) issued by Dewān Pūrṇaiya in the nineteenth century. It is a gold coin and one variety of the type is of 2·5"(?) size with a weight of 5·2 grains, having on the obverse "the figure of four-armed Narasimha seated to the front holding conch and discus" and on the reverse "a three-line Nāgari legend, with inter-linear double rules, probably standing for

1. Śrī

2. *Kaṁṭhi*

3. *rava* (PL. IX. 29)."

Another variety of the *Agala-Kaṁṭhīrāyi* type has also been traced with a similar obverse but on the reverse are to be seen some dots which Dr. Krishna interprets as "three-line legend uncertain, with similar rules (PL. IX. 30)." These dots may, perhaps, be taken to represent the constellation under which Kaṁṭhīrava was born or the coin issued at first (*vide* article on *Two Centuries of Wodeyar Rule in Mysore*, in the *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 464, f.n. 112). The former position, in particular, appears to find some support from the specific mention of *Svāti* as the birth-star of Kaṁṭhīrava, in a lithic inscription of his referring to the striking of coins by him [see *E. C.*, V (1) and (2) Ag. 64 (1647); also Ch. VIII, f.n. 5].

Dr. Krishna describes next what he calls "an interesting *half-varaha*" from the *Bangalore Museum Collection*, said to have also been issued by Kaṁṭhīrava. It is a gold coin 4" in size with a weight of 26 grains, having on the obverse the usual "four-armed Narasimha holding conch and discus, seated to front on dais with Lakshmi on his left lap" and on the reverse "the three-line Nāgari legend

1. *Śrī Kam (ṭhi)*

2. *(ra) va Nara,*

3. *(sa) rāja* (PL. IX. 27-28),"

a type which, as he observes, "closely follows the Vijayanagar model in respect of its weight, in the presence of a god on the obverse and in the use of Nāgari for the three-line legend on the reverse." There seems no doubt about the issue of *varahas* by Kaṁṭhīrava, since their use in Mysore is evidenced by inscriptions and other sources also (17th-18th cent.).

As regards the copper coins, Dr. Krishna writes: "No distinctive copper coins of Narasarāja are known. But

among the copper coins of the chequered reverse type described under the provincial coins of Vijayanagar is a variety with a lion facing and seated on its haunches, which may as well have been issued by Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja." That Kanṭhīrava issued also the elephant type of copper coins (*Āne-Kāsu*) appears warranted by the circumstance that he was victorious over the chiefs of Kodagu, Kongu and other places, and acquired rich spoils in the form of elephants, which were stabled in the capital city of Seringapatam (see Ch. IX). Possibly the elephant type was issued by him in commemoration of the victory. The obverse of this type contains the figure of an elephant while the reverse is chequered (*vide* also article in the *Q. J. M. S.*, above cited, pp. 464-465, f.n. 114).

APPENDIX V.

(1) ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUCCESSOR OF KANṬHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA WOḍEYAR I IN LATER WRITINGS AND MODERN WORKS.

There has been much confusion and loose thought in later writings—especially the secondary works—regarding the identification of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, the actual successor of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I. He is generally referred to in these sources as *Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar*, either by way of distinguishing him from his successor Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar or by way of making him identical with *Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar*, father of Chikkadēvarāja, or both.¹ The earliest authority evidencing this method of identification is the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.* (c. 1710-1714), according to which Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar, younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, actually succeeded Kanṭhīrava I in August 1659 under the name Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), and later came to be known as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), especially in and after the reign of his nephew Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (II. 23, 25, 30, etc). The *Mys. Nag. Pūr.* (c. 1734-1740), however, speaks of the successor of Kanṭhīrava only under his original name Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar) (p. 29). The *Mys. Rāj. Cha.* (c. 1800) mentions him as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (p. 25). The *K. A. V.* (c. 1830) refers to him as “Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja

1. *Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja* stands for the prefix by which the name of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar), third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and successor of Kanṭhīrava I, is generally found mentioned in later writings. *Doḍḍadēvarāja* was the actual name of his elder brother, i.e., the eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja and father of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704) [*vide* Chs. VIII-X; Appendix IV—(1), V—(2); and Tables II-IV]. This distinction in spelling is sought to be maintained in this work, from the point of view of clarity.

Woḍeyaraiyanavaru of Mysūru-nagara " (ff. 15). Dēva-chandra, in the *Rāj. Kath.* (1838), speaks of the succession of Dēvarāja (younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja) after the death of Kaṇṭhīrava, and states that he became subsequently known as Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja (*Doḍḍa-Dēvarāyanenisida Dēvarāyam*) (XII. 475-476). A later copy of a paper *sanad* in the possession of the Lingāyat Guru of the *math* at Hangaḷa (*M. A. R.*, 1930, No. 24, pp. 161-163), originally dated in 1663, refers to "Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍēraiyanavaru" (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), the latter being identical with Dēvarāja Woḍeyaraiya (Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), referred to in a still earlier copy (c. 1800) of the same from the *Mackenzie Collection* (Ms. No. 19-1-52, p. 13). Among other compilations, the *Beṭṭadakōṭe-Kaiḥiyat* and the *Mysūru Dhoregaḷa-Vamśa-Pāraṃpare-Kaiḥiyat* (c. 1800-1804) assume the successor of Kaṇṭhīrava to be Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja, father and brother respectively of Chikkadēvarāja according to them (p. 86; ff. 12). The *Annals* (first compiled, 1864-1865) refers to the adoption by Kaṇṭhīrava of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as heir to succeed him, but subsequently assumes him to be identical with Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (I. 93, 95-103).

Relying mainly on the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, Wilks, among modern writers, refers to "Kemp Devaia" (Kempadēvaiya) as the successor of Kaṇṭhīrava, and identifies him as "Dud Deo Raj" (Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja) (I. 68, and f.n.). He further tells us that "Dud Deo Raj" was selected as the fourth or last son of Muppina-Dēvarāja ("Muppin Deo Raj") "to the exclusion of the three elder brothers, and their male issue," that "Dud Devaia" (Doḍḍadēvaiya or Doḍḍadēvarāja), the eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, "was an old man," that his (Doḍḍadēvaiya's) son Chikkadēvarāja was of the "same age" as his younger brother ("Dud Deo Raj"), i.e., thirty-two,

and that "Chick Deo Raj with his father were kept as prisoners at Turkanamby" (Terakanāmbi) during the reign of Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja (I. l.c.; also 105). These statements are neither borne out by the original manuscript itself, examined by us, nor corroborated by authentic sources so far [see Appendix V—(2), and compare authorities in Ch. X, f.n. 186]. Rice generally follows Wilks's position (*Mys. Gaz.*, I. 365; *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 128), though in the *Introduction* to *E. C.*, III (1) he merely indicates the identity of Doḍḍa-Dēvarāja with Dēvarāja, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja (see f.n. 2 to the Table on p. 33), and in *E. C.*, IV (2) he mentions him as "(Doḍḍa) Dēva-Rāja" (see *Introduction*, p. 31). S. K. Aiyangar, in the light of the *Annals*, works of Tirumalārya and certain inscriptions of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, attempts to identify Kempadēvaiya, third son of Muppina-Dēvarāja, as the ruler in succession to Kaṇṭhīrava, and maintains that he "became Dod Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore" [*Ancient India*, pp. 295-296, 313; see also Appendix V—(2), f.n. 1 below, for a critical notice of S. K. Aiyangar's interpretation of Tirumalārya's works in regard to the succession question]. R. Sewell, in assigning a number of inscriptions from the *E. C.* and other collections to Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore, maintains that Doḍḍadēvarāja, and not his brother *Kempadēvaiya*, succeeded after Kaṇṭhīrava's death in 1659 (see *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 282-285); but his position is hardly borne out by the internal evidence of the documents themselves, referred to by him. In the *Mys. Gaz.*, New edition (II. iv. 2441), Wilks's position is generally adhered to. An article entitled *Dēvarāja Woḍeyar of Mysore* (by N. Subba Rao, in the *H. Y. J. M. U.*, Vol. III, No. 1, Reprint) attempts an examination of the succession question in support of the position that Dēvarāja Woḍeyar *alias* Kempadēvarāja Woḍeyar, *third* son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, was the actual ruler of

Mysore in succession to Kanṭhīrava, between 1659-1673. It has now become possible to reconstruct the entire position relating to the identity, relationship, details of the reign, etc., of this Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, with reference to the evidence of contemporary sources of information, making use of the later writings (especially the *Mys. Dho. Pūr.*, *Annals*, etc.) subject to comparison, correction and corroboration wherever necessary (*vide* text of Ch. X).

(2) ON THE POSITION OF TIRUMALĀRYA REGARDING THE SUCCESSOR OF KANṬHĪRAVA-NARASARĀJA WOḌEYAR I.

After dealing with the reign of Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, Tirumalārya, in his works (*C. Vam.* and *C. Vi.*), writes of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (eldest son of Muppina-Dēvarāja Woḍeyar), making it appear as though he ruled in succession to Kanṭhīrava. He starts with a picture of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar ruling for some time in the city of Mysore, of his paying a visit to Mēlkōṭe, then reaching Seringapatam in the course of his return journey (*payanaḡatiyoḷ Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇamam sārdu*) and subsequently (*i.e.*, just before and after the birth of his son Chikkadēvarāja) ruling from there seated on the jewelled throne (*Doḍḍadēva mahārāyam Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa rājadhāniyōḷ ratna-simhāsanārūḍhanāgi sāmraḡyam geyyuttire*). He next speaks of Doḍḍadēvarāja as having made up his mind, in accordance with the family precedent as he is made to say, to proceed on a pilgrimage and perform penance (*tīrthayātrādi tapassāmraḡyama-nanubhavipem*), after relieving himself of his burden by arranging for the succession in chief (*piriyarasutana*) of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (Kempadēvaiya), the second younger brother of his (the first one Chikkadēvaiyarasa or Chikkadēvarāja having predeceased Doḍḍadēva), and making his own eldest son Chikkadēvarāja a junior prince under Dēvarāja

(*kiriyaarasutanamam kumāra Chikkadēvarāyanga marisi*). He further speaks of how Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar, having installed and suitably advised Kempadēvaiya, and having placed his own sons (Chikkadēvarāja and Kaṇṭhīravaiya) and his last brother (Mariyadēvaiya or Maridēvarāja) under his (Kempadēvaiya's) care and protection, proceeded to the banks of the Kaunḍinī in the south, and how he eventually passed away there after performing penance for a long time (*palavum kālam tapam geydu*) (*C. Vam.*, 37-48, 89-160, 160-185, 185-188 ; *C. Vi.*, III, also IV, 170-180).

In examining the above position of Tirumalārya, it is to be remembered that he wrote as a poet after the death of Doḍḍadēvarāja and during the reign of the latter's son Chikkadēvarāja (1673-1704), with whom he was intimately connected as his co-student and companion. Tirumalārya's primary object, as is obvious from the texts, was to glorify the birth, and anticipate the eventual succession, of his hero Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar and, incidentally, to hallow and exalt Chikkadēva's father (Doḍḍadēva) as an ideal ruler. There is thus full scope in this portion of his works for the free play of imagination on his part. Chronologically, therefore, it is inconceivable how Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar could have been ruling independently from Seringapatam, seated on the jewelled throne, before and after the birth of Chikkadēvarāja as is depicted, for we learn from the texts themselves that the latter was born in 1645 (*Pārthiva*) (*Ibid*, 166 ; *Ibid*, IV, 51), and it is well known that the actual ruler of Mysore in Seringapatam between 1638-1659 was Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar I. Doḍḍadēvarāja was, accordingly, a contemporary of Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa, and could not have been more than a prominent member of the Mysore Royal Family holding charge of the city of Mysore and for some time residing in Seringapatam, and possibly ruling jointly with

Kaṇṭhīrava from about 1644 onwards. It would then follow that it was his charge of the city of Mysore, and not Seringapatam, which he had renounced by 1659 in favour of his second brother Kempadēvaiya after arranging for the care and protection of his last surviving brother Maridēvarāja and his own two minor sons Chikkadēvarāja and Kaṇṭhīravaiya. Indeed it would appear from the texts (*C. Vam.*, 187-188, 190; *C. Vi.* IV, 170, V, 3) that there was a hiatus of time between, this act of Doḍḍadēvarāja and the actual succession of Dēvarāja to the throne of Seringapatam after the death of Kaṇṭhīrava (in July 1659). Doḍḍadēvarāja was born on February 18, 1622 [see Appendix IV—(1)]. His renunciation at a comparatively early age of 37 or so was, perhaps, due as much to domestic affliction caused by the premature death of his first younger brother (Chikkadēvaiya or Chikkadēvarāja) as to family precedent. Unless therefore Tirumalārya is understood and appraised on this footing, it would be uncritical to accept him literally as a poet.¹ For further details about Doḍḍadēvarāja, see under *Domestic life* in Chs. IX-X.

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1. Cf. *Ancient India* (p. 295), where S. K. Aiyangar, accepting literally Tirumalārya, writes: "Tirumala Aiyangar himself makes Doḍḍa Rāja succeed nominally only, while Kempa-Dēviah, his third brother, was carrying on the administration in fact. The truth appears to be that Kempa-Dēviah, the third son, was the successor ruling for a short time in the name of his eldest brother who must have been old and then in his own name, on condition that the said brother should succeed him." This interpretation, however, is neither in keeping with the internal evidence of the texts nor does it take sufficiently into account Tirumalārya's position as a poet. Cf. also the *Note* in the *C. Vam.* (p. 5), where Mr. M. A. Srinivasachar asserts that Doḍḍadēvarāja, elder son of [Muppina] Dēvarāja, succeeded Kaṇṭhīrava.

APPENDIX VI.

(1) ON THE DATE OF THE MAHRATTA INVASION OF SERINGAPATAM.

Wilks (I. 114-116, f.n.) speaks of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as having taken place in 1696, on the following grounds. Firstly, the memoirs of the Dalāvāis which have few dates, place the invasion next in the order of events to the occupation of Bangalore (1687); secondly, Pūṇaiya's compilation, formed on a discussion of authorities, mentions it after the western conquests from Bednūr (1690-1695); thirdly, the manuscripts are agreed that the Mysore army was at the time before Trichinopoly; and lastly, according to a letter from *Fort St. George*, Madras, dated January 19, 1697, the Mahrattas were in the Mysore country in 1696 and Nawāb Zūlfikar Khān (the Mughal general) had gone thither—whether to join or fight them—and left a very small part of his army in those parts.

As against this position of Wilks, the trend of evidence now available—noticed in detail in Ch. XI and f.n. thereto—is as follows: The earliest record extant, referring to and echoing the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (under Dādaji, Jaitaji and Nimbāji) and its repulse by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, is the *Seringapatam Temple Copper-plate grant*, dated November 19, 1686. The chronicles are agreed that Kumāraiya was the Dalāvāi of Mysore only up to May 26, 1682, when he was succeeded by his nephew Doḍḍaiya (1682-1690). From the Jesuit letter (1682) and the letter to *Fort St. George* (1682), it would be obvious that Dalāvāi Kumāraiya was with the Mysore army before Trichinopoly in 1682 when he was being harassed by the Mahrattas there. In keeping with this position, it was in 1682 that

a major portion of the Mysore army was, according to one source (see Ch. XI), diverted from the siege of Trichinopoly and marched on under Dodḍaiya to fight the Mahrattas near Seringapatam. Again, Vīrarāja of Kaḷale, in his *Sakala-Vaidya-Samhitā-Sārāṃava* (c. 1714-1720) and *Āndhra-Vachana-Bhāratamu—Sabhā-Parvamu* (1731), alludes to the exploits of his father Daḷavāi Dodḍaiya against the Mahrattas under Dādaji, Jaitaji, Nimbāji and others during the reign of Chikka-dēvarāja Woḍeyar. The Mahratta generals, referred to in these and other sources, were contemporaries and belonged to the army of Śivāji and Sambhāji; and they carried on their warlike activities in Southern India and Mysore during c. 1680-1682, *i.e.*, shortly after the death of Śivāji.

In the light of all these data, the manuscripts mentioned by Wilks—later compilations as they are—do not seem to have been quite correct in placing the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam and Daḷavāi Kumāraiya's siege of Trichinopoly in the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. As regards the *Fort St. George* letter dated 1697, cited by Wilks, it is to be understood to refer only to the Mahratta disturbances in Southern India and parts of the Mysore country, under Śāntaji, Dhanaji and other leaders, during Aurangzīb's prolonged siege of Gingee (1691-1698) [see J. Sarkar, *Aurangzīb*, V. 122-130]. It has absolutely no bearing on the Mahratta invasion of Mysore under earlier generals like Dādaji, Jaitaji and Nimbāji. Accordingly, the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam could not have taken place later than April 1682, the last year of Kumāraiya's period of office as Daḷavāi of Mysore. Wilks's date 1696 is too late a date for the event and cannot be accepted.¹

1. Wilks's date is followed in the *Mys. Gaz.* (Old edition), I. 368, (New edition) IV. ii. 2447; and in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 207. The last-mentioned work (*i.e.*) even speaks of the successful repulse of the Mysore army by Mangammā] (the dowager-queen of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura), for which there is no evidence. The *Editorial Introduction* (p. vi) to the *Sakala-Vaid. Sam.* assigns the event to 1691, which, however, is not borne out by the materials on record.

(2) CHIKKADĒVARĀJA'S COINAGE.

In the *M. A. R.* (1929, pp. 32-33), Dr. M. H. Krishna attributes two types of coins to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, which he describes as follows :—

“ No coins are known which can be definitely attributed to the successors of Narasarāja until we come to the reign of Chikkadēvarāja. Elliot long ago published a coin, regarding the authorship of which he was doubtful.

Type: Krishna.

Gold : Size 4", weight 52·7 grains.

Obverse : Under ornamental arch baby Krishna dancing, wearing girdle of jingles and holding a lump of butter in his right hand, while the left is outstretched. Near his feet is a curved line with a three-prolonged head which is either the petals of a lotus or the hoods of a cobra. In the latter case, the image would be that of *Kāṭṅga-mardana* and in the former, of *Navanīta-nrīta-Krishna*.

Reverse : Three-line Nāgarī legend with single intervening rules :

1. *Śrī Chi*
2. *Ka de va.*
3. *rā ja*

[PL. IX. 31.]

A half-*varaha* weighing 25·7 grains has been published by Elliot (No. 107) and another exists in the Bangalore Museum Collection. It is exactly similar to the above *varaha*, but the legend appears to be slightly different (PL. IX. 32).

Chikkadēvarāja altered the old Mysore type both on the *obverse* and on the *reverse* but he kept up the old weight standard.

The Kannada Numeral type.—Large numbers of coins are found near Mysore having a chequered pattern on the reverse with meaningless symbols in the inter-spaces and bearing on the obverse a bordering circle of dots, in

the centre of which is a Kannaḍa numeral. These numbers range generally from one to thirty-one and there can be little doubt that they belong to some Mysore king. As all the varieties are of nearly the same weight and size, it is clear that the numbers do not indicate their value. The only possible explanation would perhaps be that the numbers stand for the regnal years of issue. Who then was the Mysore king who reigned for 31 years? It has been suggested that the coins could be attributed to Doḍḍa Krishnarāja who reigned between 1713 and 1731. But it may be noted here that the Mysore king who reigned for 31 years and died in the 32nd year was Chikkadēvarāja who reigned from 1672 to 1704. It may also be noted that it was in the reign of Chikkadēvarāja that Mughal influence was very strong at Mysore leading to a political alliance between Chikkadēvarāja and Aurangzib and the introduction into Mysore of the Mughal system of administration. It is possible that the famous Prime Minister of Mysore at this time, the Jaina Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita, might have introduced the system of minting the regnal years on the copper coins, to commemorate the accession to the throne of his friend and pupil Chikkadēvarāja. However, the attribution cannot be beyond doubt as no corroborative evidence has yet been available. On the other hand, a fact which somewhat disturbs this conclusion is found in the existence of a smaller coin in the collection of this department, with chequered reverse bearing on the obverse the numeral 40. Jackson mentions types with the numerals 31 and 32. The other numbers after 31 are not to be seen anywhere now. We can only assume that the reckoning introduced by Chikkadēvarāja was possibly continued by his successors."

As regards the *Krishna type* referred to above, there is little doubt that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself issued it, since his name appears clearly mentioned on its

reverse. But it seems certain that the figure on the obverse is that of Krishna represented in the dancing posture on the hoods of a cobra (*Kālinga-mardana*), for it symbolises Chikkadēvarāja's sports over his enemies, and the coin itself was actually known as *Tāṇḍava-Krishṇa-Mūrti-Dēva-Rāya* (vide under *Coinage and Currency* in Ch. XII). In regard to the *Kannāḍa Numeral type*, there is no evidence in favour of the view that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar could have issued it, nor in support of the position that the 32, or 31, numerals represent the period of Chikkadēvarāja's rule. The possibility of Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit having under the Mughal influence minted "the regnal years on the copper coins, to commemorate the accession to the throne" of Chikkadēvarāja, appears untenable because Mughal influence at the court of Mysore is discernible only during the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, i.e., c. 1700-1704, long after Viśālāksha-Paṇḍit's death (1686). The copper coins may as well have been issued by Krishṇarāja Wodeyar II who also ruled for 32 years (1734-1766). Again, since the latest available numeral figure is 40, the numerals may merely indicate the number of times the coin was minted during some period in the history of Mysore when copper coins were in great demand.

(3) ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvaḷi*.

The *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvaḷi*, as distinct from the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvaḷi* of Tirumalārya, is, as it has come down to us, conspicuous by the absence of the name of its author. It is a *champu* in 137 verses, occasionally interspersed by prose passages (*vachana*). The Editors of the *Karṇāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, when they first published the work in 1901, referred to it as an anonymous one (see *Introduction*). Subsequently, however, the author of the *Karṇāṭaka-*

Kavi-Charite (II. 506-507), on the authority of a manuscript of the poem from the Madras Oriental Mss. Library, attempted to assign its authorship to one Vēṇugōpāla-Varaprasāda, without citing the relevant text. He was, at the same time, inclined to doubt if Timma-Kavi could not have written the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*, on grounds of the latter's references to God Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla in his own works and the occurrence in the poem of some verses from his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 507). But he refrained from deciding the point in favour of Timma-Kavi, in the specific absence of the name of the author of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*.

The manuscript of the work above referred to, now examined by us (No. 18-18-4, ff. 1-25—*P.L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), agrees in the main with the published text, ending only, however, with a passage as follows: *Śrīmad Vēṇugōpālana vara-prasādēna kṛta Chikadēvarāya-Mahārāyara-Vamśāvalige śōbhana mastu*. This passage merely indicates the conclusion of the work entitled *Chikkadēva-Mahārāyara-Vamśāvali* (a colloquial form of *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*), written under the favour or benediction of God Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla. Obviously the author was a devotee of that God. The ascription of the work to a person of the name of Vēṇugōpāla-Varaprasāda, as has been done in the *Karṇātaka-Kavi-Charite*, becomes accordingly meaningless—a position due evidently to a misreading of the relevant passage in question, *i.e.*, *Vēṇugōpāla-varaprasādēna* for *Vēṇugōpālana varaprasādēna*. This apart, a detailed examination of the text, side by side with the works of Timma-Kavi, would enable us to regard the latter alone as the probable author of it (*i.e.*, *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*), on the following grounds: Firstly, Timma-Kavi directly refers to himself both in his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 21) and *Paśchimaranga-Māhātmya* (I, 11)

as a devotee of God Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla, which tallies with the statement of the manuscript of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali* that its author was one who wrote by the favour of that Deity. Secondly, in the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* (I, 26), Timma-Kavi refers to Gōpāla as his preceptor (*guru*), in almost the same language and spirit as he does in the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali* (vv. 10 and 56). Thirdly, the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali* evidences a free borrowing of a large number of verses and prose passages from the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* [compare, for instance, vv. 10, 79-87, 89-90, 88, 91-105, 107-108, 110-111, 113-117, 118, 119-134, and prose passages on pp. 26-30 (after v. 134), of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, with I, 26, II, 26-34, 35-37, 38-52, 53-63, 64-81, and III, 3 (including prose passages after II, 81), of the *Yād.-Māhāt.*] Perhaps the only arguments militating against the above, would be: some of the verses in the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*—particularly verses 1 to 9 and 11 to 78—are not to be seen in the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*; and even the verses borrowed from the latter work are found composed in a modified and highly polished style in the former. But the weight of internal evidence would only tend to support the view that Timma-Kavi was at full liberty to enlarge upon, and write in an improved style, the subject-matter of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*, this being by far the most important portion of his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* testifying to his abilities and skill as a poet.

(4) WHAT IS TRADITION?

Some years ago, a writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, writing on the value of oral tradition in history, remarked that the study of tradition was still worth much inasmuch as it afforded clues for tracing missing links in the life-history of a king or even of a country. In India, tradition has had considerable vogue, as much

vogue, in fact, as in the several countries of Europe, whose earlier history is largely shrouded in mystery. In using and in interpreting tradition, modern critics, however, have adopted a new mode of approach. The modern school may be said to be represented by Lord Raglan who, delivering his address as President of the Anthropological Section, at the meeting of the British Association held at Leicester in September 1933, developed the theory propounded by it in a manner which bears repetition here.¹ Though his illustrations are drawn from English History, there is no doubt that his reasoning is capable of a wider application in the historical field. He said:—

“Those writers who have tried to establish the historicity of tradition have invariably, so far as I can learn, adopted the method of taking some period the history of which is totally unknown, examining the traditions which they assume to belong to that period, striking out all miraculous or otherwise improbable incidents, and then dilating upon the verisimilitude of the residue. I shall follow a totally different method. I shall take a period the history of which is known, the feudal age in England, and see what tradition has had to say about that. According to the usually accepted theories, outstanding personalities in the history of a country never fail to leave their mark on tradition. Now, who were the outstanding personalities of the period in question? No one, I suppose, will object to the inclusion of William the Conqueror and Edward I. The Norman conquest in one case and the conquest by Simon de Montfort of Wales and Scotland in the other, cannot have failed to create a tremendous impression at the time, and this impression, according to the theory which has been repeatedly applied to the Iliad, for

1. See also Lord Raglan's latest work on the subject, *The Hero—A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama* (Methuen & Co., London, 1936).

example, should have perpetuated itself in tradition. Yet what traditions do we find? Of William the Conqueror, that he fell on landing, and that he destroyed a number of towns and villages to make the New Forest. Of Edward I, that his life was saved by his queen, and that he created his newly-born son Prince of Wales. All these traditions are completely devoid of historical foundation. Of the real achievements of these two great monarchs tradition had nothing to say whatever.

“ Similarly the only traditions of Henry II and Richard I are the fabulous tales of Queen Eleanor and Fair Rosamond, and of Blondel outside the castle.

“ With the traditional accounts of Henry V, those that have been made famous by Shakespeare, I shall deal at greater length. They tell us that he spent his youth in drinking debauchery, in and about London, in company with highwaymen, pickpockets and other disreputable persons; that he was imprisoned by Chief Justice Gascoigne, whom after his succession he pardoned and continued in office; and that on his accession his character, or at any rate his conduct, changed suddenly and completely. The authorities for these stories are Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governor* (1531) and Edward Hall's *Union of the Noble and Illustrious Houses of Lancaster and York* (1542). These two highly respectable authors seem to have relied largely on matters already in print, some of it dating within fifty years of Henry V's death. I know no argument for the historicity of any traditional narrative which cannot be applied to these stories, yet there is not a word of truth in any of them.

“ The facts are these. In 1400, at the age of thirteen, Henry became his father's representative in Wales, made his head-quarters at Chester, and spent the next seven years in almost continuous warfare with Owen Glendower and his allies. In 1407 he led a successful invasion

of Scotland. In 1408 he was employed as Warden of the Cinque Ports, and at Calais. In the following year, owing to his father's illness, he became regent and continued as such until 1412. During this period his character as a ruler was marred only by his religious bigotry, and what seems to be the only authentic anecdote of the time describes the part he played at the burning of John Badby the Lollard. In 1412 an attempt was made to induce Henry IV, whose ill-health continued to unfit him for his duties, to abdicate, but his refusal to do so, together with differences on foreign policy, led to the withdrawal of the future Henry V from court, probably to Wales, till his father's death a year later. He did not re-appoint Sir William Gascoigne as Chief Justice, and there is no truth in the story that the latter committed him to prison.

"These facts are drawn from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which sums up the question by saying that 'his youth was spent on the battlefield and in the Council chamber, and the popular tradition (immortalised by Shakespeare) of his riotous and dissolute conduct is not supported by contemporary authority.' According to Sir Charles Oman, 'his wife was sober and orderly . . . He was grave and earnest in speech, courteous in all his dealings, and an enemy of flatterers and favourites. His sincere piety bordered on asceticism.'

"Even had there been no contemporary records of the youth of Henry V, there are points in the accounts adopted by Shakespeare which might lead the sober critic to doubt its veracity. The first is that it would be, to say the least, surprising that a man should be an idle and dissolute scapegrace one day, and the first soldier and statesman of his age the next. The second is that the stories belong to an ancient and widespread class of folk-tales. Had, however, our critic ventured to express his doubts, with what scorn would he not have

been assailed by believers in the historicity of tradition! 'Here,' they would have said, 'is an impudent fellow who pretends to know more about the fifteenth century than those who lived in it. The facts which he dares to dispute were placed on record by educated and respectable persons, the first historians of their day. Could anything be more absurd than to suppose that they would invent discreditable stories about a national hero, at a time when all the facts of his career must have been widely known? No reasonable person can doubt that Falstaff was as real as Piers Gaveston.' As we have seen, however, the only evidence for Falstaff's existence is tradition, and tradition can never be evidence for an historical fact. He is a purely mythical character, who plays Silenus to Henry's Dionysus, as does Abu Nawas to the Dionysus of Harun-al-Rashid.

"The assimilation of the king to Dionysus no doubt goes back to a time when an aspirant to the throne had to perform various rites and undergo various ordeals, but whether these stories had previously been told of other English princes, and became permanently attached to Henry V through the invention of printing, or whether they were recently introduced from classical sources, I have no idea.

"It may be objected that Henry V, an historical character, appears in tradition, and that tradition is therefore to that extent historical; but this is not so. The characters in a traditional narrative are often anonymous. When named they may be supernatural beings, or persons for whose existence there is no real evidence. When the names of real persons are mentioned, these names form no part of the tradition, but merely part of the machinery by which the tradition is transmitted. Just as the same smart saying may be attributed to half a dozen wits in succession, so the same feat may be attributed to half a dozen heroes in succession; but it is the

anecdote or feat which, if it is transmitted from age to age, becomes a tradition, and not the ephemeral name. The name selected is that of some prominent person whose memory is fading; who has been dead, that is to say, for about a hundred years, or less, if the real facts have never been widely known. His name remains attached to the tradition till some other suitable person has been dead for a suitable length of time.

"This explains certain facts which have puzzled Professor Gilbert Murray, who asks: 'Why do they (sc. the Homeric poets) refer not to any warfare that was going on at the time of their composition, but to warfare of forgotten peoples under forgotten conditions in the past? . . . What shall one say of this? Merely that there is no cause for surprise. It seems to be the normal instinct of a poet, at least of an epic poet. The earliest version of the Song of Roland which we possess was written by an Anglo-Norman scribe some thirty years after the conquest of England. If the Normans of that age wanted an epic sung to them, surely a good subject lay ready to hand. Yet as a matter of fact their great epic is all about Roland, dead three hundred years before, not about William the Conqueror. The fugitive Britons of Wales made no epic to tell of their conquest by the Saxons; they turned to a dim-shining Arthur belonging to the vaguest past. Neither did the Saxons who were conquering them make epics about that conquest. They sang how at some unknown time a legendary and mythical Beowulf had conquered a legendary Grendel.'²

"The true explanation has nothing to do with instinct; it is that epic poetry, like other forms of traditional narrative, deals with ritual drama, and not with historical fact. Real people and events can only be identified with ritual drama when their memory has become vague.

2. Gilbert Murray, *The Epic of the Greek Epic*, pp. 52-55.

Roland could not have been made to fall at Hastings before about 1166, and by that time the form of the epic was fixed in writing. What we learn from the Song of Roland are old traditional tales which were probably attached to Charlemagne about a hundred years after his death.

"The real facts of his career, like all historical facts, have been, and could only be, ascertained from contemporary written records.

"In this connection Dr. Leaf remarks: 'When they (the Normans) crossed the Channel to invade England, they seem to have lost all sense of their Teutonic kinship with the Saxons, and it is doubtful if they even knew that their name meant Northmen. The war-song which Taillefer chanted as they marched to battle was not a Viking Saga, but the song of Roland.'³ He realised that a people can completely forget its origin within a hundred and sixty years—yet still believed in the continuity of historical tradition!"

As the reasoning is too close and the argument too recondite, a long extract has been given, especially as it is fully exemplified by facts taken from history.

Lord Raglan's suggestion that when the names of real persons are mentioned in a traditional tale—i.e., a tale handed down from age to age by oral communication—these names form no part of the tradition, but merely part of the machinery by which the tradition is transmitted, seems well justified from the numerous instances quoted by him, to which parallels from Indian traditionary tales can be easily adduced. "Just as," as he says, "the same smart saying may be attributed to half a dozen wits in succession, so the same anecdote or feat . . . which, if it is transmitted from age to age becomes a tradition, and not the ephemeral name. The name selected is that of some prominent person

3. W. Leaf, *Homer and History*, p. 46.

whose memory is fading ; who has been dead, that is to say, for about a hundred years, or less if the real facts have never been widely known. His name remains attached to the tradition till some other suitable person has been dead for a suitable length of time." The truth underlying this remark may be verified from countless tales occurring in the Indian Epics—the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*—and from the eighteen *Purāṇas* which, indeed, enshrine the old traditions—orally handed down to posterity from ancient times. Tradition may be of the elders but it wears a snowy beard, and is slippery to a degree to base an argument upon or build an historical account with its aid. Something very similar has occurred in the case of the traditionary tales connected with the name of Chikkadēvarāja, as a comparison of the versions current during the time of Wilks and Dēvachandra goes to show. They had been growing for long and when they were first committed to writing by Wilks—a hundred and twenty-five years after the events to which they relate are said to have occurred—they had already become highly exaggerated by embellishments and, in Dēvachandra, we find them assume proportions which even to Wilks, if he had had an opportunity to read them as they appear in Dēvachandra, would have seemed strange. Apart from this, there is reason to fear that in this particular instance, even as early as the time of Chikkadēvarāja, there was evidently much confusion of thought as to what actually took place in connection with the disturbances which followed the imposition of a war-levy that was resorted to by either Chikkadēva or his minister Viśālāksha. The news that reached the Jesuit Fathers—and they committed to writing what they had heard almost contemporaneously—was that the people had been impaled on sword-sticks. This evidently was a phrase of the time as it is to-day for describing unspeakable harshness in punishment. It

could not be that they were actually impaled as the Jains had been by the Pāṇḍyan king of old. The story of this notorious impalement had been current for ages—nearly 400 years or so—by then and the suggestion that such an impalement was practised in the time of Chikkadēva stands uncorroborated even in Wilks and Dēvachandra. The inference seems inevitable that news spread that the harshness of the punishment inflicted was so much spoken of that it was only capable of being described in terms of the cruelty practised on the Jains by the Pāṇḍyan king, a phrase—*Kazhuvikkēttaradu*—with which the Jesuit Fathers, who had learnt Tamil, the dominant language of the Madura country, were evidently familiar. And what they seem to have done is to simply pass on the euphemism in their letter as describing a fact that had actually occurred in the “Eastern dominions” of Chikkadēva. If a loose or wrong description can thus pass into History, what is there to prevent tradition—a mere oral communication from mouth to mouth through the generations, ever subject to the incident of mutation in the very process of handing down—from becoming something entirely different from what it started with? In the case of Chikkadēva, there were at least three good reasons why he should look harsher to posterity as a ruler than he actually was: (1) He was a vigorous ruler; (2) he was the builder of a new kingdom and had to carry through things; and (3) he undertook a thorough reformation of the administrative and social foundations on which his kingdom was built. Added to these causes, his minister Viśālāksha was one who lacked prudential restraint in giving effect to the measures decided upon by the king. What he did not only recoiled on him but also on his Sovereign, to whom undoubtedly he was deeply attached. With him evidently action was greater than the reaction to which it was necessarily subject. Posterity has been

kind to him in forgetting him absolutely, even in his own native village. Only it has been unjust to his master in making him responsible for very much more than his share in the results that followed his acts.

(5) *Kazhuvikkēttaradu.*

The story of the impalement of 8,000 Jains by a Pāṇḍyan king is told in the Madura *Sthāḷa-Purāṇa* and is reflected in the other local chronicles as well in the neighbourhood. Tradition current in Madura refers to the contest that occurred between the Jains and Śaivites in the days of Tirugnāna-Sambandar. If the *Periya-Purāṇam*, a Tamil work treating of the sixty-three devotees of Śiva, is to be believed, this king should be identified with Neḍumāran who was converted to Śaivism from the Jain faith by the famous saint Tirugnāna-Sambandar (c. 7th cent. A.D.). According to the Madura *Sthāḷa-Purāṇa*, this king was also known as Kubja-Pāṇḍya, because he was a hunchback. He was, it would seem, originally a Śaiva but was converted to Jainism and from the date he became a Jain, he, it is added, persecuted his Śaivite subjects. His queen Mangaikkarasi, however, remained a Śaivite in secret and induced Tirugnāna to visit the king. He cured the king not only of the incurable fever which the Jain priests could not subdue but also of his hunchback. The king was reconverted to Śaivism and changed his name to Sundara-Pāṇḍya, or the beautiful Pāṇḍya, and decreed the death of all Jains who refused to embrace Śaivism. Those who did not join the Śaivite faith—and they were some 8,000 in number—he ordered to be impaled on the point of a sword! As if to remind this great deed of his, at one of the festivals connected with the famous temple at Madura, an image representing a Jain impaled on a stake is carried in the procession! This festival is known, after the alleged event, as

Kazhuvikkēttaradu, the act of impaling on the point of the sword.

The king Sundara-Pāṇḍya of this tale has been identified with Māravarman Arikēsari, who boasts of having won the battle of Nelvēli. If the impaling had been a fact—it is obviously much exaggerated in the Śaiva *Purāṇas*—it would have been referred to in the *Chinṇamanūr copper-plates* and the *Velvikkudī grant* which throw considerable light on the early Pāṇḍyan kings up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The omission to do so is the more remarkable because Neḍunjaḍaiyan Parāntaka, who issued the *Velvikkudī grant*, ascended the Pāṇḍyan throne next after the son of Neḍumāran.

Neḍumāran, for the services he rendered to the Śaiva cause, was translated to the position of a saint and became thus one of the famous sixty-three celebrated in the *Periya-Purāṇam*. The period of his rule has been fixed by some scholars between 650-680 A.D. (K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, 127; see also *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3). Internal evidence afforded by one of his hymns—in which Tirugnāna refers to Sirūttonḍan who fought at the battle of Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi) which took place in 642 A.D.—seems to confirm this date, which fixes him to a period later than that event (*i.e.*, to the latter half of the 7th century A.D.). For the date of Tirugnāna-Sambandar, see *E. I.*, III. 277-278; *I. A.*, XXV. 113, 116; *S. I. I.*, II. 152. For references to the traditionary tales connected with him, see W. Francis, *Madura Dist. Gaz.*, 29 and 74; *South Arcot Dist. Gaz.*, 97.

In one of his verses, Tirugnāna-Sambandar prays for Śiva's grace to deliver him from fear. Treacherous Jains, he says, have lit for him a fire, which, he implores, may go to the Pāṇḍyan king (as fever), so that he might know the torture of slow flame (*Padigam* 112; *Periya-Purāṇam*, 701, 715). The reference here is to the

traditional tale that the Jains, out of enmity, set fire to Sambandar's house and that he sent up an appeal to Śiva that the fire might be transformed into a slow consuming fever and go in that form to the Pāṇḍyan ruler, then a Jain. The king got the fever, and Sambandar relieved him of it. That is the miracle which subsequently became converted into the impalement of 8,000 Jains, in the manner described above. Tradition has been busy here as elsewhere. If the evidence afforded by Tirugnāna's own hymns is to be believed, then the following facts are vouched for by him: that he was devoted to Mangaikkarasi, the daughter of a Chōla king who had been married to a Pāṇḍyan king; that this queen was an ardent Śaivite; that the king's minister Kulachchirai was also a Śaivite; that the queen took a personal interest in the welfare of Tirugnāna who was contending against the Jains who had won over her husband, the Pāṇḍyan king, to their faith; and that the Jains had set fire to Tirugnāna's house and Tirugnāna prayed that that fire, transformed into a fever, might go to the Pāṇḍyan king, then a Jain. This happened and the king was re-converted with Tirugnāna's aid. Conceptions of popular justice required that the Jains should be punished for their supposed iniquities, and the impalement of 8,000 Jains was the result. Tradition cannot be other than tradition.

Kingsbury and Phillips render the verse of Sambandar referred to above thus:—

O, Thou whose form is fiery red,
 In holy Ālavāy, our Sire,
 In grace deliver me from dread.
 False Jains have lit me a fire:
 O, let it to the Pāṇḍyan ruler go,
 That he the torture of slow flame may know.

(See *Hymns of Tamil Śaivite Saints*, 32-33, by F. Kingsbury and G. E. Phillips, in the *Heritage of India Series*).

The legend of the impaling of "eight thousand of the stubborn Jains" is mentioned by them at page 11 of their book. They add the remark later: "Legends make him (Tirugnāna) a wonder-worker, but we must draw our knowledge of the man from his poems themselves." It is much to be regretted that except for the effort of Messrs. Kingsbury and Phillips, no translations of the hymns of Appar, Tirugnāna-Sambandar and Sundarar are yet available on the lines on which the late Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope brought out the hymns of Māṇikyavāchakar (*Tiruvāchakam*, Oxford University Press).

(6) ON THE *Arka* MARRIAGE.

Arka is the Sun-plant *Calotropis gigantea*, a small tree with medicinal sap and rind, the larger leaves of which are used for sacrificial ceremonies (*Śat. Br.*; *Br. Ār. Up.*). *Arka* means also the *membrum virile* (*A. V.*, VI. 72-1). Manu enumerates eight kinds of marriage (III. 21), which are: Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākshasa and Paśācha. Cf. Yājñavalkya, I. 58-61. Marriage with the *Arka* plant (*Bandhuka*) is enjoined to be performed before a man marries a third wife, who thus becomes his fourth (*chaturthādi vivāhārtham tritīyōrka samudvahēt—Kāśyapa*). Gārga thus says as to a third-marriage:

Grihasyād ēka patnikah sa kāmī chōdvahēt param |
 Tritīyam nōdvahēt kanyām chaturthīmapī chōdvahēt |
 Tritīyam udvahēt kanyām mōhādajñānatōpi yāt |
 Dhana-dhānyāyushān hāni rōgi syād yadi jīvati |
 Tritīyōdvāha siddhyartha marka-vriksham samu-
 dvahēt |
 Grāmāt prāchimudīchīm vā gachchēd yatraiva
 tiṣṭhati |
 Yathārkam śōbhanam kritvā kritvā bhūmīncha
 śōbhitam |

*Vastrēna tantunā vēṣṭya brāhmaṇastam pariśrayēt |
 Svaśākhōkta vidhānēna hōmāntē agnim sva ātmani |
 Ārōpyaiva varō dhīrō brahmacharyam charēt
 tryaham |
 Ēkāhāmapi vā kanyām udvahēt davi sankita iti||.*

An householder should generally be possessed of one wife; if he is very carnal, he may also marry a second time. But he should not marry a third damsel. If it is necessary, he may marry a fourth (damsel). As regards the third marriage, if he wishes to get married through ignorance, he will become reduced in wealth, corn and lifetime, and will become (further) sickly. Accordingly, in the case of a third marriage, in order to be free from sickness, etc., he should get married to the *Arka* plant. To perform such a marriage, he should go towards the east in search of a tree wherever it is and there he should perform the marriage rite as between himself and that tree in every detail (as in a marriage). He should invest the *māṅgalya-sūtra* to that plant agreeably to the ritual and to the *śākhā* to which he belongs, and should (then) perform the *hōma* (by raising the sacrificial fire). This done with due solemnity, he will be free from all other obstacles and then he can marry (the third) damsel without further doubt, which should accordingly be considered as the fourth (marriage)—see *Smṛiti-Muktāvalī*, *Sōḍaśakarma prakaraṇam*, 139-140, in the *Madhva-Siddhānta Granthamālā Series*, Ed. by Kṛṣṇāchārya, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Mudrā Press, Uḍipi. According to the *Trivarnikāchāra* of the Śvētāmbara Jains (XI, 104), “a third marriage is to be performed in the *Arka* form, otherwise the bride will be like a widow; thus should the wise act” (*Akṛtvārka-vivāhantu tṛtīyām yadi chōdvahēt | Vidhavā sā bhavēt kanyā tasmāt kāryam vichakshaṇā||*)—quoted in *The Jain Law* (p. 216) by C. R. Jaina, Madras, 1927.

(7) ON THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF MYSORE, THE MAH-RATTAS AND THE MUGHALS TO EMPIRE IN THE SOUTH.

There is overwhelming evidence in support of the position that Mysore under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar based her claims to Empire in South India as the immediate political heir of Vijayanagar. This position was the natural outcome of the following circumstances:— Since the fall of Penukoṇḍa and Vellore, and the flight of Śrī-Ranga VI (1647), the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire became rapid. During Śrī-Ranga's long sojourn in the south (1647-1663), he had no recognised capital, although he formally claimed to rule from Penukoṇḍa, Chandragiri or Bēlūr. While the Deccani powers of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa were in quick succession occupying his imperial possessions in South India (1647-1656), the kingdom of Mysore under Kanṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar I (1638-1659), by remaining loyal to the Empire, strove hard to maintain her integrity and independence against the encroachments of these States. In 1656, however, the activities of these powers in the Karnāṭak ceased, and they retired home dividing their spoils. During the next three decades they were so thoroughly absorbed in their struggle with the Mughals in the Deccan that they could hardly devote their attention to Karnāṭak affairs, beyond leaving its administration in the hands of their generals (like Shāhji the Mahratta, in Bangalore). This made it possible for the growing kingdom of Mysore gradually to extend her warlike activities in the direction of the Bijāpur-belt of territory in the north, while her attempts to maintain the *status quo ante* in the direction of Ikkēri and Madura in the north-west and the south-east tended to rouse the persistent opposition and hostility of those neighbours. An immediate result of this policy of Mysore is reflected in the futile invasion of Seringapatam—in the very first year of accession of

Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673)—by Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkēri (1645-1660) who, on the plea of restoring the suzerainty of Śrī-Ranga in the Karnāṭak, won him over from the allegiance of Mysore, only to make him pursue an hostile attitude towards her from Bēlūr. Śrī-Ranga, however, met with little success owing to the weakness of the successors of Śivappa Nāyaka and the steady advance of Mysore on Ikkēri, so that in 1663 he had to leave Bēlūr for the far South, again to seek the protection of his erstwhile hostile feudatories who were fighting in their own interests. Meanwhile the kingdom of Mysore was fast becoming a first-rate power in Southern India. The political centre of gravity was shifting from Penukoṇḍa to Seringapatam, this being facilitated to some extent by the migration of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava family of Royal preceptors of the Āraṇḍi Dynasty to the court of Dēvarāja (1663). At the same time imperial ideas and ideals began to take root in the congenial soil of Seringapatam. Śrī-Ranga, in view of these developments, made one more, and last, effort to recover his position from Mysore by allying himself with Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura (1659-1682) and other feudatories, and laying siege to the fort of Ērōḍe belonging to her (1667). Mysore, however, ultimately came out successful in the siege and Śrī-Ranga, sorely disappointed, disappeared from the vortex of South Indian politics. In Seringapatam, Dēvarāja Woḍeyar, far from severing his connection with the Vijayanagar Empire, gradually stepped into the imperial status itself (as is significantly borne out by the assumption of imperial titles by him), and paved the way for the independence of the kingdom and her future political development. With Madura, Gīngee and Ikkēri struggling for their existence under the troubled conditions of the times, Mysore, alone among her contemporaries, emerged into the political arena of South India as the strongest, and sole, representative of

Vijayanagar (1673). She soon found herself placed in an eminently advantageous position to extend, preserve and unite, in the true imperial spirit of the times, what was still left of the derelict Empire in the south as a bulwark against further aggressions from any powers (like the Mahrattas and the Mughals) from the north. No wonder, after the short-lived success of Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma I, the then Vijayanagar king, against Daḷavāi Kumāraiya (of Mysore) in the battle of Hāssan (1674), Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (1673-1704) began his untiring activities in all directions. And his assumption of the titles *Karnāṭaka-Chakravarti* (Emperor of the Karnāṭaka country) and *Dakṣiṇadik-Chakravarti* (Emperor of the South), as is amply borne out by the records of his own period, from this time onward, acquires supreme significance in South Indian History (for a fuller treatment of this course of affairs, *vide* Chs. VIII, X and XI, with documentary details in f.n.).

The claims of the Mahrattas and the Mughals to Empire in the South appear to be less strong. Much has been said and written in recent years in favour of the view that the Mahratta State in the South owed its existence to the genius of Shāhji under Vijayanagar influence, and that his son Śivāji was the political heir and successor of the Vijayanagar Empire (see, for instance, the latest articles on the subject in *Vij. Com. Vol.*, pp. 119-138). This is, however, negatived by the well-known facts recorded of their careers during the period of political transition in the South (1647-1674), sketched above. Indeed there is no direct evidence,⁴ to lend support to these suggestions, although the trend of all

4. Śivāji's coronation (1674) and his Karnāṭak expedition (1677) have been held by scholars like Dr. S. K. Aiyangar as having "had in it the idea of reviving the Hindu Empire of the South," while his supposed grant to the sons of Śrī-Ranga VI and his issue of the gold *hun* after the Vijayanagar model have been taken to be proofs in support of the position that it might have been his ambition "to stand before Aurangzib as the acknowledged successor of the emperors of Vijayanagar"

the available data goes to show that whatever influence Vijayanagar exerted on the Mahrattas (under Shāhji and Śivāji) was only of an indirect character, their rise to power in the South being mainly rooted in, and conditioned by, the Shāhī state of Bijāpur in the Deccan. Accordingly, the extension of Mahratta power and influence in South India under Śivāji and his immediate successors was more in the footsteps of Bijāpur than of Vijayanagar (whose sphere of influence in the 17th century lay farther away from the Mahratta country), while their claims to Empire in the South were derived more from their right—real or supposed—to establish footholds in it which would eventually enable them to collect *chauth* and *sardēsmukhi* from the feudatories of the old Vijayanagar Empire, than from an instinctive desire to unite the heterogenous elements into an autonomous whole and evolve a beneficial system of government over the length and breadth of the land. Again, even as regards their united resistance to Mughal advance on the South, they were treading more in the footsteps of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa than of Vijayanagar, which explains why, during 1677 and 1680-1686, they actually came into conflict with Mysore which, on this issue, was clearly following the Vijayanagar policy. Mughal pressure on South India after the fall of Bijāpur and Gōlkoṇḍa (1686-1687) was in the nature of a military conquest of an alien power, by way of continuation of the policy of the early Sultāns of Delhi. Mughal

(see *Editorial Notes in Nāyakas of Madura*, pp. 27, 134, 177, etc.). It is hard to accept this as a literal statement of facts when we bear in mind the actual course of political evolution of Mysore during 1647-1674. Mahratta sovereignty in the South was itself a matter of gradual development in the wake of Śivāji's Karnāṭak expedition of 1677, when he himself found that he had been anticipated by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar of Mysore as the sole, and natural, representative of Vijayanagar in the Karnāṭaka country (see *supra*; also Ch. XI, for details). And we have definite evidence of Sambhāji, son and successor of Śivāji, assuming the title of Emperor (*Sambhōji-Chakravartī*) for the first time in July 1680 (see *E. C.*, X Mb. 117).

claim to Empire in the South was, further, derived from the principle that might is right and hardly carried with it schemes of settlement and orderly administration applicable to the conquered tracts as a whole, whatever measure of success their rule might have been attended with in Northern India. This accounts largely for the harassing raids of Mughal lieutenants in South India under Aurangzib and his successors in the latter part of the 17th century and the first part of the 18th, which left her a prey to anarchy and confusion until British rule at the end of the 18th century brought the blessings of peace and order into the land. Happily for Mysore, however, it is to the credit of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar that in contesting the claims to supremacy in the South of the Mahrattas and the Mughals in the 17th century, he so manœuvred as to keep them at arms' length and not only saved the country from their attacks but also, in advancing his claims to absolute sovereignty of the South of India, gave Mysore an individuality all her own.

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- Mysore History**: sources of (see under *Sources of Mysore History*); Wilks's treatment of the early period of (see under *Wilks*).
- Mysore, Mahrattas and the Mughals**: note on the relative claims of to Empire in the South, 570-574.
- Mysore Palace**: description of under Kaṇṭhīraṇṇa I, with reference to principal apartments (like the Durbār Hall, Council-chamber, etc.), 176 (n. 75).
- Mysore Throne** (known as *Bhōja-simhāsana*, *Dakṣhiṇa-simhāsana*, *Ratna-simhāsana*, etc.): acquisition of by Rāja Woḍeyar (1610), 61; references to in the inscriptions of Mysore Rulers (from Chāmarāja V down to Chikkadēvarāja), 96-97, 158, 183, 190, 224 (n. 51), 232 (n. 81-82), 233, 246, 279, 285, 319, 321 (n. 178), 326 (n. 1), 392, etc.
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- Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Pārvābhyudaya-Vvāra**: a secondary source of Mysore History, 8 (n. 10); referred to or noticed, 24, 27, 81-84, 44, 47 (n. 13), 52 (n. 47), 109 (n. 1-2), 119 (n. 19), 139 (n. 37), 145 (n. 110), 148 (n. 121), 544, etc.
- Mysūru-Dhoregaḷa-Vaṁśāvali**: a secondary source of Mysore History, 8; referred to or noticed, 23, 27, 109 (n. 2), 111 (n. 12), 117 (n. 15), 119 (n. 19), 125 (n. 42), 127 (n. 53), etc.
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W

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	Remarks
4	19	For " <i>Storio</i> " read " <i>Storia</i> ."
8, n. 10	2	For "Ch. XV and Appendix VII--(2)" read "Vol II, Ch. I and Appendix I--(2)."
15 (also 16, 61, 278, 359)	Text	After " <i>Rakasa-Tagḍi</i> " add "(<i>Rākṣasa-Tagaḍi</i>)."
34	8	For "dated in" read "dated."
34, n. 26	3	Add at the end:—In some of these records, the title <i>Birud-antembara-gaṇḍa</i> also occurs as <i>Antambara-kaṇḍa</i> and <i>Antembara-gaṇḍa</i> (see <i>M. E. R.</i> , Nos 678 of 1909 and 321 of 1933). The adoption of the title by the Wodeyar Dynasty of Mysore, under circumstances narrated above, has a special significance of its own attached to it.
38	3	For "dated in" read "dated."
55, n. 68	2	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
56	4	For "1507" read "1607."
71	Last line from the bottom of the text	For "Prasanna-Krishṇasvāmi" read "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (Lakṣmī-Kāntasvāmi)."
71, n. 153	1	For " <i>Ibid</i> , 1920, p. 3, para 10" read "See <i>Ibid</i> , 1920, p. 3, para 10, where the statue is, perhaps by a slip, located in the Prasanna-Krishṇasvāmi temple at Mysore."
72, n. 156	7	For "ff. 21" read "ff. 121."
117	15	For "1655" read "1658."
119	10	For " <i>Morasa-Nāḍu</i> " read " <i>Morasa-nāḍu</i> ."
144, n. 27	18	For "f.n. 173" read "Ch. IX, f.n. 23."
150	12	For "amiserable" read "a miserable."
154, n. 144	3	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
160, n. 9	2	
174, n. 70	5 from bottom	
175, n. 71	15	
177, n. 75	8	

REFERENCE

Not to be lent out, ii

Page	Line	Remarks
200, n. 161	9	Add at the end:—For details about the ceremony of <i>Arka</i> marriage, vide Appendix VI—(6).
209	5 from the bottom of the text	For "Perhaps" read "Perhapa."
226, n. 60	8 from bottom	For "Nanjarājsaiya III" read "Nanjarājsaiya IV"
241, n. 121	4	Add at the end:—This position is confirmed by a copper-plate grant of his, dated March 17, 1667, which has recently come to light (see <i>M. A. R.</i> , 1934, pp. 145-168, No. 39). We further learn from this Sanskrit inscription that Dhanōjsaiya (<i>Dhanōja</i>) was a rich Gujarāt Brāhman who had settled for trade in Mysore with his dependents and associates, that he was successively patronised by the Mysore kings Chāmarāja V, Kanthirava-Narasa I and Dēvarāja, that he had a wife by name Rāmathāyambā, and that he was well known for his gifts and charities. This is also one of the earlier records in <i>Kāvya</i> style composed by Tirumalārya, afterwards Prime Minister of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.
276	7 from the bottom of the text	For "Kesaragōḍu (<i>Kāsaragōḍu</i>)" read "Kāsaragōḍu."
281, n. 44	8	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
299, n. 105	5	Add at the end:—For Sambhāji's claim to sovereignty of the South, vide Appendix VI—(7), n. 1.
309	11	For "Dhārmāpuri" read "Dharmapuri."
309	15	For "Kuntūr-durga (<i>Kunnattār</i>)" read "Kuntūr-durga."
336, n. 48	2	For "Appendix IX" read "Vol. II, Appendix III."
336	7	For " <i>varṇāśrama</i> " read " <i>varṇāśrama</i> ."
552	Head line	For "Chikkadēvarāja's" read "Chikkadēvarāja's."
572	2 from the bottom of the text	For "evidence, 4" read "evidence 1."
572, n. 4	1	For f.n. "4" read "1".

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